

# *Vermeer and the Delft School*



THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

VERMEER  
AND THE DELFT SCHOOL



# VERMEER AND



# THE DELFT SCHOOL

WALTER LIEDTKE

with Michiel C. Plomp and Axel Rüger

*Contributions by Reinier Baarsen, Marten Jan Bok, Jan Daniël van Dam,  
James David Draper, Ebeltje Hartkamp-Jonxis, and Kees Kaldenbach*

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## *Directors' Foreword*

**T**his remarkable exhibition places the work of Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) in historical context by presenting nearly half of his known oeuvre together with seventy-seven paintings by other Delft masters of the seventeenth century. The artists include Pieter de Hooch, who is represented by a dozen pictures dating exclusively from his Delft years (about 1655–60), and the gifted Rembrandt disciple Carel Fabritius, who moved from Amsterdam to Delft about 1650 and died there in the catastrophic explosion of a gunpowder magazine in 1654 (an event documented by several paintings and drawings catalogued below). All five of Fabritius's known works dating from about 1650–54 will be seen in London and New York. As might be expected in a Delft exhibition, there is a strong selection of architectural paintings: no fewer than eighteen views of church interiors and palaces by Gerard Houckgeest, Emanuel de Witte, Hendrick van Vliet, and other artists. It is also unsurprising that pictures by the history painter Leonaert Bramer, the prolific court portraitist Michiel van Miereveld, and the townscapists Daniel Vosmaer and Egbert van der Poel have been included. But even admirers of Dutch painting who knew that Paulus Potter, Adam Pynacker, and Jan Steen were associated briefly with Delft may not have been aware that the city was home to a continuous tradition of fine flower painting and other kinds of still life or that Delft artists produced large biblical and mythological pictures—the latter often for the nearby court at The Hague—well before the young Vermeer began his career in the same vein. Finally, some readers of this catalogue will already be familiar with the fine tapestries and silver objects that were made in Delft, and of course blue-and-white faience (Delftware) is the city's most famous industry. However, these works are rarely considered, as they are here, together with paintings and drawings as examples of a distinctive culture. We congratulate the curators—Walter Liedtke, Michiel C. Plomp, and Axel Rüger—on the completion of what will surely be the standard reference work on Vermeer and the arts of Delft for decades to come as well as the record of a memorable event at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and The National Gallery in London.

Each of our museums has a long history of presenting to the public comprehensive as well as specialized exhibitions of Dutch art. The former include the “Hudson” part of “The Hudson-Fulton Celebration” (New York, 1909) and “Art in Seventeenth Century

Holland” (London, 1976); examples of the latter are “Rembrandt: The Master and His Workshop” (London, 1992) and “Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in The Metropolitan Museum of Art” (New York, 1995–96). These projects and especially the permanent collections of the Metropolitan Museum and The National Gallery recall the historical bonds and cultural affinities of both the United States and the United Kingdom with the Netherlands. A symbolic coincidence might be discerned in the nearly simultaneous acquisitions, 130 years ago, of dozens of Dutch pictures in New York and London: the “1871 Purchase” made by the Metropolitan Museum (thus creating a collection) and the less transforming but more spectacular purchase by The National Gallery of Sir Robert Peel's collection of seventy-seven pictures, fifty-five of which were Dutch.

“Vermeer and the Delft School” was first proposed in 1992 by Walter Liedtke, Curator of European Paintings at the Metropolitan Museum. Long friendship with his fellow Delft enthusiast Christopher Brown (who in 1998 left The National Gallery to become Director of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and the fact that the Dutch city would commemorate its 750th anniversary in 1996 led to scheduling the exhibition for New York and London in that year. However, it soon emerged that the National Gallery of Art in Washington and the Mauritshuis in The Hague planned a Vermeer exhibition for 1995–96, and that the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof in the painter's hometown would present “Delft Masters, Vermeer's Contemporaries” when “Johannes Vermeer” was in the neighboring city. It was then agreed that “Vermeer and the Delft School” would be substantially postponed and that the various organizers would support each other to the fullest extent possible.

Neither exhibition of five years ago closely resembles the present one in concept, except for the significance assigned to Vermeer. Explored in these pages and in the exhibition space is the question of what Vermeer owed to artistic traditions in his native city and to the character of its society. Would Vermeer have become the same painter had he lived in Amsterdam, Haarlem, or Leiden? The answer, to put it simply, is no. Would the Delft school have developed in the same way without Vermeer? The conclusion reached in this volume is clearly yes, although the artist did influence some works by other Delft genre painters, such as De Hooch, Cornelis de Man, and Johannes Verkolje. The central question of the exhibition is whether or not a Delft “school” ever existed in any meaningful sense, and



here the curators' response is a "qualified yes." However, more important than the answer is raising the question in the first place and providing the material to explore it in detail, not by means of an academic argument but by exhibiting the full range of art in Delft during the seventeenth century.

This exhibition placed exceptional demands upon the lenders and we offer them our heartfelt thanks for their generosity. We have been granted an unusual number of loans from three Dutch institutions, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Mauritshuis in The Hague, and the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof in Delft. One of the first responses we received was from the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, indicating that after careful consideration they would let us borrow *The Procureess* by Vermeer. Paintings of such rarity and renown almost never leave their galleries. Moreover, curators are reluctant to lend works that have traveled recently, such as, in this case, *The Art of Painting* by Vermeer (lent by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). These and many other superb works of art are in this exhibition because the lenders support its scholarly purpose. The presentation in one place of Vermeer's first four paintings (cat. nos. 64–67), as well as *The Sentry* and *The Goldfinch* by Fabritius (from the

Staatliches Museum, Schwerin, and the Mauritshuis, respectively), Gerard Houckgeest's seminal *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft* of 1650 (lent by the Kunsthalle, Hamburg), several of De Hooch's finest pictures, and a fair number of less familiar but closely related works is something that has never happened before. For the first time, the exhibition reveals that the most celebrated Delft paintings, although they were produced by a small group of artists active only from about 1650 to 1675, reflect long traditions of sophisticated patronage and excellence in the arts. Both traditions, and the Delft qualities of order, refinement, and understatement, are embodied in Vermeer's *Art of Painting*, which the artist kept in his studio for the delectation of connoisseurs.

The exhibition is supported in London by Ernst & Young. In New York, the exhibition is supported by an indemnity granted by the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities. To both we offer our warmest thanks.

We are particularly grateful to The Christian Humann Foundation for its generous contribution toward this catalogue. We are also indebted to the Doris Duke Fund for Publications for the support it provided for this volume.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

*Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*

NEIL MACGREGOR

*Director, The National Gallery, London*

# *Lenders to the Exhibition*

The numbers in the following list refer to works in the catalogue.

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Mr. and Mrs. Michal Hornstein, Montreal 91  
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Dr. and Mrs. William A. Nitze, Washington, D.C. 35  
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Wunsch Foundation 159  
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It has been an extraordinary privilege to organize this project for The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and The National Gallery, London. Various aspects of painting in Delft have been a personal preoccupation for three decades, but it was only in 1992 that it first seemed possible to treat the subject as a whole in the form of a great exhibition. That the event was postponed because of the “Johannes Vermeer” exhibition of 1995–96 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague) was a blessing that initially appeared in disguise but became increasingly recognizable as a fortunate circumstance. Together with “Delft Masters, Vermeer’s Contemporaries” (Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft, in 1996) and “Pieter de Hooch” (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, and Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, in 1998–99), the Vermeer exhibition greatly enhanced public awareness of the “Delft School” and made it clear that this was an ideal moment for a broader and at the same time more critical look at the material.

What such an undertaking would ultimately involve exceeded the writer’s imagination in the planning stages and the organizing institutions’ expectations as we approached the goal. “Vermeer and the Delft School” brings together 159 works of art from widespread public and private collections in fifteen countries. In addition, the process of studying and describing the creations of more than fifty masters and placing them in a historical context resulted in — one cannot say it required — the monumental catalogue resting (presumably) on the reader’s table or lap. My own introductory essay evolved into five chapters, which are followed by Michiel C. Plomp’s discussion of graphic artists in Delft, Marten Jan Bok’s survey of the city’s social and cultural institutions, and, on the far side of the catalogue proper, two appendices devoted to the fabric of the city itself and the location of residents and monuments mentioned in the text. The plans showing where artists, patrons, and dealers lived in Delft in the time of Vermeer were created by Kees Kaldenbach and involved many days in the city archives (Gemeentearchief) of Delft. The decorative arts were catalogued by leading specialists, and we thank them for outstanding service under duress: James David Draper of the Metropolitan Museum, who wrote about Willem van Tetrode’s bronzes, and, at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Reinier Baarsen, Jan Daniël van Dam, and Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis, who wrote about silver, Delftware, and tapestries, respectively.

As the least restrained author of the catalogue, I am indebted above all to Philippe de Montebello, Director of the Metropolitan Museum, and to John P. O’Neill, Editor in Chief and General Manager of Publications, for their votes of confidence and constant support. They greeted the catalogue’s metamorphosis from a cornucopia to an apparent epidemic of scholarship with simultaneous concern and resolve. At a time when cultural institutions are increasingly conscious of the “bottom line,” my own museum attends to top priorities; that one may say so is a source of considerable pride. I am also extremely grateful to Mahruck Tarapor, Associate Director for Exhibitions, whose telephone calls from China, India, Greece, England, or the dear departed “Mezzanine” at the Met served as stern reminders that she was always on my side.

To this familiar cast of characters I would like to add the names of several others who were mostly unknown to me a year ago and will be long remembered with fondness and respect: Ellyn Allison, our graciously heroic editor; Megan Arney, Production Manager; Bruce Campbell, designer; Jayne Kuchna, our unremittingly thorough bibliographical editor; Gwen Roginsky, Associate General Manager of Publications; Robert Weisberg, Desktop Publishing Manager; and Jane Bobko, Cynthia Clark, and Ruth Kozodoy — three editors fresh from other projects who rushed to Ellyn’s aid like Dutchmen at the dikes. Curators fancy themselves as “objects” people because we look at them, but it is thanks to professionals experienced in dealing with the real world that the public will see this grand display of objects at the Metropolitan Museum: Aileen K. Chuk, Registrar; Sharon H. Cott, Vice President, Secretary and General Counsel; and Linda Sylling, Associate Manager for Operations and Special Exhibitions. Among those to whom I am especially grateful at The National Gallery, London, are Michael Wilson, Joanna Kent, and Mary Hersov in the Exhibitions Office, and Neil MacGregor, Director.

It was my hope that Michiel Plomp would contribute to this catalogue before it was announced that he would join The Metropolitan Museum as our curator of Dutch and Flemish drawings. Working with him for a frantic year has been a privilege and a pleasure. I also have enjoyed a sympathetic partnership with The National Gallery’s curator of Dutch paintings, Axel Rüger. Not only did he write a considerable number of catalogue entries but he also dealt with diplomatic matters on his side of the Atlantic, especially in his native and adoptive lands. Axel’s patience, subtlety, and command of languages, all of

which exceed my own, are responsible for several of our least expected loans, and we can also rest assured that everything possible was discreetly done with regard to our few areas of disappointment.

In my own department of the Metropolitan Museum — European Paintings — I have been inconspicuously but perennially grateful for the help of Dorothy Kellett, Andrew Caputo, Samantha Sizemore, and Patrice Mattia. Patrice especially sacrificed a great deal of personal time ordering scores of photographs, which are often harder to secure than the works of art they reproduce. A vast amount of work for which the curator is nominally responsible — captions throughout this catalogue, applications for indemnity, and so on — was actually performed by Lisa Duffy-Seballos and Vanessa Schmid, graduate students at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Alexandra Onuf of Columbia University also stepped in during a crucial period when Lisa and Vanessa attempted to recapture their own lives.

When the true scope of this publication became apparent and its cost was becoming prohibitive, the writer turned to friends for support. The quantity and quality of reproductions in this catalogue are gifts to the reader from the following lovers of Dutch art: Daphne Alazraki, Alfred Bader, Jim and Donna Brooks, Phoebe Cowles, Arthur and Arlene Elkind, Michael Enthoven, Mark Fisch and Rachel Davidson, Peter Guarisco, Nicholas Hall and Richard Knight of Hall and Knight Ltd., Suzanne and Norman Hascoe, Christophe Janet, George and Linda Kaufman, Ian Kennedy, Jack Kilgore, David Koetser, Otto Naumann, Robert Noortman, Eijk and Rose-Marie van Otterloo, Louise and Bernard Palitz, Larry Salander and Fred Bancroft of the Salander-O'Reilly Galleries, Lawrence Steigrad and Peggy Stone, Rafael Valls, Johnny Van Haeften, Susan and Matthew Weatherbie, Arnold-Peter Weiss, Malcolm Wiener, Ethel and Martin Wunsch, and Henry and Martin Zimet of French and Company.

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Finally, my special thanks to one of the spiritual forces behind this exhibition, Christopher Brown. Like Michael Montias (who is cited more often than any other scholar in this catalogue), Christopher has questioned whether a “Delft School” ever existed and has answered with a qualified yes. Of course, the concept of a local or regional school is especially problematic when connected with the art of the Netherlands. The term in our title is meant to be provocative. Thanks to the efforts and generosity of all those named above, the reader and the viewer of the exhibition can now decide if the “Delft School” needs a question mark.

WALTER LIEDTKE

## *Note to the Reader*

The notes to the chapters and to the essay titled “Along the City Walls” are gathered in a section titled “Notes” that begins on page 567. In the catalogue, the notes follow each entry. Citations of books, articles, and exhibitions are given in abbreviated form in all notes. Full citations are given in the Bibliography.

The chapter illustrations, the comparative illustrations to the catalogue entries, and the plans and figures that follow the catalogue are numbered consecutively.

Unless otherwise indicated, paintings and decorative artworks listed in the catalogue are exhibited both in New York and in London; prints and drawings are exhibited in New York only. If a work in the exhibition has been assigned an accession or inventory number by its present owner, that number is given at the end of the provenance (ex coll.) section of the catalogue entry.

The support on which drawings were made is white paper unless otherwise noted. Dimensions of works are given in both inches and centimeters, with the height preceding the width.

The catalogue entries were written by:

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VERMEER  
AND THE DELFT SCHOOL



# I. Delft and the Delft School: An Introduction

WALTER LIEDTKE

## Some Contemporary Visitors

IN THE SPRING OF 1660 Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), whose famous diary was then in its twentieth week, left his temporary lodgings in the court city of The Hague to see the neighboring city of Delft. A great event was in progress, the Restoration of Charles II, who a few days later (May 24) was brought over to England by Pepys's cousin and employer, Sir Edward Montagu, General at Sea. Pepys's description of that occasion, like his running account of the Great Fire of London in 1666, is one of the most vivid and valuable records of English history. But in Holland, Pepys was a tourist and (as he described his impatience) "with child to see any strange thing."

His midwife in Delft was "a smith's boy [who] could speak nothing but Dutch, and he showed us the church where Van Trump [the naval hero Admiral Maerten Harpertsz Tromp] lies intombed with a very fine Monument" (cat. no. 82). The budding connoisseur admired the relief below the effigy, "a sea-fight the best cut in Marble, with the Smoake the best expressed that ever I saw in my life." From the Oude Kerk (Old Church) he was taken to the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church), which "stands in a fine great Merket-place over against the Stathouse [fig. 2]; and there I saw a stately tomb of the old Prince of Orange, of Marble and brass." This was the tomb of Willem I, "William the Silent," Prince of Orange and Nassau, who led the northern provinces of the Netherlands in their ultimately successful revolt against Spain and who served as their first stadholder, or governor (see fig. 7; cat. no. 37).

As Pepys crossed the Markt (Market Square) he must have passed by Johannes Vermeer's front door (see fig. 346), but in May 1660 the painter was, like Pepys, only twenty-seven years old, and not yet known outside a small circle of people with similar interests. The



Detail, Exterior of the Oude Kerk in Delft (fig. 32)

diarist went instead to several taverns, "observing that in every house of entertainment there hangs in every room a poor-man's box," in which coins were dropped whenever two parties came to terms. The importance placed upon civic charity was reinforced for Pepys when he was taken to "the Guesthouse [the Oude Gasthuis, or old hospital; fig. 3], where it was very pleasant to see what neat preparation there is for the poor."

Altogether, the English visitor was delighted with Delft, "a most sweet town, with bridges and a river in every street." And then, "back by water [on the canal barge to The Hague; see fig. 4], where a pretty sober Dutch lass sat reading all the way, and I could not fasten any discourse upon her."<sup>1</sup>

As with more modern forms of public transportation, the Dutch *trekschuit* (horse-drawn canal barge) allowed one to meet people or to get things done while being conveniently conveyed from town to town (see fig. 5). The service between Delft and The Hague ran twice hourly in both directions, taking between one and one and a half hours to arrive. The distance, about three miles (five kilometers), could be walked in the same time, or covered in as little as thirty or forty minutes by coach. Each day there were nine canal barges running from The Hague to Leiden and back; the Delft–Leiden service (which passed by The Hague) carried 170,000 passengers annually during the 1660s. Boats ran from Delft to Rotterdam every hour.<sup>2</sup>

These statistics are brought to life by the daily records of David Beck (1594–1634), a German-born schoolteacher, poet, and amateur artist who lived in The Hague. During the year 1624 he kept a diary, which is filled with close accounts of the weather, mundane details, and — remarkably, for the period — his dreams. (Beck wrote the diary for his three children; he often refers lovingly to his young wife, who died in childbirth in December 1623.) He went frequently to Delft for the afternoon or evening, either to see his older brother Hendrick, who opened a French school there in 1618 (David himself wrote in

Opposite: Fig. 1. Jan van der Heyden, *The Oude Kerk (Old Church) on the Oude Delft in Delft* (detail), 1675. Oil on wood, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (45 x 56.5 cm). Nasjonal-galleriet, Oslo



Fig. 2. Coenraet Decker, *View of the Stadhuys (Town Hall) of Delft*. Engraving,  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$  in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667–[80]. Private collection



Fig. 3. Coenraet Decker, *View of the Oude Gasthuis (Old Hospital) of Delft*. Engraving,  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$  in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667–[80]. Private collection

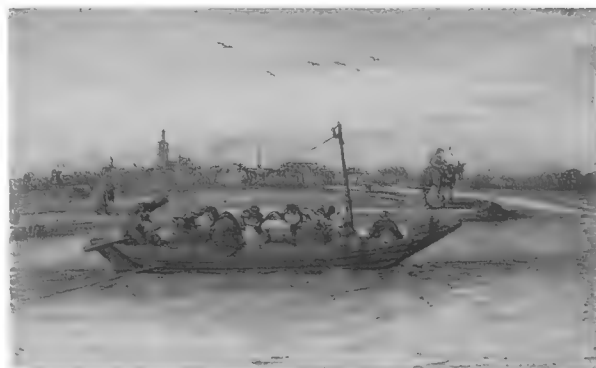


Fig. 4. Adriaen van de Venne, *A Passenger Ferry in Tow*. From the artist's *Common-Place Book*, folio 65, 1625–26. Watercolor, gouache, and black chalk on laid paper,  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  in. (9.7 x 15.3 cm). British Museum, London



Fig. 5. Map of the Dutch Republic in 1648 showing the seven provinces, major rivers, cities, and towns discussed in this catalogue. Inset: the most important inland waterways of the province of Holland



French and Italian as well as in Dutch and German), or to visit other relatives and acquaintances.<sup>3</sup>

For example, on a freezing day in January 1624, Beck went for his usual long walk through The Hague, taught school, wrote a poem, and then took the canal barge “at noon (with Breckerfelt) to Delft where we arrived at 1:30” (see cat. 90). After talking with his brother Hendrick for two hours by the fire, Beck stopped at “uncle Symons,” where he spoke with “niece Geertruijt” for some time. He then fetched his friend Breckerfelt (the painter and engraver Herman Breckerveld), “with whom I took the barge at 5:30 back to The Hague, where we arrived at 7:00.”<sup>4</sup>

On March 28 Beck walked to Delft in an hour and a half and later returned to The Hague by *trekschuit* in the same amount of time. On April 4, in the evening, Beck went “with H. Breckerfelt on a peasant-wagon to Delft, to visit brother and sister”; the next morning “at 7 hours with Breckerfelt on the market-barge [*marischuijt*] to The Hague, and arrived home at 8:00” (he took the same “express” on April 12).<sup>5</sup>

Delft must have shipped a lot of produce on the regular market barges to The Hague. It was the larger and slightly more populous city (with about 21,000 residents, as compared with 18,000 in The Hague during the 1620s) and an important marketplace for the surrounding farm and dairy lands of southern Holland. The Hague was centered not on a market square but on the princely court and government buildings (fig. 6), which were surrounded by the greatest concentration of wealthy residents in the Netherlands and by what might be described as a support community. The court city had no industry to speak of and little trade apart from luxury goods.<sup>6</sup>

Beck walked to Delft on many other occasions in the afternoon or evening, or went by wagon or barge. On April 25, 1624, he met a “Mr. Anthonij N. artful joiner living in Dordrecht” on the noon barge from The Hague to Delft; they talked a great deal about the man’s craft and then Beck showed him some of his drawings. At one o’clock Beck was at his brother’s door. Four days later he was back in Delft with Miss Christina Poppings, who was escorting her cousin Lanssing as far as Zeeland on his trip to France. They had fetched the gentleman’s baggage at an inn in The Hague, with the help of a local hauler. “And so on to the Delft wagons departing at 2:00 and came at 3:00 to Delft,” where they left the bags at the Rotterdam Gate (on the right in fig. 23). The party went to brother Hendrick’s for wine and beer, after which Beck took them to see the tomb of William the Silent and the town hall. At four the couple sailed south and Beck took a long walk around Delft with his brother. The seven o’clock barge had Beck back in The Hague at eight, when he went strolling again, then “early to eat, wrote this, and to bed.”<sup>7</sup>

These lines offer more information than some readers require but provide a rare glimpse of ordinary life in Delft. They also illustrate how easy it was to travel around Holland and how often people took the opportunity to do so. Yet scholars who have devoted themselves to understanding “scenes of everyday life” by artists such as Pieter de Hooch and Vermeer, and who know a *trekschuit* when they see one, have often speculated as to whether one or another person ever poked his nose through the city gate. In the catalogue of a recent exhibition, for example, the fact that a *tronie* (head) painted by



Fig. 6. Hendrik Ambrosius Pacx, *The Princes of Orange and Their Families Riding Out from the Buitenhof*, ca. 1623–25. Oil on canvas, 57½ x 84¼ in. (145 x 214 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague





Fig. 7. Hendrick de Keyser, Tomb of William the Silent in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, 1614–21. Black and white Italian marble, Dinant stone, and bronze

Vermeer is listed in the estate of a sculptor of The Hague, Johan Larson, in 1664 is considered “an important indication that by the mid-1660s interest in [the artist’s] works had moved beyond Delft.”<sup>8</sup> How so, when boatloads of people and produce made the same trip several times a day? For that matter, Larson could have picked up the painting in Delft (where he, like Beck, often visited his brother) on any day that he had a few hours to spare. Or he might have purchased the picture in The Hague from one of the Delft dealers who, by registering in their own city’s guild, earned the right to sell works of art once a week in the Binnenhof (Inner Court, reached through the entrance at right in fig. 6), which was perhaps the best location for their business in the northern Netherlands.<sup>9</sup>

John Evelyn (1620–1706), another celebrated diarist, befriended Pepys after they met in 1664. Evelyn also stayed near the court in The Hague when he toured the Netherlands in 1641. He frequently passed through Delft, which connected The Hague with the main inland waterways to Dordrecht, Antwerp, and other cities to the south (through Schiedam, Rotterdam, and Delfshaven, “Delft’s Harbor” on the Maas, or Meuse, River; see fig. 5).

The brief entry for August 17, 1641, when Evelyn paused in Delft, begins with “the church in which was the monument of Prince William of Nassau [fig. 7],—the first of the Williams, and saviour (as they call him) of their liberty, which cost him his life by a vile assassination. It is a piece of rare art, consisting of several figures, as big as

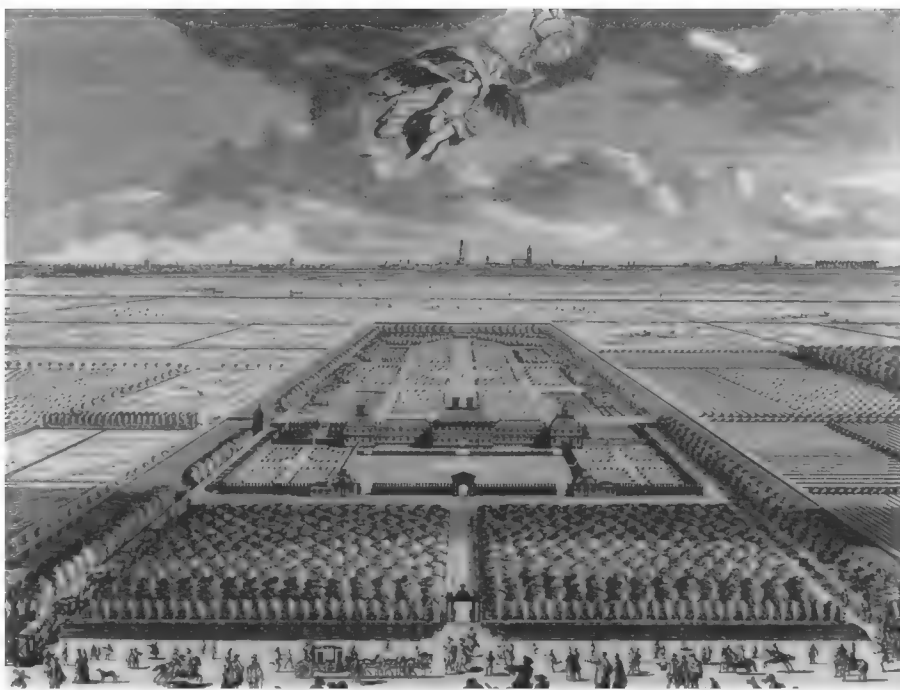


Fig. 8. Petrus Schenk, *Bird's-Eye View of the Huis ter Nieuwburg at Rijswijk, Seen from the North-Northwest*, 1697. Engraving, 6½ x 7¼ in. (16.4 x 19.8 cm). Gemeentearchief, The Hague

the life, in copper” (the writer means bronze, as Pepys did when he wrote “brass”). Evelyn then mentions the “Senate-house,” his usual term for a *stadhuis* (town hall). He recalls in particular, if somewhat inaccurately, its “very stately portico” by Hendrick de Keyser (see fig. 2), who was also the designer and sculptor of William the Silent’s tomb. Evelyn was always interested in new examples of architecture, and in the same passage he notes nearby Rijswijk, “a stately country-house of the Prince of Orange [Frederick Hendrick], for nothing more remarkable than the delicious walks planted with lime trees, and the moderne paintings within” (see fig. 8, where Delft appears in the background, and fig. 303 for a plan of the gardens).

On August 19 Evelyn was back in The Hague, praising “the Hoff, or Prince’s Court” (the Stadholder’s Quarters, the newest wing of the Hof, or Court of Holland; see fig. 6). The next day he “returned to Delft, thence [by canal] to Rotterdam, the Hague, and Leyden, where immediately I mounted a waggon, which that night, late as it was, brought us to Haerlem.” At seven the next morning he was in Amsterdam. Some weeks earlier Evelyn had gone by wagon from Dordrecht to Rotterdam “in lesse than an houre, though it be ten-miles distant; so furiously do these Foremen drive.”<sup>10</sup>

These comings and goings again reveal how closely connected Delft was with other cities in the area (later the province of South Holland), such as Dordrecht, Rotterdam, and Leiden, to say nothing of The Hague, and even with Haarlem and Amsterdam in the northern part of Holland (see fig. 5). The point is important for many of the artistic relationships that are discussed in this catalogue, as well

as for a central issue in this exhibition: whether or not there really was a “Delft School,” meaning a local tradition of painting that can be distinguished from the “schools” of other cities that are in the same region as Delft.

Pepys surpassed his compatriot as an observer of everyday life and fashion: in his accounts of days spent in Holland, scenes painted by Jan Steen and Gerard ter Borch seem cast into picturesque prose.<sup>11</sup> However, Evelyn was the more astute commentator upon art, architecture, gardens, and other cultivated concerns. His well-known description of the paintings—mostly “landscapes and drolleries”—that were available at the annual fair in Rotterdam is also noteworthy for its attempt at market analysis. He explains that “common farmers” invest heavily in the commodity because of “their want of land to employ their stock.”<sup>12</sup>

In October 1641 Evelyn visited Antwerp, the great port of the Spanish Netherlands. He toured all the impressive buildings, citing “rare pictures by Rubens” and other remarkable embellishments of the new Jesuit church (“a glorious fabric without and within”). He visited the town hall, various colleges and monasteries, and then the diamond dealer Duarte’s mansion on the grand avenue called the Meir. “His three daughters entertained us with rare music, vocal and instrumental.”<sup>13</sup>

The mention of Duarte, a name familiar from studies of Vermeer and his milieu, requires a brief digression. Evelyn would have known Gaspar Duarte (1584–1653) as jeweler in ordinary to Charles I and as a well-known amateur of music. Duarte was a friend of Constantijn

Huygens the Elder (1596–1687; see fig. 15), who as secretary and art adviser of the Dutch stadholders Frederick Hendrick and Willem II was the most influential arbiter of taste in The Hague. The connection continued with Duarte's son, Diego (before 1616–1691), who took over the family business and flourished as an amateur musician. Music and painting were two passions the younger Duarte shared with Huygens, with whom he frequently corresponded.

The inventory of Diego Duarte's collection in 1682 lists more than two hundred paintings by artists such as Holbein, Raphael, Titian, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Rubens, and Van Dyck, as well as "a young lady playing the clavecin, with accessories, by Vermeer."<sup>14</sup> This was possibly one of the two Vermeers in the National Gallery, London (cat. nos. 78, 79).<sup>15</sup> It has been suggested plausibly that Duarte obtained his painting by Vermeer through Huygens or through his son Constantijn Huygens the Younger (1628–1697).<sup>16</sup> The latter, an accomplished draftsman and secretary of Willem III, was a lifelong friend of Duarte's.<sup>17</sup> The painting of a young woman playing a clavecin (or virginal) could have been acquired by Duarte in The Hague or Delft, or during one of the younger Huygens's visits to Duarte in Antwerp (for example, in 1676). The picture's subject (reminiscent of Evelyn's visit) makes the idea attractive: both the Duarte and Huygens households were famous for their collections of musical instruments. However, it is also possible that Duarte obtained the painting from another source, such as the Antwerp dealer Matthijs Musson, who did business with Abraham de Cooge, a prominent dealer in paintings, organs, and other luxury items at Delft. It may be significant that all three men, the artist and the two dealers, were Catholic.<sup>18</sup>



Fig. 9. Gerard van Honthorst, *Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia* (detail), 1642. Oil on canvas, 80% x 51% in. (205.1 x 130.8 cm). The National Gallery, London

When Evelyn first arrived in The Hague ("by a straight and commodious river through Delft"), he went immediately "to the Queen of Bohemia's court [her large town house on the Voorhout], where I had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand, and several of the Princesses, her daughters."<sup>19</sup> The queen (fig. 9), Elizabeth Stuart (daughter of James I), had lived in great style at The Hague with her late husband, the Elector Palatine Frederick V (d. 1632), and continued to do so as a widow for thirty years, at the expense of her brother Charles I, the Dutch government, and other supporters.<sup>20</sup> Presumably, she introduced Evelyn to like-minded Dutchmen and advised him about places to see. In any case, four days later, after passing through Leiden and pausing at Utrecht, Evelyn arrived in Rhenen, "where the Queen of Bohemia hath a neat and well-built palace, or country-house, after the Italian manner, as I remember."<sup>21</sup>

Evelyn's tour may seem to take us too far afield from Delft—"about thirty English miles distant (as they reckon by hours)," in the case of Utrecht.<sup>22</sup> But it would not have appeared so to Delft's most successful painters of the time, such as Leonaert Bramer, Christiaan van Couwenbergh, and Michiel van Miereveld (see cat. nos. 9–11, 14, 15); or to Bartholomeus van Bassen (see cat. nos. 6, 7), the painter-architect of Delft and The Hague who designed the Rhenen palace and depicted the neighboring church (fig. 91). For these artists the cities visited by Evelyn defined fairly well the extent of their cultural environment, which they surveyed from a vantage point close to that of the two courts at The Hague. They were keenly aware of the stature of Rubens, Van Dyck, and other Antwerp masters in the eyes of Frederick Hendrick and Constantijn Huygens and of the



Fig. 10. Balthasar Floris van Berckenrode the Younger, *Bird's-Eye View of Honselaarsdijk, Seen from the Northeast* (detail), ca. 1637. Engraving, 16% x 19% in. (41.5 x 50 cm). The House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust, The Hague



Fig. 11. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Venus and Adonis*, 1645. Oil on canvas, 53 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 67 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (135.5 x 171 cm). Galerie d'Arenberg, Brussels

popularity of Utrecht painters, especially Elizabeth Stuart's favorite, Gerard van Honthorst (see fig. 9). For Van Miereveld, the venerable portraitist of Dutch princes (see cat. nos. 43–46) and foreign dignitaries, the descent upon the court city of Van Dyck and especially of Van Honthorst (who moved there in the mid-1630s) must have been rather unwelcome. But for Van Couwenbergh, Delft's answer to Van Honthorst as decorator, the court's taste was the key to a lucrative career.

Van Couwenbergh would have been pleased with the entry in Evelyn's diary dated September 1, 1641: "I diverted to see one of the Prince's Palaces, called the Hoff Van Hounsler's Dyck [Honselaarsdijk, Frederick Hendrick's new country house south of The Hague, fig. 10], a very fair cloistered and quadrangular building. The gallery is prettily painted with several huntings, and at one end a gordian knot, with rustical instruments so artificially represented, as to deceive an accurate eye to distinguish it from actual relievo. The ceiling of the staircase is painted with the 'Rape of Ganymede,' and other pendant figures, the work of F. [sic] Covenburg, of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery."<sup>23</sup>

The Delft master (see fig. 11; cat. nos. 14, 15) was also the author of one of the "huntings," assuming that Evelyn meant the large canvas murals devoted to Diana in the banqueting hall at the top of the double flight of stairs. Five glazed doors facing south filled the long wall opposite the main doorway, which was flanked to one side

(according to an inventory of 1758) by a very large canvas set into the woodwork, "Diana, goddess of the hunt, with her nymphs hunting deer very fine and vividly painted by Kristiaan van Kouwenbergh b. at Delft 1604 obit 1667."<sup>24</sup> The pendant painting on the north wall was a "Diana, on a falcon hunt, no less artfully painted by Jacob van Campen" (or possibly Paulus Bor), and the "chimney piece" on the north wall was *The Crowning of Diana* by Rubens, his workshop, and Frans Snyders (Bildergalerie Potsdam-Sanssouci).<sup>25</sup> The last picture probably dates from the mid-1620s, but the others (with a "Diana Resting," evidently by Van Campen) were nearly new when Evelyn saw them. Van Couwenbergh was paid the substantial sum of 800 guilders for his "Diana" (December 28, 1638) and another 800 guilders for a frieze of hunting motifs in the same room.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps he also painted the trompe-l'oeil "gordian knot, with rustical instruments" admired by Evelyn; later examples of illusionism are found in his contributions to the Oranjezaal (Hall of Orange) in the Huis ten Bosch (see fig. 67).<sup>27</sup> Van Couwenbergh (and other painters in Delft, such as Carel Fabritius and Vermeer?) must have been impressed by the crowning element of the decorations in the banqueting hall at Honselaarsdijk, a continuous frieze of figures standing behind and leaning over a stone balcony, which was painted on canvas and set into the coving at the top of all four walls (fig. 12).<sup>28</sup>

In 1642 Van Couwenbergh was paid for a "Venus and Adonis" (600 guilders) and an "Offer to Venus" (400 guilders), and in 1644



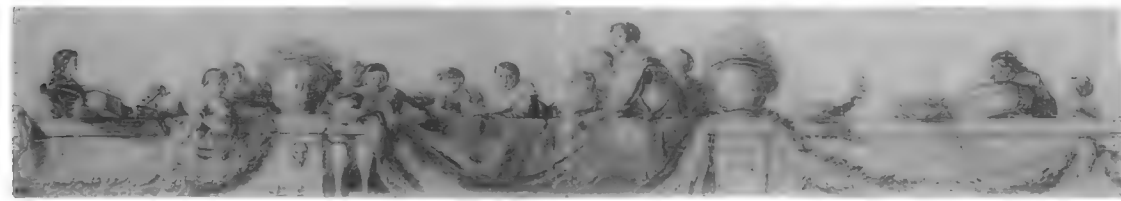
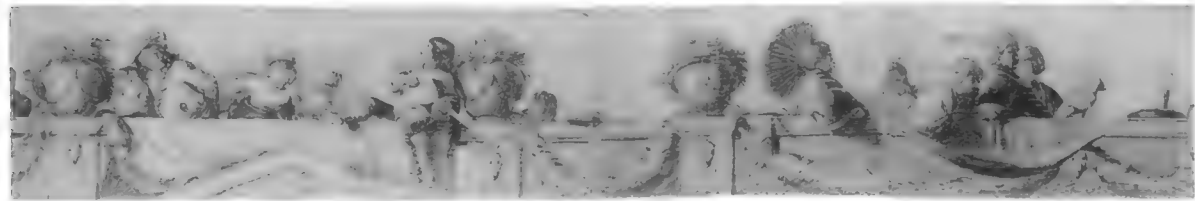
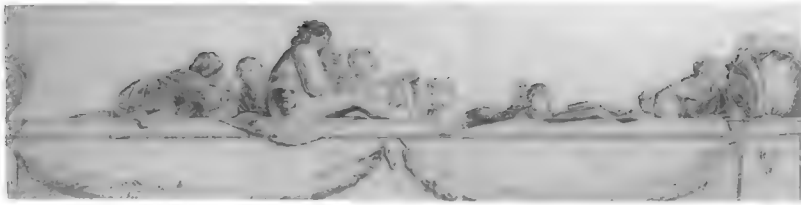


Fig. 12. Attributed to Pieter de Grebber, *The "Surrounding Gallery" in the Great Hall at Honselaarsdijk*, ca. 1637. Ten drawings, 8¼ x 22⅞ in. (20.9 x 58.0 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

for a "Diana with various other figures and game" (600 guilders), which formed part of the decorations—Evelyn's "moderne paintings," noted above—of the Huis ter Nieuburch, Frederick Hendrick's new palace at Rijswijk (fig. 8).<sup>29</sup> Many depictions of Diana and her nymphs by Van Couwenbergh and other court artists are known; no mythological figure was more in vogue at The Hague and the surrounding estates (one of Elizabeth Stuart's several nicknames was "the great Diana" because of her passion for hunting).<sup>30</sup> This sheds some light on Vermeer's earliest known painting, *Diana and Her Companions* (cat. no. 64), which was painted about 1654, when he was twenty-two years old. The canvas has been seen as something rather "un-Dutch" and by an artist who had not yet found himself,<sup>31</sup> but the subject and even the composition are hardly unexpected from an ambitious young painter working in Delft about the middle of the seventeenth century.

Van Couwenbergh is also of interest for the general arrangements of two other early works by Vermeer, *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* of about 1655 and *The Procuress* of 1656 (cat. nos. 65, 66). At the same time, however, Vermeer's religious composition appears to reflect the rhythmic contours and painterly flair of Flemish pictures supplied to the stadholder (by Van Dyck, Jacob Jordaens, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, and others), while the genre scene recalls not only Van Couwenbergh but also his exemplar, Van Honthorst, and other painters from Utrecht, such as Jan van Bronchorst (see figs. 134, 231).<sup>32</sup> Vermeer's early sources are often found in the oeuvres of artists who were favored by the Dutch court, whether they were from Antwerp, Utrecht, or Delft. But this is not obvious. He was a far more complicated artist than Van Couwenbergh and transformed whatever he borrowed in accordance with different interests (in part, those of a younger generation) and his uncommon sensibility.

Evelyn and Pepys were hardly the only figures from foreign courts who went to Delft. A considerable number of diplomats and other representatives of foreign countries must have passed through Van Miereveld's studio. Others came to place orders with the great tapestry manufacturer François Spiering (1549/51–1631; see cat. nos. 137–39), who, by the way, "wove Diana tapestries throughout his life";<sup>33</sup> or to visit the shop of his rival (between 1616 and 1623), Karel van Mander the Younger; or to purchase verdure and other decorative weavings from Maximiliaan van der Gucht (see fig. 65), who took over Spiering's space in the former Convent of Saint Agnes (Agnietenklooster; see fig. 344).<sup>34</sup> Having observed Van Mander's success with the Danish court, Spiering sent his son Pieter (d. 1652) to Stockholm, where he supplied such extraordinary things as the set of four horse caparisons ordered by King Gustaf II Adolf (cat. no. 140) and under Queen Christina (r. 1632–54) became Sweden's envoy to the Netherlands. A few readers will also recognize the name Pieter Spiering "Silvercroon" as that of the agent who paid Gerard Dou 500 guilders a year in the late 1630s, evidently in exchange for the right of first refusal of the Leiden artist's works. He was also related, though

not closely, to Vermeer's principal patron, the Delft collector Pieter Claesz van Ruijven.<sup>35</sup>

The visitor to Delft most frequently cited with regard to matters artistic was the learned French diplomat Balthasar de Monconys (1611–1665). According to his diary he visited Vermeer on August 11, 1663, but the artist had nothing on hand to show him. The connoisseur was evidently referred to Vermeer's creditor, a master baker named Hendrick van Buyten (1632–1701), who at his death left a substantial estate (coming partly from a large inheritance) which included three paintings by Vermeer and works by other Delft artists. The next line in Monconys's journal has often been cited: Van Buyten showed him a work by Vermeer depicting only one figure, for which 600 livres (probably meaning guilders) "had been paid." (Six hundred guilders, which Van Couwenbergh received for large paintings in the 1640s, was approximately equal to the annual salary of a skilled craftsman and to the price of a very small house.) Monconys thought the amount more than ten times too much, but two days later he heard the same price from Gerard Dou (also for a painting with one figure) and twice that for a "Doctor's Visit" by Frans van Mieris.<sup>36</sup>

Monconys's trip to Delft has been cited recently in a debate about Vermeer's patron Pieter van Ruijven. One writer, unhappy with Michael Montias's compelling hypothesis that Van Ruijven purchased about half of Vermeer's oeuvre as it was produced, wonders why Monconys would have visited a baker instead of the collector.<sup>37</sup> Another author simply imagines that the Frenchman was sent directly to Vermeer by Constantijn Huygens the Elder, after hearing ("how amazed Huygens must have been") that Monconys had just been to Delft (on August 3, 1663) and had seen the tomb of William the Silent but not the artist's studio.<sup>38</sup>

This assumes that the main purpose of Monconys's second trip to Delft was to visit Vermeer (who was out the week before?) and perhaps to buy a painting. But the diplomat's choice of traveling companions on August 11 indicates a different agenda. (The fact that he went there with anyone is not usually mentioned in the literature on Vermeer.) As Montias observes, Monconys, who had been brought up by the Jesuits in Lyons, had already visited a "hidden church" in Rotterdam and appears to have had a special interest in the survival of Catholic worship (and specifically Jesuit missions?) in Protestant territory. According to his diary, Monconys was escorted to Delft by two gentlemen, one a certain "Gentillo" and the other "Père Léon" (Leo Maes of Brussels), a Carmelite priest, almoner of the French embassy, and a celebrated preacher in The Hague. Father Léon was probably going to Delft in any case to visit the "Papists' Corner" (Catholic neighborhood) and to welcome the Jesuit priest Balthasar van der Beke, who had been officially installed just the day before. Having dined with Father Léon on a couple of occasions in The Hague (both men, it might be emphasized, were representatives of the French government), Monconys was likely invited to come along.



Fig. 13. Luigi Gentile, *Venus Mourning the Dead Adonis*, ca. 1655–57. Oil on canvas, 68% x 130% in. (173 x 332 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

On the way to Delft, “Gentillo” told his companions a story suited to the occasion. In Breda, the home base of the House of Orange-Nassau in the Netherlands, a statue of the Virgin was on display in a Protestant church. This was something even more remarkable than the Dutch phenomenon of “hidden churches,” which were (like the museum in Amsterdam called Our Lord in the Attic) fully decorated Catholic churches located—as all the neighbors knew—behind the facades of ordinary houses. As was well known, the reason for the idolatrous exception in Breda was that the brother of the beloved Dutch princes Maurits and Frederick Hendrick, Philips Willem van Nassau (1554–1618; see fig. 135), had been raised a Catholic and asked for the favor in his will.<sup>39</sup>

“Gentillo” has now been identified and he was, like Vermeer, a Catholic artist with a reputation in The Hague. He is surely Louis Cousin (1606–1667),<sup>40</sup> better known as Luigi Gentile, a Fleming who after three successful decades in Rome joined the painters’ guild in Brussels (Father Léon’s hometown) in 1656. There, in the court city of the Spanish Netherlands, Gentile received commissions from King Philip IV, the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand III, and two governors-general, Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and the marquess of Caracena. (His *Venus Mourning the Dead Adonis* of about 1655–57, fig. 13, was owned by the archduke.)<sup>41</sup> Gentile also collaborated with Leopold Wilhelm’s curator, David Teniers the Younger, on a series of small paintings glorifying the House of Moncada. Portraits by Gentile of Count Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604–1679), the famous cousin of Frederick Hendrick who commissioned the

Mauritshuis in The Hague, and the count’s wife (who died in 1664) are recorded in Leopold Wilhelm’s collection.

Vermeer himself was closely connected with the Jesuits in Delft, who owned a substantial part of the Papists’ Corner, where he lived. Montias and another scholar, A. J. M. van Peer, have shown that Vermeer probably lived within a door or two of a Jesuit church on the Oude Langendijk (see fig. 346). In a drawing attributed to Abraham Rademaker (1675–1735) labeled “Jesuite Kerk” (fig. 14), the buildings from left to right were in Vermeer’s day (according to Montias’s tentative identifications) a Jesuit school, a small private house, the Jesuit church (with two doors, under one roof), and on the extreme right the house where Vermeer lived, although it may be the next one, completely out of view.<sup>42</sup>

All this suggests that Monconys, although interested in modern Dutch painters (he visited at least three in Leiden), might never have met Vermeer if it had not been for the Jesuit connection. Perhaps Gentile, who at the time appears to have been working as a portraitist in court circles at The Hague (did Johan Maurits tell him the Breda story?), suggested visiting Vermeer at the same time that Monconys was being taken to see the Jesuits in Delft. (Gentile, incidentally, was a long-standing associate of Michiel Sweerts, whose portraitlike *tronies* have often been compared with those of Vermeer.)<sup>43</sup> As a Remonstrant, Vermeer’s patron Van Ruijven would have been very much the odd man out during Monconys’s second visit to Delft. And it seems that the trip was not really his to arrange in the first place.





Fig. 14. Attributed to Abraham Rademaker, *The Jesuit Church on the Oude Langendijk*, first quarter of the 18th century. Brush and gray ink,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  x 8 in. (13.2 x 20.2 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft

At the center of artistic circles in The Hague was Constantijn Huygens (fig. 15), as noted above in connection with the Duartes. His extraordinary house stood right in front of the Mauritshuis (fig. 16), the construction of which he supervised while Johan Maurits was in Brazil.<sup>44</sup> It may have been Huygens who recommended Gentile as portraitist to Johan Maurits. A “Ch. Huygens” was registered as Gentile’s pupil in 1662–63, but he does not appear to have been a close relation.<sup>45</sup>

Huygens is something of a legend among historians of Dutch art, in part because he was too versatile to be easily understood. He is also an important figure in the history of music and especially of Dutch and Neo-Latin literature. His early career as a diplomat in Venice and London helped him acquire a cosmopolitan outlook and a command of six languages. Like many learned men of the period, he aspired to knowledge that was nearly universal, combining the study of classical civilization with metaphysics, and several kinds of science with the humanities. It seems characteristic of Huygens that he corresponded with Descartes not only about optics but also about garden design.<sup>46</sup>

Unlike many dilettantes, Huygens was someone who got things done, as is evident from his voluminous correspondence and his leading role in forming Frederick Hendrick’s collections and constructing his various residences.<sup>47</sup> The latter activities—now little known because the picture collection was dispersed after the death of the stadholder’s widow, Amalia van Solms (1602–1675), and the country houses (figs. 8, 10) were destroyed in the nineteenth century—involved Huygens with artists such as Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens, Van Honthorst, Van Miereveld, and many others. The connoisseur’s own collection included works by Van Miereveld, Thomas de Keyser, Jan Lievens, Pieter Saenredam, Van Honthorst,

and The Hague’s answer to Van Dyck: Adriaen Hanneman. Among the Delft painters with whom Huygens would have been personally acquainted were Van Miereveld, Van Couwenbergh, Van Bassen, Gerard Houckgeest, Balthasar van der Ast, Paulus Potter, and others, including Vermeer.

That no document or diary entry connects Huygens directly with Vermeer has been a source of frustration for scholars.<sup>48</sup> But having (and knowing) documents is a matter of chance; the large role of Van Ruijven, Vermeer’s patron, was discovered only about a dozen years ago.<sup>49</sup> The world in which Vermeer and Huygens lived, which was in some ways larger than ever before and in other ways very small, makes it almost unthinkable that they were not in contact occasionally, at least from about the time of Monconys’s visit in the summer of 1663.

Huygens was interested in artists as individuals; his famous visit to Rembrandt and Lievens in Leiden about 1630 is an early instance of a practice he probably pursued throughout his life.<sup>50</sup> Visiting the studios of well-known artists was regarded as something cultivated gentlemen should do, and in the realm of the courts there were famous precedents (those of Alexander the Great, Charles V, Rudolf II, Philip IV, and so on).<sup>51</sup> But Huygens’s involvement went much further: he was drawn to artists and enjoyed the friendship of a number of them, such as Adriaen van de Venne, Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, Adriaen Hanneman, the printmaker Hendrick Hondius, the painter-architects Jacob van Campen and Pieter Post, the lawyer and draftsman Jan de Bisschop, and several others.<sup>52</sup>

A similar relationship between Huygens and Vermeer is unrecorded and perhaps unlikely, given Van Ruijven’s patronage. But this would not have kept Huygens out of the artist’s studio,<sup>53</sup> and if there is any substance to the claim that Vermeer made use of a camera obscura this would have added considerably to his interest for Huygens and his sons, for whom optics was a major interest.<sup>54</sup> In a broader view, Vermeer’s refined style and sophisticated subjects may be described as comparable with those of contemporary painters who were favored on the connoisseurs’ tour, such as Dou and Van Mieris in Leiden and Caspar Netscher at The Hague.<sup>55</sup>

Another diarist, Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643–1713), scion of a distinguished family in The Hague and Delft, is a local example of such a connoisseur. On April 6, 1669, he visited the Dordrecht studio of Cornelis Bisschop (1630–1674), who is best known for his genre interiors. The twenty-six-year-old amateur considered Bisschop “a painter excellent for [his] perspective.” On December 20 of the same year Teding van Berkhout went to Netscher’s in The Hague with his wife and sister, and ten days later they visited “the famous Dauw [Gerard Dou, in Leiden], who showed me three or four beautiful pieces of his art and by his hand.”

On May 14, 1669, Teding van Berkhout went from his house in The Hague to Vermeer’s studio, where he fared better than Monconys. After rising early he “took a ride to Delft on a yacht, where there was

also Monsr. de Zuylichem [Constantijn Huygens the Elder, Lord Zuilichem], [Ewout] van der Horst and [Ambassador Willem] Nieuwport. Upon my arrival I saw an excellent painter named Vermeer, who showed me a few curiosities made with his own hand." Five weeks later, on June 21, 1669, Teding van Berkhout attended to correspondence in the morning, and then "went out and visited a famous painter named Vermeer who showed me some examples of his art, the most extraordinary and the most curious aspect of which consists in the perspective. After that I saw my Aunt Lodensteyn, with whom I returned to The Hague. . . ."<sup>56</sup>

The diarist was the eldest son of Paulus Teding van Berkhout (1609–1672), counselor and auditor to the Court of Domains of Holland and West Friesland. According to family tradition, the latter commissioned the painting of 1661 by Hendrick van Vliet (cat. no. 83) that depicts the interior of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with, prominently in the foreground, the memorial tablet of his father, Adriaen Teding van Berkhout (1571–1620), a member of the Court of Holland and the Council of State. His wife (Pieter's grandmother), Margaretha van Beresteyn (1581–1635), was from one of the great families of Delft; her father was Paulus van Beresteyn, a wealthy brewer and burgomaster.<sup>57</sup>



Fig. 15. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens and His Clerk*, 1627. Oil on wood, 36¼ x 27¼ in. (92.4 x 69.3 cm). The National Gallery, London

The Delft widow Cornelia Teding van Berkhout (1614–1680), Pieter's aunt, may also have commissioned a painting by Hendrick van Vliet.<sup>58</sup> The large canvas now in the Toledo Museum of Art (cat. no. 82) depicts the interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, with the tomb of Cornelia's famous husband, Admiral Tromp. She signed a contract for the tomb in 1655, and it was completed in the same year as the painting, 1658. It seems likely that a number of Delft church interiors were painted for local patrons who had a personal interest in a tomb, epitaph, or grave board featured prominently in the composition. Another example is the monument (dated 1644) of Johan van Lodensteyn (1557–1626) and his wife, Maria van Bleysswijck (who were presumably related to Teding van Berkhout's "Aunt Lodensteyn"), which appears in the foregrounds of views in the Oude Kerk by Van Vliet dating from 1654 onward (see fig. 122), and in a few earlier works by Emanuel de Witte.<sup>59</sup>

To reverse, for once, our theme of visitors from The Hague to Delft, it is known that in May 1672 Vermeer went to the court city on professional business. During that period he was serving for the second time as a headman of the Delft painters' guild. The Amsterdam dealer Gerrit Uylenburgh had offered a dozen supposedly sixteenth-century Italian pictures (including five Titians, a Giorgione, a Raphael, and a Michelangelo) from the famous collection of Gerard and Jan Reynst to Friedrich Wilhelm, Grand Elector of Brandenburg. The latter's agent, Hendrick Fromantiou, a successful still-life painter in The Hague, doubted that the works were authentic. Huygens firmly stood behind Uylenburgh, writing to an officer in the Elector's army that none of the paintings was a copy and that they had all been considered originals when they were in the Reynst collection. On the same day, May 23, 1672, Vermeer and Johannes Jordaens, "outstanding art-painters in Delft," testified to a notary in The Hague that the pictures offered to the Elector were "not only not outstanding Italian paintings, but to the contrary, great pieces of rubbish and bad paintings, not worth nearly the tenth part of the proposed prices."<sup>60</sup>

### *Did a "Delft School" Ever Exist?*

The diary entries surveyed above and our annotations to them offer a fragmentary and very selective view of the culture in which Delft painters worked. As will be seen, there were also artists in Delft—including the young Pieter de Hooch—who produced inexpensive pictures, of types common in the southern part of Holland (see cat. no. 23). Many Delft landscapes, still lifes, and genre scenes might just as well have been painted in Leiden or Dordrecht, or sold at the Rotterdam fair.<sup>61</sup> But at the same time there was a tradition in Delft of exceptional craftsmanship, of refined and often conservative styles, and of sophisticated subject matter and expression—all of which reveal a tendency toward understatement, a certain reserve. Comparable qualities are less easy to find in other cities in the region or



Fig. 16. Jan van Call, *View of the Plein in The Hague, with Constantijn Huygens's House on the Left and the Mauritshuis in the Distance*, ca. 1690. Pen and ink and watercolor, 7 x 10 7/8 in. (17.8 x 27.5 cm). Gemeente-archief, The Hague

occur somewhat differently, and this would appear to reflect the character of Delft society and, in the early seventeenth century, the city's close association with the Dutch court.

One might expect, then, that Delft artists can hardly be distinguished from those who worked in The Hague itself. It is true, indeed, that attributions go back and forth between Van Miereveld and Jan van Ravesteyn, who joined the painters' guild in The Hague in 1598 and worked there as a staid portraitist throughout his career. Some artists moved from one city to the other, or back and forth; Van Bassen, Houckgeest, Potter, Jan Steen, and the still-life painter Abraham van Beyeren may be counted among them. But on the whole it appears that the two artistic centers were so close together that they tended to divide their artistic strengths—that is, they shared the market.<sup>62</sup> For example, marine painting flourished in The Hague (with works by Jan van Goyen, Willem van Diest, and Jeronimus van Diest), but there was little in Delft to speak of, apart from the work of Simon de Vlieger during his brief residence there (about 1634–37). Naturalistic landscapes were also plentiful in The Hague, despite the court's preference for Italianate artists such as Cornelis van Poelenburgh. Esaias van de Velde, Van Goyen, Potter, and the young Jan Steen are the most familiar representatives. In Delft, by contrast, the best landscapists—apart from short-term visitors such as Potter and Adam Pynacker—were comparatively minor figures working in an older Flemish manner, like Jacob van Geel (see cat. no. 22). Other comparisons between the painters of Delft and The Hague will be made below, and should always be made when the nature of their schools is under consideration.

Finally, there were artists active in Delft or The Hague, such as Van Couwenbergh (he moved to The Hague in about 1647–48), whose styles and subjects do not represent a local tradition so much as the cosmopolitan taste of the Dutch court and its sphere of influence (see fig. 11). Strong artistic ties between Utrecht and Delft, which date from the sixteenth century, appear to have been reinforced by the court's patronage of artists from both cities. Similarly, the many examples of Flemish influence in the Delft school may reflect the success of Antwerp painters at the court of Frederick Hendrick, as well as the fact that a fair number of Flemish artists and artisans settled in Delft, in some cases because the court was nearby (or in Delft itself, as it was in the early 1580s when François Spiering arrived).

These considerations might lead one to modify the popular image of Delft, which seems to be that of a "most sweet town" with maids pouring milk, sweeping courtyards, and conversing with cavaliers. For this view of the city, Pieter de Hooch is the perfect painter (see cat. nos. 25–34). But is his work truly characteristic of Delft, as has always been assumed? He lived there for only five or six years (about 1655–60), and he comes very close in some Delft-period pictures (for example, cat. no. 24) to his Rotterdam colleague Ludolf de Jongh (see fig. 250). Several Delft artists look like honorary Rotterdammers, and probably went there regularly. De Hooch was born in Rotterdam (1629) and was living there in 1654 when he married a woman from Delft. Egbert van der Poel moved to Rotterdam in the middle of his career (shortly after the devastating explosion of a powder magazine in Delft on October 12, 1654; see cat. no. 51). Other Delft painters, such as Harmen and Pieter Steenwyck (see cat. no. 59), owe an obvious debt to the Leiden school.

And what of Vermeer? Would “Vermeer of Delft” have become quite the same painter had he lived in Rotterdam? He would probably not have met Carel Fabritius, the supposed “link between him and Rembrandt.”<sup>63</sup> The romantic notion of isolated artists who become famous only posthumously was applied to both painters (*réalistes et impressionistes avant la lettre*) in the nineteenth century, and there is considerable evidence to suggest that we are not over it yet.<sup>64</sup> The two artists even died like romantic heroes—Fabritius at the age of thirty-two in the Delft explosion, Vermeer at the age of forty-three, in debt and (according to his wife) “fallen into a frenzy.”<sup>65</sup>

However, other biographical details give a different impression. For example, four months after Fabritius’s death, his widow, Agatha van Pruysen, testified that he had been “in his lifetime painter to his Highness the Prince of Orange.”<sup>66</sup> The claim is plausible, given the popularity of illusionism and “optics” at the Dutch and other courts (for example, in Vienna, where Fabritius’s co-pupil under Rembrandt, Samuel van Hoogstraten, had worked for Emperor Ferdinand III). The notary who recorded the widow’s claim and the two witnesses to her deposition would have known if it was untrue.

Gerard Houckgeest, Fabritius’s fellow perspectivist in the early 1650s, is generally thought to have initiated the local tradition of depicting actual churches because of a commission from the court or from an ardent supporter of the House of Orange. The subject, scale, quality, and fidelity of his great panel in Hamburg (cat. no. 37) support the hypothesis.<sup>67</sup> It seems likely that Houckgeest, a wealthy gentleman, had already worked for the court some years earlier, as he had for the national government (the States General) in The Hague. This was not unusual in Delft: Van Miereveld, Van Bassen, Van Couwenbergh, numerous tapestry workers and silversmiths, and even Potter—whose *Farmyard* of 1649 was intended for the apartment of the prince’s widow, Amalia van Solms—could make the same claim.<sup>68</sup>

As for Vermeer, it appears that at about the age of twenty-five (in 1657) he came to an understanding with Pieter van Ruijven, a wealthy gentleman and later “Lord of Spaland” (from 1669).<sup>69</sup> Montias suggests that Pieter Spiering Silvercroon, the patron of Gerard Dou, may have given Van Ruijven the idea of supporting an exceptional artist, and that Silvercroon may also have given Vermeer “access to Leyden artists of his generation such as Frans van Mieris” (who certainly influenced Vermeer in the late 1650s; see fig. 167).<sup>70</sup> In any event, Van Ruijven, a serious collector, would have been aware that the Silvercroon program had princely overtones; well before he acquired a courtly title, Van Ruijven had something like a court painter. The arrangement recalls the one enjoyed by Leonaert Bramer in Italy: his sponsor, Prince Mario Farnese, is cited in the inscription beneath the artist’s portrait in Jean Meyssens’s *Image de divers hommes desprit sublime* (Antwerp, 1649), where “His Highness the Prince of Orange, Frederick Hendrick” and “His Excellence Count

Maurits of Nassau and other princes” are also noted as patrons.<sup>71</sup> A more recent example of a Delft artist in service to a prince was that of Willem van Aelst (see cat. nos. 1, 2), who in the early 1650s worked in Florence for the grand duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II de’ Medici. He returned to Delft briefly and moved to Amsterdam in 1656.

It may be relevant to the question of Vermeer’s clientele that the type of painting for which he is best known—scenes of fashionable young women (as in fig. 18), alone with their thoughts, their love letters, their pearls, or their potential lovers—was becoming popular with courtly patrons during the 1650s. Artists such as Van Bassen had earlier depicted polite companies in impossibly grand designer living rooms (cat. no. 7), and works of that kind probably influenced Vermeer and De Hooch (in his fancier pictures) in a general way.<sup>72</sup> But the modern type of “genre interior” was more intimate, more nuanced in meaning (especially in the beautiful paintings of Gerard ter Borch; see fig. 17), and far more refined in execution than the older pictures of Merry Companies. These qualities evidently counted with Dou’s patrons, such as Queen Christina of Sweden (via Silvercroon) and Archduke Leopold Wilhelm; in 1660 Charles II seems to have regarded Dou as highly as Titian.<sup>73</sup> In the 1660s, when Monconys and Teding van Berkhout toured the studios of artists who specialized in scenes of modern society, Cosimo III de’ Medici visited Van Mieris in Leiden, Netscher in The Hague, and “the house of a painter,” two patrician collections, and (curiously enough) two Catholic institutions in Delft.<sup>74</sup>

These examples coincide with a late moment in the relationship between Van Ruijven and Vermeer, but the taste for high-society subjects had been established about a decade earlier, especially by Netscher’s master Ter Borch, who sold paintings at The Hague during the 1650s. It was probably in connection with a visit to the court city in 1653 that Ter Borch stopped in Delft and submitted a deposition together with the twenty-year-old Vermeer.<sup>75</sup> Four or five years would pass before the Delft painter would emulate Ter Borch and Van Mieris by treating their kind of themes, and by achieving exceptional refinements of form and expression (as in cat. nos. 70, 73). If Ter Borch made any impression upon the young Vermeer in 1653, it would likely have been to kindle his ambition, to make him imagine earning the esteem of courtiers and connoisseurs through great works of art.

At the time, Vermeer had just been married; he joined the painters’ guild in Delft eight months later, on December 29, 1653. Everything we know of his work was still in the future, including his early mythological and biblical pictures (cat. nos. 64, 65) and his big, ribald genre painting in the manner of Van Honthorst and Van Couwenbergh (cat. no. 66). The earliest painting by Vermeer owned by Van Ruijven is probably the artist’s next known work, *A Maid Asleep* of about 1656–57 (cat. no. 67). Thus a provocative question is raised—whether Vermeer’s subsequent pictures, such as the *Cavalier and Young*



Fig. 17. Gerard ter Borch, *A Young Woman at Her Toilet with a Maid*, ca. 1650–51. Oil on wood, 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (47.6 x 34.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917

*Woman* in the Frick Collection, New York (fig. 165), and *The Letter Reader* in Dresden (fig. 163), both of about 1657, not only reflect Vermeer's extraordinary imagination and his admiration for artists such as Ter Borch and Van Mieris but also Van Ruijven's taste.

Raising questions, some of them more essential than this one, is the purpose of this exhibition. Whether there was a "Delft School" is much debated; several scholars who have considered it dismiss the idea out of hand. My own response is neither yes nor no, but a qualified yes, and that the question is academic. (In this publication, "school" with a small "s" refers simply to the sum of all artists who worked in a city or town.) What matters is making the public aware that there was much more to the Delft school than what already has, quite rightly, won their admiration.

Of all the recent approaches to Vermeer's oeuvre, which range from the archival to the poetic, the most rewarding have generally been those that place the painter in his own time. This has also proved true for Fabritius, De Hooch, and other Delft artists. Therefore, a critical survey of the Delft school is offered below, in chapters 3–5. In chapter 6 Michiel Plomp reviews the history of drawing and printmaking in Delft and of visiting artists who recorded views of the city (see also Plomp's essay "Along the City Walls," below). In chapter 7 Marten Jan Bok focuses on collectors and art dealers in Delft as well as on the structure of seventeenth-century Delft society. But first, some basic history is in order. After all, when Pepys visited Delft in 1660 the city was already more than four centuries old.

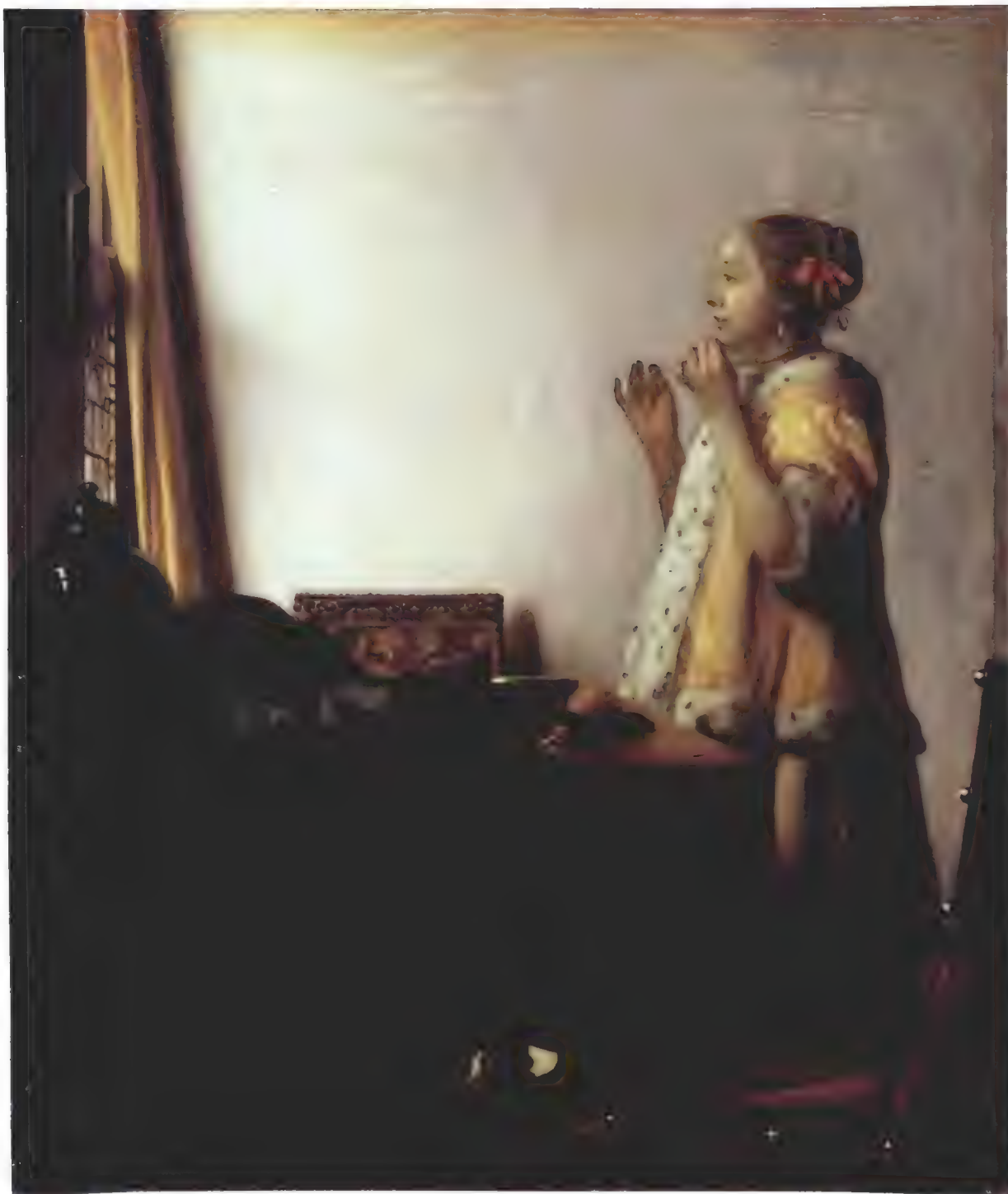


Fig. 18. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*, ca. 1663–64. Oil on canvas, 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (51.2 x 45.1 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin





## 2. Delft and the Arts before 1600

WALTER LIEDTKE

### *The Rise of Delft and the Dutch Republic*

**D**ELFT OFFICIALLY CAME INTO EXISTENCE on April 15, 1246, when Willem II, count of Holland, granted the town a charter. Eight days later he wrote to “his dear and trusted Magistrates and Citizens of Delft.” This was not a tongue-in-cheek salutation, for the document concerns the construction of city fortifications, which required the transfer of land belonging to the “Court of Delft.” Some forty years earlier Count Willem I alluded to the system of taxation in Delft when he granted similar rights in a neighboring domain to the abbey of Egmond. The document suggests that Delft already had a well-organized administration, which may reflect the granting of city rights at some earlier time.<sup>1</sup>

In the same years The Hague consisted of the count of Holland’s residence and a small village. The domain had been bought in 1229 by Floris IV, who in the 1230s built a hunting lodge just slightly to the south of the site where the Mauritshuis was constructed four hundred years later. The count’s successor, Willem II, expanded the living quarters and may have begun the Ridderzaal (Knights’ Hall), which was completed during the reign (1256–96) of his son, Floris V. This was the beginning of the Binnenhof complex of the Court of Holland, to which Prince Maurits, in 1620–21, added the Stadholder’s Quarters on the south side (fig. 6).<sup>2</sup>

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Delft had three important neighbors, each allied with a larger realm. These were the count of Holland, whose ancestors had settled about 950 in the area of Egmond in northern Holland as vassals of the German emperor; the count of Flanders, a vassal of the king of France; and, to the east, the politically weaker prince-bishop of Utrecht, whose ecclesiastical purview extended to Delft. Strife between these parties was com-



Detail, *Exterior of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft* (fig. 33)

monplace, with the count of Holland usually assuming the most ambitious role. The term “turf wars” seems appropriate for these conflicts until about 1200, but in later years Holland began to play a part on the European stage. For example, Delft’s nominal founder, Willem II, was crowned king of Rome in 1248, thereby raising the papal standard against the Holy Roman Emperor of Germany. He also defeated a Flemish army on the island of Walcheren in Zeeland (1253), after which the maritime province (see fig. 5) passed into Dutch control for several generations.<sup>3</sup>

Of course, for Vermeer and his contemporaries, these events were more distant in time than those of his day are for us. But not psychologically and, one might say, not culturally. Often in these pages refer-

ence will be made to connections between Delft and Flanders, Delft and Utrecht, or Delft and the Dutch court. In the seventeenth century these relationships were rich in associations that went deep into the past. This is difficult to comprehend, let alone describe, particularly in the context of art history. We may speak of Flemish fashions or the influence of painters from Utrecht, but this does not do justice to what a Delft artist would have sensed as part of his own heritage.

The story of Delft’s rise as the third oldest city in Holland (after Dordrecht and Haarlem) cannot be told without a geography lesson (see fig. 20).<sup>4</sup> Unlike most other Dutch cities, Delft was not founded at a landing place (*dam*) along a main waterway, but in the middle of an area reclaimed from the sea. This polder landscape was etched with an irregular pattern of tributaries leading more or less southward to the Maas (Meuse) River. The most frequently flooded areas of this rich farmland gradually hardened with deposits of sand and clay, which at the site of Delft provided a solid foundation for building in stone. Though originally a low point, the urban area became slightly higher than the surrounding farmlands as they were gradually drained by canals, thus condensing the soil.

Opposite: Fig. 19. Johannes Vermeer, *A View of Delft* (detail), ca. 1660–61. Oil on canvas, 38 x 46 1/4 in. (96.5 x 117.5 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague





Fig. 20. Cornelis Koster after Jacob and Nicolaes Crucquius, *Map of Delfland*, 1750. Etching, colored and heightened with gold, 21¼ x 25½ in. (54.3 x 65.7 cm). West-northwest is at top. Delft, at center right. The Hague, at upper right. The Huis ter Nieuburch is at upper right of Delft, above the second T in "RYSWYK." Honselaarsdijk is at upper left, above the T in "NAELDWYK." Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The earliest canal in the area (mentioned in 1105) was called the Delf, or "Dig," and later the Oude Delft. The city of Delft may take its name from this waterway, as the city crest suggests (fig. 21). Or it may come from "Court of Delft," the name of the body that administered the farmlands near the canal. The system of canals, dikes, and dams in South Holland had the effect of carving up the landscape into discrete domains, and it also required complex networks of local management. The responsible organization was the *heemraadschap* (*heem* means farmyard, and *raad* means advice or counsel; the contemporary English equivalent was the office of the dikereeve). The regional or "high" offices, called *hoogheemraadschappen*, were committees consisting of representatives of city governments,

Fig. 21. Coenraet Decker, *Crest of the City of Delft* (detail). Engraving, 7¼ x 5½ (18.1 x 14 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection





Fig. 22. Coenraet Decker, *Gemeenlandshuis (Communal Land House) on the Oude Delft in Delft*. Engraving,  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$  in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection

villages, and the nobility. In 1645 the Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland moved into an impressive early-sixteenth-century town house, which was originally the home of Jan de Huyter, the collector of taxes on hops. The building, now restored, is illustrated in Dirck van Bleyswijck's *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* of 1667–80 (fig. 22; “Gemeenlandshuis” means Communal Land House), and it appears on the left in Egbert van der Poel's painting of a nocturnal celebration on the Oude Delft (cat. no. 50).

While the land around Delft was good for grazing and for cultivating grains, the abundance of running water in the city allowed two major industries of the period to flourish: textile manufacturing and beer brewing. Delft also became an important commercial center, especially after the construction of the Schie Canal (in 1389), running south-southeast to Schiedam, on the Maas just west of Rotterdam (see fig. 5). The slightly later Delftse Vliet (visible in the



Fig. 23. Johannes Vermeer, *A View of Delft*, ca. 1660–61. Oil on canvas,  $38 \times 46\frac{1}{4}$  in. (96.5 x 117.5 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague

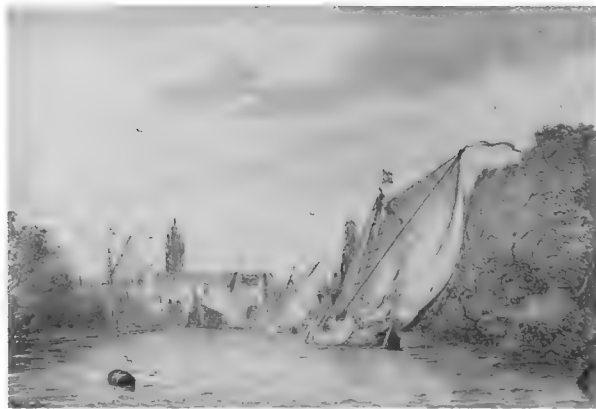


Fig. 24. Ludolf Bakhuizen, *View of Delft from the Schie*, ca. 1670–75. Brush and gray ink, 4  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (11.8 x 16.8 cm). Historisch Museum, Amsterdam



Fig. 25. Coenraet Decker, *The Stadhuis (Town Hall) of Delfshaven*. Engraving, 7  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 10  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection

foreground of cat. no. 90) connected Delft with The Hague and with Leiden's system of waterways to the north. Thus Delft served as a hub for trade between a large part of the county of Holland and other newly urbanized regions, such as the Burgundian Netherlands, the Rhineland, and England. A similar role had been played by Dordrecht in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but a great flood in 1421 severed its crucial land routes to the south. The prosperity of Rotterdam in the 1400s actually depended upon that of Delft, to which the smaller and younger city on the Rotte River was newly linked by canals.

These details help one appreciate Vermeer's choice of subject in his celebrated canvas *A View of Delft* (figs. 19, 23). The two most prominent buildings are the Schiedam Gate, with a clock in the gable facing south (toward the viewer), and the long Rotterdam Gate to the right. This is certainly one of the most picturesque views of Delft from the surrounding landscape, and Vermeer emphasizes that quality by creating the impression of a quiet Sunday afternoon. Normally the triangular harbor, or Kolk (on the right in fig. 344),<sup>5</sup> was a scene of considerable activity, as is suggested by Jan de Bisschop's sketch of the site from another vantage point (cat. no. 99; the same quay is seen in the left background of Vermeer's painting) and by Ludolf Bakhuizen's breezy view of the distant Rotterdam Gate and church towers from down the Schie (fig. 24; this is Evelyn's "straight and commodious river," which extends out of Vermeer's composition to the lower right).<sup>6</sup> For modern viewers and for inexperienced contemporaries such as Pepys, *A View of Delft* could be said to depict the comparatively modest entrance to a small and charming city, "with bridges and a river in every street."<sup>7</sup> But for citizens of Delft this site was the main point of departure to other cities, and to other countries via the Schie and Maas (fig. 5): to Flanders and Brabant, to France and England, and eventually to every corner of the known world.

With regard to the seventeenth century this is hardly an exaggeration, considering that Delft was home to naval heroes such as Piet Hein (1578–1629) and Maerten Harpertz Tromp (1598–1653) and to an important chamber of the East India Company (VOC). Hein's tomb in the main choir of the Oude Kerk is the essential subject of a number of Delft paintings dating from the early 1650s (see fig. 117). The large flags hanging above the monument were trophies from the Spanish ships that the admiral had captured in the Caribbean and along the coast of South America (see fig. 222). Hein sailed for the West India Company (WIC), but the VOC was equally adventurous in the Orient. Between 1602 and 1680 the Delft chamber alone sent out eighty-two ships, in sizes ranging from about one hundred to six hundred tons. Managers of the company maintained a yacht at the quay just west of the Schiedam Gate (that is, to the right in De Bisschop's drawing, cat. no. 99); the boat ran back and forth to Delfshaven (fig. 25), where ships returning from the East were unloaded into the small *damlopers* (damrunners) that carried the goods to warehouses in Delft.<sup>8</sup>

With its expanding economy and comparative isolation north of the Rhine and Maas, Holland might have maintained political independence from the fourteenth century to the present day. The Black Death (1348) that shrank most of Europe's populations and towns had little effect in Holland, where the total population and urbanization continued to increase. In the 1470s, for example, 45 percent of the 275,000 people in the province of Holland lived in cities and towns, whereas only a third of the million or so souls of Flanders and Brabant resided in urban settings. The southern Netherlands remained richer and more influential, with 30,000 to 40,000 people in each of the four major cities (Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, and Bruges), about three times the populations of Delft, Leiden, Haarlem, and Amsterdam. However, the smaller sizes of the Dutch



cities, and probably their dependence upon inland waterways, encouraged them to act in concert, as they would later as provinces.<sup>9</sup>

#### HOLLAND UNDER BURGUNDIAN AND HABSBURG RULE

The death of two individuals had a greater effect upon Holland's future than the Black Death. When the last independent count of Flanders, Louis de Mâle, died in 1384, his lands were inherited by his daughter Margaret and her husband, Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy. In the next decades the Burgundian territories increased enormously, absorbing Brabant, Limburg, and parts of northeast France. The death of the last independent count of Holland, John of Bavaria, in 1425, placed the province in the possession of the new duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (r. 1419–67), who took over Zeeland a few years later. Resistance to Burgundian rule in Holland was led by Jacoba (Jacqueline) of Bavaria, the niece of John and daughter of Count Willem VI of Holland. With the Treaty (or “Kiss”) of Delft in 1428, Philip the Good recognized her as countess, while he became her heir. During the next few years her rights were systematically eroded by the duke, and with her death in 1436 Holland's fate lay entirely in Burgundian hands.<sup>10</sup>

In 1477 one of those hands, that of Mary, duchess of Burgundy (1457–1482), was joined in marriage with that of Maximilian I (1459–1519), who served as Holy Roman Emperor from 1493 until his death. As the only child of Charles the Bold (1433–1477; son of Philip the Good), Mary inherited Burgundy and the Netherlands. However, she died at the age of twenty-five, and Maximilian I, who was head of the Austrian branch of the Habsburg dynasty, not only defended his rulership of Burgundy against French claims and of the Netherlands against internal rebellion but also greatly expanded his power and territories through alliances and strategic marriages: his own in 1494 to Bianca Maria Sforza, and those of his children by Mary—Philip the Handsome (1478–1506) and Margaret of Austria (1480–1530)—to Joanna, queen of Castile, and to John, the short-lived heir of Castile and Aragon. Three years after the latter's death, in 1497, Margaret of Austria married Philibert II, duke of Savoy, who died in 1504. Margaret ruled the Netherlands alone from a small but highly cultivated court in Mechelen (Malines) until her death. She and her husbands had no children.

Thus in 1530, in what a court astronomer might have called the “Big Bang” of the Habsburg Empire, Charles V (1500–1558), the firstborn son of Margaret's brother Philip, became Holy Roman Emperor and duke of

Burgundy and Brabant (ruler of the Netherlands). He was already, since 1516, King Charles I of Spain, and the founder of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg dynasty. From his maternal grandparents he had acquired Castile, Aragon, Naples, Sardinia, the West Indies, and Grenada. As if these lands were not enough for the House of Habsburg, his brother Ferdinand I (1503–1564) became king of Hungary and Bohemia in 1526. Their sister, Mary (1505–1558), had for some time been destined (according to Maximilian I's plans) to marry Louis II, king of Bohemia and Hungary, and did so in 1520. Her husband died in battle in 1526, and Mary never remarried. She succeeded Margaret of Austria as regent of the Netherlands upon her aunt's death in 1530. Mary lived in the Palais du Roi in Brussels, where Bernaert van Orley served as court painter and designer of tapestries. Although her favorite paintings were Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini wedding portrait (National Gallery, London) and the *Virgin and Child with the Canon Van der Paele* (Groeningemuseum, Bruges), Mary also commissioned works from Titian and from Italian sculptors such as Leone Leoni.<sup>11</sup>

Charles V and Mary spent their childhood years in the Netherlands and were sympathetic to its people and culture. Nonetheless, between 1524 and 1543 Charles secured control of all seventeen provinces of the Netherlands and established a program of centralized authority over local governments, finance (through stringent taxation), and religion (the bishoprics were reorganized and their number was increased). All of this was a shock to the system, or the lack of one, especially in the northern Netherlands. The counties of Holland and Zeeland, the duchy of Gelderland, the lordships of Friesland and Groningen, and the bishopric of Utrecht had been loosely bound to their Habsburg sovereigns Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary, but for the most part had acted independently, or in changing alliances

with each other. Important local privileges were also enjoyed by cities and towns, and by the professional guilds. Of course, Charles V's suppression of heresy was ill received by the increasing number of Protestants in the Netherlands, but religion was by no means the only issue that led to outright rebellion.

The notorious spark set to the Netherlands powder keg was Philip II, king of Spain, Charles's son and successor when the emperor abdicated in 1555. Philip was Spanish, Catholic, autocratic, and indecisive, so that serious problems tended to remain unresolved. He installed himself in Brussels in 1556 and was ceremoniously appointed count, duke, or lord of each of the seventeen provinces. The various councils (of state, finance, and law), which had functioned as the earlier regents' administrations,



Fig. 26. Adriaen Thomasz Key, *William the Silent*, 1570s. Oil on wood, 18 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (48 x 35 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

were increasingly turned over to Spanish courtiers rather than to Netherlandish noblemen (such as William of Orange; fig. 26). Similarly, many local authorities—town magistrates, sheriffs, officers of the water board, and so on—were threatened by bureaucrats and soldiers sent out by the Brussels court. Fourteen new bishoprics were created and Protestants were put down by means of imprisonment, torture, and execution. Many Catholics, especially in the upper levels of society, deeply resented the prosecution of their Protestant neighbors and relatives.

Philip departed for Spain in 1559, never to return. He left behind his half sister, Margaret of Parma, as regent of the Netherlands. After several years of edicts and other indignities William of Orange—notwithstanding his sobriquet *le taciturne* (loosely translated as “the Silent”)—made a speech to his peers protesting Spanish abuses (December 31, 1564). A few months later four hundred Flemish noblemen signed a petition that called for tempering the measures against Protestantism. On August 10, 1566, two days before the king’s answer arrived (it allowed moderation), the iconoclastic riots broke out. The Catholic Church was both a real and a symbolic target: in addition to religious persecution the Netherlands was suffering from lack of trade, severe unemployment, famine, and disease.

In response to the uprising (which alienated many Catholic noblemen) Philip II sent Spanish troops under the command of the duke of Alva. He arrived in August 1567 and mercilessly suppressed rebellion; his “Council of Troubles” (commonly known as the Council of Blood) is thought to have executed seven thousand victims over the next ten years, including the respected counts of Egmond and Horn. William of Orange retreated to Germany, where he formed an army of mercenaries. Two-thirds of the expenses were met with his own family fortune, while most of the balance came from Protestant noblemen.

The war of independence raged through all the Netherlands, but mostly in the north, from 1567 until 1577, when the northern and southern provinces signed the Pacification of Ghent, an agreement to drive out the Spanish army and to resolve their religious differences. But progress was impeded by local factions, above all the inflexible Calvinists. Meanwhile, the new governor-general of the Netherlands, Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, began to win back support for Philip II. In January 1579 the ten southern provinces formed an alliance called the Union of Arras, and in the same month some (later all) of the seven northern provinces joined together in the Union of Utrecht. This division turned out to be permanent, although no one imagined it would be at the time.

The States General of the new United Provinces were not prepared to abandon the notion of a sovereign ruler. At William of Orange’s suggestion, they accepted as regent François, duke of Anjou, brother of King Henry III of France. As (nominally) his stadholder and captain general, William pursued the war and peace negotiations until his assassination in Delft on July 10, 1584. The ineffectual Anjou died a month earlier, having retired from the field

to France. In search of another sovereign, the States General approached Henry III and upon his refusal turned to Elizabeth I. She dispatched Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, to serve as temporary governor-general. Apart from the festivities held in his honor in December 1585, Leicester had little use for the locals and their politics. Nor did two of his English commanders, who simply turned over the towns of Deventer and Zutphen to the Spanish army. Leicester, already recalled to England, resigned in disgrace.

That was enough of foreign rulers for the Dutch. The increasingly independent city governments decided to make the States General and the Council of State responsible for national government. However, in 1585 the States of Holland and Zeeland named as their own stadholder Prince Maurits (1567–1625), the seventeen-year-old second son of William of Orange. (His first son, Philips Willem, was held hostage in Spain from 1567 until 1598.) In 1589 the States of Gelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht also named Maurits their stadholder. He exercised limited powers but had considerable influence in his adult years, especially as commander in chief of the army and navy. His temperament, his lack of funds, the war, and politics prevented Maurits from supporting the arts, except for a timely interest in fortification design. However, he had the Stadholder’s Quarters in The Hague substantially expanded (fig. 6, right), and in 1610 he commissioned Jacques de Gheyn the Younger to design the Prinsentuin (Prince’s Garden), an elaborate arrangement of covered walkways and topiary on the southwestern side of the Binnenhof.<sup>12</sup> The prince was often presented with paintings as gifts, and Van Miereveld’s workshop in Delft turned out numerous portraits of him (see cat. no. 43).<sup>13</sup>

#### THE CLOISTERS OF DELFT

The Agathaklooster (Convent of Saint Agatha), or Prinsenhof (fig. 27), where William the Silent lived and died, was one of several cloisters



Fig. 27. Coenraet Decker, *The Convent of Saint Agatha and Prinsenhof in Delft*. Engraving, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection



Fig. 28. Anonymous, *Plan of Delft after the Fire of 1536*, 17th-century copy after a plan of ca. 1536. Oil on canvas, 36¼ x 65 in. (92 x 165 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

founded with the help of wealthy citizens in Delft during the late fourteenth century and the fifteenth. In 1400 the sisters adopted the rules of the third order of Saint Francis, and in 1402 they were placed under the protection of the count of Holland, Duke Albert of Bavaria. The bishop of Utrecht, as head of Delft's diocese, formally established the convent in 1403. The Agathaklooster flourished in the late 1400s, earning the right to house 125 nuns, who mostly came from patrician families. But in the following decades the order attracted fewer members because of the Protestant movement and a weak economy. To critics the Franciscan "Order of Penitents" must have seemed ill named, since its wealth astonished visitors, such as the German chronicler Georg Braun (author of *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*; 1572–1618). That the convent extended war loans to Charles V and Philip II would not have met with universal approval in Delft. The iconoclastic riots (Beeldenstorm) of 1566 and the war against Spain were ultimately fatal blows following a long period of declining membership; walls that sheltered 110 nuns in 1516 housed 60 in 1573, when the guest quarters of the convent became William the Silent's nominal residence. Only 29 sisters could have heard the pistol shots that killed the prince in the summer of 1584. The assassin was a penniless Catholic fanatic named Balthasar Geraerts, whose

family was paid the reward on William's head.<sup>14</sup> Eight nuns still lived in the cloister in 1607. The last of them was buried in 1640.

In the seventeenth century the complex of buildings served various civic and commercial functions. The cloth hall (Lakenhal; see fig. 27), which had occupied the former chapel of the Oudemanhuis (Old Men's Home), was moved to the Prinsenhof in 1645. In the late 1660s the city paid Leonaert Bramer for decorating the Great Hall of the Prinsenhof with canvas murals (see fig. 136), which appear to have depicted scenes appropriate both to government (what may be The Rape of the Sabine Women on the long wall; figures of Justice and Charity on the sides of the fireplaces) and to entertainment (musicians, waiters, and banqueters). One could write a history of Delft around that of the Agathaklooster, which today houses the Stedelijk (Municipal) Museum Het Prinsenhof, one of the principal lenders to the present exhibition.<sup>15</sup>

The majority of the seven convents and three monasteries once gathered within the walls of Delft were Franciscan. The Convent of Saint Barbara was founded as an offshoot of the Convent of Saint Agatha shortly after 1400. It flourished until the early 1570s, when it was plundered by the Protestant army. The States of Holland resolved in 1575 that all cloisters were thenceforth owned by their city

governments, and the convent's buildings on the Oude Delft (now number 55) became a municipal orphanage.

Two of the religious orders in Delft had effectively disappeared before 1572, when the city joined the revolt against Spain. The Augustinian monastery of Saint Hieronymus lost most of its property on the Oude Delft to the Great Fire of 1536, which destroyed a large part of the city (see fig. 28). After 1600 the cloister's ruins were gradually replaced by fine town houses, one of which incorporated into a garden wall a stone tablet commemorating "Saint Jerome's vale" (see cat. no. 30).<sup>16</sup> The Convent of Mary Magdalene, a few blocks to the northeast of the Nieuwe Kerk, was converted into a hospital (the Nieuwe Gasthuis) during the plague of 1557–58. The hospital was moved to new quarters after the explosion of the nearby powder magazine in 1654, when the city decided to use the grounds for a new civic-guard headquarters (the Nieuwe Doelen) and an anatomy theater in which the guild of surgeons also met (the theater was built inside the former convent's chapel, seen to the right in fig. 266).<sup>17</sup> The guild's assembly hall (Groote Kamer) was on the ground floor below the Theatrum Anatomicum; the room was decorated with large group portraits of physicians, including older works, such as Michiel and Pieter van Miereveld's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Willem van der Meer* (cat. no. 45).

Most of the other cloisters were converted to commercial use. The Convent of Saint Clare, also in the northeast corner of Delft, was leased to a linen weaver in 1578. Part of the Convent of Saint Anne, to the west of Saint Clare's, became the tapestry workshop of Karel van Mander the Younger in 1616. In 1593 François Spiering, who had married into Delft's regent class a decade earlier, was leased a large hall (about twenty by sixty feet; six by eighteen meters) in the former Convent of Saint Agnes on very favorable terms. His famous tapestry studio, which employed about forty assistants and several designers, was called the Spiering Cloister from about 1600 until the death of his son and successor, Aert Spiering, in 1650. The workshop was located in the southeast corner of the city. The nearby Convent of Saint Ursula was cleared away in 1596 and in the next decade a new neighborhood was constructed for Flemish immigrants, many of them linen and tapestry workers. Finally, two Franciscan monasteries, one a little north of the Markt, the other two blocks south of the Nieuwe Kerk, were demolished in the late sixteenth century to make room for houses, gardens, and (to the south) a large market square called the Beestenmarkt, because cattle were sold there every week.<sup>18</sup>

#### OUT OF THE ASHES

Even in this fleeting view of Delft's early history and religious life, one finds images of sweeping social change, which was accompanied by extensive transformations of the city itself. After the fire of 1536, which consumed much of the western half of Delft (see fig. 28), more than two thousand houses had to be rebuilt. They changed little in plan, but their street facades or *gevels* — in Holland the "gables"

rise from the ground — were constructed almost exclusively of stone, in a mixture of Late Gothic and Renaissance styles. New neighborhoods, the new town hall (fig. 2), and other civic buildings of the early to mid-seventeenth century (such as the foursquare Vleeshal, or Meat Hall, of 1650) further contributed to Delft's distinctive character. Much of the city's attraction for the visitors mentioned in chapter 1 must have come from the fact that the squares and canals were bordered by buildings that dated mostly from about 1550 to 1650.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the two great churches had been restored and parts of the convents had been reconstructed as public institutions or workshops. To Evelyn and Pepys, Delft must have seemed a modern and prosperous place.

The actual circumstances were more complicated. Delft's two major industries, brewing and textile manufacture, had declined sharply in the second half of the sixteenth century, primarily because of competition from other towns and a spirit of free enterprise that did away with medieval systems of protecting trade. (The two products were also incompatible in that one polluted and the other required clean water.) A number of other occupations, such as spinning, weaving, tailoring, peat-cutting, carting, shipping, and so on, depended upon the production of cloth and beer. Thus the economy was fragile, and a succession of disasters — the fire of 1536, plagues in 1537 and 1557–58, and a poor corn harvest in 1565 — preceded the iconoclastic turmoil of 1566 and the worst years of the revolutionary war. Hundreds of families left the city after the fire; about six thousand people, or 20 percent of the population, died in the plague of 1557–58. Many firms went under in the middle decades of the century. The Flemish proverb "The big fish eat the little fish" proved to be true in the brewery business, in large part because the big fish were also city magistrates.<sup>20</sup>

The two most common themes in art-historical studies of the period between 1566 and about 1600 are the end of ecclesiastical patronage and the flow of Flemish artists and craftsmen to the north (along with waves of religious and economic refugees). As discussed below, this was certainly part of the story of Delft. But at the risk of stumbling into chapter 7 it might be suggested that changes in the city's economy during the sixteenth century were also a factor, and that the period might be described as one not only of recession but also of consolidation. It is striking how frequently the advantage of inherited wealth (or marriage into it) comes up in connection with artists, dealers, and collectors of the seventeenth century. Old money, first made in earlier centuries and invested, for example, in land seized from the monasteries, was an influential force in the cultural milieu of Delft, and it was complemented by the concentration of wealth in The Hague. Thus the timeworn characterization of the Dutch art public as "middle-class people [who] were not used to acting as patrons" appears to be even less appropriate for Delft than it is for the citizens of large towns like Haarlem and Amsterdam.<sup>21</sup>

This hardly means that there was no middle class or middle-level art market in Delft. It was noted earlier that many of the pictures

painted in Delft during the seventeenth century were moderately priced works intended for the average buyer (who might have lived in Leiden, The Hague, or Rotterdam as well as Delft). But a comparatively large proportion of the artworks produced in Delft from the late sixteenth century onward—the list would include tapestries, objects made of silver and gold, biblical and mythological pictures, some lost frescoes and canvas murals, the finer architectural views, Bramer's suites of drawings devoted to biblical, classical, and literary themes, a few of Pieter de Hooch's best paintings, and almost everything by Vermeer—was clearly made for people of considerable wealth and sophistication. Some of them lived on the Oude Delft, the Voorstraat, or another one of the best streets in Delft, and a fair number must have lived in The Hague.

Prestigious patrons, not the figure of Diana or some aspect of style, is the most common denominator in the careers of Spiering, Michiel van Miereveld, Willem van Vliet, Christiaan van Couwenbergh, Bramer, Gerard Houckgeest, Vermeer, Johannes Verkolje, and others. This is certainly the reason why Spiering and so many

other Flemish artists and artisans settled in Delft during the decades around 1600, when they might have gone to the more established art centers of Haarlem or Utrecht. In the 1570s and early 1580s it must have appeared that Delft, which had been home to courts in the past, would be a court city and center of society again. It was clearly with an eye to such a future that in 1575 the city fathers of Delft proposed to the States General that The Hague be burned to the ground, ostensibly because the unfortified town posed a military hazard.<sup>22</sup>

### *Art in Delft from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century*

#### THE FIRST DELFT PAINTERS

The court of Holland and wealthy burghers must have occasionally commissioned works of art from Delft masters of the fifteenth century, but the principal patrons were, of course, the two main churches of Delft and the religious orders. The distinction is somewhat misleading, since sons and daughters of prominent families chose cloistered lives, and private citizens, either individually or through guilds and civic-guard companies, contributed altarpieces and other devotional or decorative objects to the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>23</sup> Thus, it would be inappropriate to compare in their patronage or taste the residents of the Convent of Saint Agatha, for example, with their well-to-do neighbors on the Oude Delft. Furthermore, it is difficult to document artistic life in Delft during the early centuries because so much of the archival material was lost in the fire of 1536 or in later disasters and most of the treasures belonging to the churches and religious orders were either destroyed in the iconoclastic riots of 1566 or seized in the 1570s and later dispersed.<sup>24</sup>

It is clear, however, that an impressive number of decorated and illuminated manuscripts were produced in Delft during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>25</sup> In particular, breviaries (books of liturgical prayers to be said at certain hours) were made in the Delft monasteries and convents for use in churches, and to a lesser extent for noble and patrician patrons. A few manuscripts record their own provenance at the Convent of Saint Agnes. Delft manuscripts are known especially for their richly decorated borders with floral motifs. One might see in this some distant anticipation of Spiering's beautifully bordered tapestries (woven, coincidentally, in the Convent of Saint Agnes) and of early flower paintings in Delft (see cat. no. 88). There is no direct connection, but in a broad view these different traditions reveal a similarly sophisticated



Fig. 29. Master of the Virgin among Virgins, *Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine, Cecilia, Barbara, and Ursula*, late 15th century. Oil on wood, 48 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 40 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (123 x 102 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam





Fig. 30. Master of Delft, *The Crucifixion, Christ Presented to the People, and the Deposition*, ca. 1500–10. Oil on wood, central panel: 38½ x 41½ in. (97.8 x 105.5 cm); wings: 40¼ x 19½ in. (102.2 x 49.5 cm). The National Gallery, London

preference for rich embellishment and for the learned reading of symbolism in natural forms (a comparison that could be extended to the many cloister gardens that once graced the city of Delft).

Two important painters were active in Delft during the late fifteenth century. The Master of the Virgin among Virgins, an anonymous artist named for a panel in Amsterdam (fig. 29), has been convincingly placed in Delft on the basis of woodcuts after his designs that were published by two of the city's printers, the celebrated Jacob van der Meer (who in 1477 brought out the Delft Bible, the first printed book in Dutch) and his successor, Christiaan Snellaert.<sup>26</sup> The painter's preference for simplified forms and orderly designs, and perhaps even his serene young women with lowered eyes and costly costumes, may remind some readers of works by Delft painters active two centuries later. If there is any excuse for these anachronistic analogies it is again found in the very broad view, for the tendency toward abstraction and structure probably reflects the master's knowledge of art in the southern Netherlands and in Utrecht, orientations that persisted in Delft well into the seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> As for female refinement, one might associate this with the fact that the arts in Delft depended upon the patronage of a small, aristocratic sector of society. Other characteristics of this early Delft master, who evidently admired the work of Joos van Ghent (in Antwerp) and Hugo van der Goes, cannot be considered here. However, two of his subjects should be mentioned: the Delft canon Hugo de Groot (d. 1509), whose portrait by the Master of the Virgin among Virgins hung above the sitter's grave in the Nieuwe Kerk;<sup>28</sup> and

the group of saints who appear in the Amsterdam painting (fig. 29), Catherine, Cecilia, Barbara, and Ursula—all of whose names had been given to churches or convents in Delft.

The second painter of note during the late fifteenth century is named Master of Delft for the wings of a triptych dating from about 1510 (private collection, Cologne). These panels depict the donor's family, which is identified by an inscription on the predella. The paterfamilias is the Delft burgomaster Dirck van Beest (d. 1545), whose oldest son was a monk in the Carthusian Monastery of Saint Bartholomeus outside the city. Another triptych by the same hand includes a portrait of the bishop of Utrecht, David of Burgundy (d. 1496), in the guise of the donor's patron saint (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). But the masterwork of the artist is generally considered to be a triptych representing scenes from the Passion (fig. 30), which includes the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in the background (as it appeared before it was struck by lightning in 1536, starting the Great Fire).<sup>29</sup> In each of the three panels homely, everyday types, including a variety of low-life characters, cover most of the surface in jagged rhythms. The triptych's style and that of its architectural motifs suggest a date late in the artist's career, perhaps about 1520. A much earlier work (possibly of about 1490) depicting Saint Bernard's vision of the Virgin and Child (fig. 31) recalls the illusionistic design of a miniature by the remarkable Master of Mary of Burgundy.<sup>30</sup> The choir in the background, typical of southern Holland in its architectural elements, is probably the earliest view of a church interior painted in or near Delft.<sup>31</sup>

## CHURCH ART AND ARCHITECTURE

In the 1500s the municipal government and churches of Delft were much more inclined to order works of art from masters established in other cities than from those active locally. This was largely a natural consequence of the increasing importance of the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk, which required objects grander and more public in nature than those desired by or produced by cloistered monks and nuns. Commissions for large painted triptychs, sculptural ensembles, or major pieces of church furniture were generally awarded to artists who had made similar works before, and this usually meant that they were established in larger cities. Michael Montias cites some telling examples found in Dirck van Bleyswijck's history of Delft (1667–80). In 1457 the Nieuwe Kerk ordered thirty-six choir stalls "in the manner of Antwerp," for which the carver Cornelis Claessone was to receive 58 Flemish pounds. The same church awarded a commission in 1484 to a Master Adriaen of Utrecht for a carved wooden altarpiece "like the one he had made for Saint Mary's," that is, the great Romanesque cathedral of Utrecht.<sup>32</sup>

Works such as these were not just institutional embellishments but objects of civic pride (as the usual comparisons with those in

other places reveal); like the church building itself, they were funded and appreciated by a large number of citizens. Delft had a reputation for illuminated manuscripts and printed books, and it was home to a few talented painters who evidently started out by designing book illustrations. But the most impressive altarpieces of the Master of the Virgin among Virgins and the Master of Delft tend to make a case against rather than for the notion that there was a tradition of figure painting in Delft, and this is all the more obvious when the artists attempted works on a larger scale.<sup>33</sup> As it happens, the several calamities suffered by Delft society in the sixteenth century and the reliance upon famous artists from elsewhere—for example, Jan van Scorel from Utrecht and Maerten van Heemskerck from Haarlem—meant that the same could be said a hundred years later. Van Miereveld (see fig. 39) may be considered one of the first Delft masters who could really draw the human figure, which for many of the artists newly arrived from Flanders and for the leading painters in Delft's artistic touchstone, Utrecht, was (as in Italy) the canonical subject of art.<sup>34</sup>

Without taking the thought too far, one may wonder about the extent to which this legacy affected seventeenth-century art in Delft. The Delft school of painting developed at first in a small world of wealthy local patrons. The embellishment of objects and the description of material things are interests more typical of painting in Delft between 1400 and 1600 than is the study of character or the staging of dramatic scenes. Delft artists were inclined to concentrate upon fine points and nuances rather than broad effects, at least until (and often after) the early 1650s, when younger artists became more responsive to developments outside the area of southern Holland. Portraiture in Delft is more concerned with the sitter's status and costume than with his or her frame of mind (see cat. nos. 46, 80). There are essentially no parallels in Delft to Frans Hals, to Rembrandt and his followers, to realistic landscape and marine painting, or to the more theatrical examples of history painting in Utrecht (despite clear signs of admiration for Gerard van Honthorst and Hendrick ter Brugghen, among others) or in Antwerp. But then, there is nothing reminiscent of Italian or German art in Delft painting before the late 1500s; the Master of the Virgin among Virgins' moving *Lamentation of Christ* (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) is an exception, which must reflect the influence of an outsider, such as Hugo van der Goes.

Ultimately, the roots of art in Delft go back to the Burgundian Netherlands and not to Renaissance Antwerp. The link between Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini wedding portrait (1434; National Gallery, London) and Vermeer's silent, sun-filled, motionless, contemplative interior scenes is certainly, as has been said, a distinctly Netherlandish tradition of observation and superb craftsmanship, but that tradition, it should be added, depended upon courtly and patrician patronage. "Delft is statigh, Utrecht prelatigh" ("Delft is stately, Utrecht churchy"), according to an old rhyme,<sup>35</sup> and the contrast could be extended to



Fig. 31. Master of Delft, *The Vision of Saint Bernard*, ca. 1490. Oil on wood, 18¼ x 12½ in. (47 x 32 cm). Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht

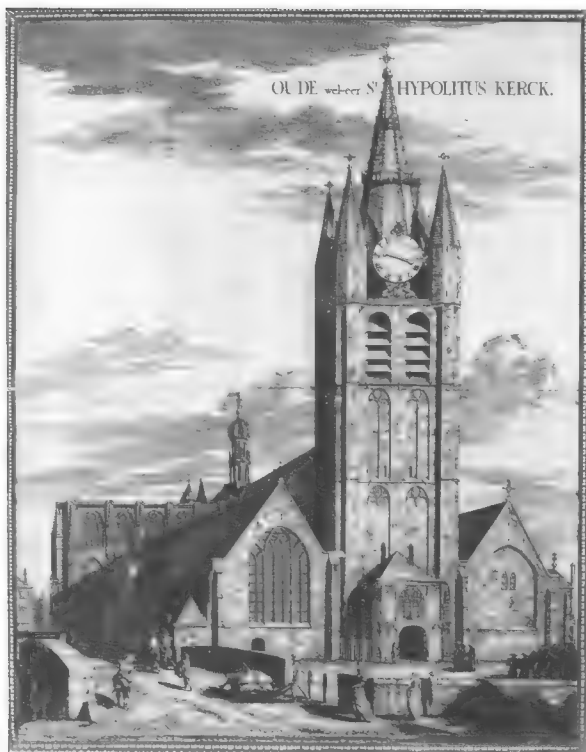


Fig. 32. Coenraet Decker, *Exterior of the Oude Kerk in Delft*. Engraving, 13 x 10¼ in. (33 x 26.7 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection



Fig. 33. Coenraet Decker, *Exterior of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft*. Engraving, 13 x 10¼ in. (33 x 26.7 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection

more commercial and cosmopolitan places, such as Antwerp and (in the seventeenth century) Haarlem and Amsterdam. It should finally be noted, in this speculative aside, that the frequent evidence of Flemish influence in the arts of Delft usually involves flower pictures, imaginary landscape painting (which treats nature as a kind of *Kunst- und Wunderkabinett*; see cat. no. 22), or coolly elegant portraiture. Delft painters tended to see their world in terms of light, space, and surfaces, not blood and guts.

However venerable, the Oude Kerk (see figs. 1, 32; cat. nos. 40, 81, 91) was not an “old church” by the standards of Utrecht. The first stone church on the site went back to the early 1200s, but the Oude Kerk as it has been known in later centuries was built in campaigns of about 1390–1410 (the choir and side chapels), about 1425–40 (the expansion of the nave), and about 1510–22 (the Mariakoor, or Mary’s Choir, and the transept; see cat. nos. 16, 40). The Nieuwe Kerk (see fig. 33; cat. nos. 83, 84) was begun in 1384, following a miraculous appearance of the Virgin in 1381 and the raising of a wooden church. Construction of the stone tower went on for a century, between 1396 and 1496. The nave and aisles were finished in the 1430s, the choir in 1476.

Extensive reconstruction followed the fire of 1536. The wooden roofs of both churches were entirely lost and their walls severely damaged. Vaulting of the two buildings continued into the mid-1540s, furnishing into the 1550s (in 1553 the bishop of Utrecht consecrated eighteen altars in the Oude Kerk), and glazing into the 1560s. The impressive pulpit of the Oude Kerk (fig. 34)—the focus of attention in many paintings by Houckgeest, Emanuel de Witte, and Hendrick van Vliet (see fig. 120; cat. nos. 40, 92) and still in the church today—bears the date 1548, which also marked the completion of architectural work.<sup>36</sup>

During the same period, several of the city’s convents and hundreds of houses were being rebuilt (see fig. 28). Between 1536 and about 1550, most property owners in Delft, including those residing in the wealthier streets on the west side (which had suffered the greatest devastation), would have been more concerned with roofs, walls, and stone facades than with home decoration. Large-scale disasters like the Delft fire and plagues tend to encourage support for communal projects rather than displays of personal prosperity. One may speak, then, of a clear window of opportunity for the major arts in Delft, albeit a narrow one. Montias found that between 1537 and



Fig. 34. Anonymous woodcarver, Pulpit in the Oude Kerk, Delft, 1548.

1557 seven glassmakers, four sculptors or stone carvers, and one painter became citizens of Delft, and many artisans who were already residents or who did not become citizens were also busy in those years.<sup>37</sup> With regard to master painters, sculptors, and stained-glass artists, the most active years were a little later: from the second half of the 1540s, when the Oude Kerk, the Nieuwe Kerk, and a few of the religious orders were ready to commission altarpieces and other religious images, until August 30, 1566, when a delegation of radical Protestants appeared at the town hall demanding that the church doors be thrown open for the express purpose of destroying works of art.<sup>38</sup>

The most important commissions went to out-of-towners. A lump-sum payment for the Nieuwe Kerk's pulpit was made in September 1543 to one Hugh Jansz, who is not recorded in the Delft guild. Montias suggests that he may also have been responsible for the Oude Kerk's pulpit (fig. 34), installed five years later.<sup>39</sup> In any case, no local carver could have been expected to create such a superb example of Renaissance design, which has been compared with Benedetto da Maiano's pulpit in Santa Croce, Florence (carved 1472–76).<sup>40</sup> On the hexagonal drum, five panels separated by Corinthian columns represent John the Baptist preaching (in the

central panel below the lectern) and the four Evangelists. The latter figures are set in classical chambers placed at a considerable distance, at the end of hallways with tiled floors and coffered barrel vaults seen in accelerated perspective (the orthogonals surround the saints like rays of light). One might see in this the seeds of much later Delft designs, such as Houckgeest's canvas in Edinburgh (cat. no. 36), but there was a much more general source to be found in Antwerp pattern books dating from the pulpit's epoch onward. As Hans Vredeman de Vries noted on a title page of his treatise *Perspective* (1604–5), these compendiums of engraved plates were intended for "Painters, Engravers, Sculptors, Metalworkers, Architects, Designers, Masons, Cabinetmakers, Carpenters and all lovers of the arts."

The stained glass in the Nieuwe Kerk was repaired or replaced in the 1540s, evidently by local craftsmen. But when the Oude Kerk commissioned new stained glass in the early 1560s the orders went to Willem Tybaut of Haarlem and to Dirck Crabeth of Gouda, both major figures in the field (at the time, Crabeth was working on the famous windows in his city's great cathedral, the Saint Janskerk).<sup>41</sup> Some of the Oude Kerk's stained glass is visible in views of the interior painted during the early 1650s (in particular, see cat. no. 40). Both churches lost their windows in the explosion of 1654.

#### DISTINGUISHED OUT-OF-TOWNERS

Two great Dutch painters worked in Delft during the middle decades of the sixteenth century: Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) and Jan van Scorel (1495–1562). Although he was a native of Haarlem, Van Heemskerck had actually studied in Delft (evidently during the early 1520s) with a painter named Jan Lucasz, who is also recorded as a headman of the guild in 1541.<sup>42</sup> Van Heemskerck then returned to Haarlem to join the workshop of Van Scorel, who settled there for a few years (1527–30) following a period of work in Rome. Shortly after Van Heemskerck's own eventful years in Rome (1532–36) the artist was again called to Delft, having established a reputation in Haarlem not only as a prolific painter but also as a learned and pious man.

Van Heemskerck's most important contact in Delft was the humanist scholar Cornelis Musius (1500–1572), prior of the Convent of Saint Agatha. After attending the local Latin school he studied classical literature in Louvain, taught at Ghent, and acquired wealthy pupils. He returned to Louvain in 1525, teaching Latin and studying theology there. In the early 1530s Musius traveled in France, where he became acquainted with prominent humanists in Paris and Poitiers. Two collections of his Latin poetry were published in Poitiers in 1536, both on religious themes. "Imago Patientiae," the poem from which one of the volumes takes its name, could be said to presage the future amateur, for in order to convey his spiritual message Musius assumes the role of guide in a church and describes a



Fig. 35. Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Lamentation*, 1566. Oil on wood, 55¼ x 77½ in. (140 x 196 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

panel painting representing an “image of patience” and another female figure, “Perfidy.”<sup>43</sup> (The work sounds like a Van Heemskerck invention, although his own *Triumph of Patience*, a set of eight prints conceived with and engraved by the Haarlem philosopher Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert dates much later, from 1559.)<sup>44</sup>

In the same decade, Musius produced poems for prominent patrons in Delft, including one celebrating Lambert van Varick’s installation as pastor of the Oude Kerk in 1534.<sup>45</sup> The death of Erasmus in July 1536 moved Musius to write a small volume of poetic laments; published in Louvain that September, it reveals heartfelt esteem for the Rotterdam humanist.<sup>46</sup>

Musius became prior of Saint Agatha’s in March 1538. The portrait of his predecessor, Johannes Colmannus (1471–1538), in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, was evidently painted by Van Heemskerck in the same year, presumably at Musius’s request.<sup>47</sup> The same artist’s portrait of Musius himself (known from copies and an engraving) was probably

made shortly thereafter.<sup>48</sup> According to Georg Braun, whose *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* was mentioned above, the Convent of Saint Agatha was filled with fine paintings “due to the close friendship between Musius, the extremely vigilant superior of the monastery, and Heemskerck of Haarlem, the one a very famous poet, the other a very famous painter.” Braun also reports that excellent works by Van Heemskerck were once to be seen in the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>49</sup>

The same information is found in *Het Schilder-Boeck* (1604) by Karel van Mander (1548–1606), the famous father of the tapestry designer who worked in Delft. In his biography of Van Heemskerck, Van Mander recalls commissions that had come to the Haarlem artist from other towns. “And since his works were often taken to Delft, his paintings were in various places there—in the Oude as well as in the Nieuwe Kerk. In the Church of St. Aechte [Agatha] an altarpiece with the *Three Kings*; this he designed so that one King





Fig. 36. Jan van Scorel, *Wezelaar Triptych*, ca. 1551–54. Oil on wood, central panel: 68½ x 46½ in. (173 x 117 cm); wings: 68½ x 18½ in. (173 x 48 cm). Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

stood in the middle panel, and one in each of the shutters; on the outside was the *Brazen Serpent* in grisaille.<sup>50</sup> The interior is lost, but the exterior scene, transferred to canvas and now in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, bears the date 1551.<sup>51</sup>

In his description of Delft, Van Bleyswijck records the same painting as in the town hall, where he also found four other works by Van Heemskerck that had been saved from Delft churches.<sup>52</sup> The earliest appears to be *The Crowning with Thorns* (probably dating from about 1545–50) in the Frans Halsmuseum.<sup>53</sup> A large triptych (about seven feet high) representing the *Ecce Homo* and the donor's family and patron saints to the sides (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem) is dated 1559 on the central panel and 1560 on the exterior.<sup>54</sup> Also mentioned by Van Bleyswijck is the single wing of a triptych (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) showing the donor Matelief Dammasz and Saint Paul on the front and the Erythraean Sibyl on the back (exterior); the latter is signed and dated 1564.<sup>55</sup> Finally, the historian cites a *Lamen-*

*tation* by Van Heemskerck (fig. 35), which dates from the very year of the Beeldenstorm, 1566 — meaning that the panel hung above an altar in Delft for half a year at the most.<sup>56</sup> Adding insult to injury, in 1860 the city sold its paintings by Van Heemskerck, along with some by other masters, at an auction in Amsterdam.<sup>57</sup> This represents a shift in taste from the years about 1600, when (according to Van Bleyswijck) the magistrates of Delft refused several offers to purchase the *Ecce Homo*, including a bid of 3,600 or 4,000 guilders from Emperor Rudolf II.<sup>58</sup>

Van Heemskerck was feted at a banquet by the Delft painters' guild in 1550, when he was delivering a work he had painted in Haarlem.<sup>59</sup> The panel may have been intended for the Chapel of Saint Luke in the Nieuwe Kerk, as Montias suggests.<sup>60</sup> In the same year, the fathers of the Nieuwe Kerk awarded the commission for their high altarpiece to Van Heemskerck's former colleague Jan van Scorel. This complex work, evidently destroyed in the sixteenth



Fig. 37. Pieter Aertsen, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1560. Oil on wood, 66 x 70 $\frac{7}{8}$  in. (167.5 x 180 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

century, is known from Van Bleyswijck's description of the contract. The middle panel was over eleven feet tall (about 3.6 meters) and flanked by double wings. The exterior was painted in grisaille with scenes from the life of Ursula, patron saint of the church. The first opening revealed The Baptism of Christ flanked by The Preaching and The Beheading of John the Baptist. The second opening showed The Crucifixion, with Christ's Entry into Jerusalem and The Resurrection to the sides. According to Van Bleyswijck, the contract also specified that the complete ensemble "should surpass in magnificence the high altarpiece of the archbishopric cathedral of Utrecht."<sup>61</sup>

It is not surprising that the wardens of the Nieuwe Kerk were willing to meet the artist's extraordinary demands: 50 guilders a year for twenty-five years, plus lifetime annuities of 9 guilders for each of his six children.<sup>62</sup> Not only was Van Scorel one of the most famous painters in the Netherlands, he was also a canon in Delft's diocese. After his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he stayed at the Franciscan monastery of Sion in Jerusalem, he served as curator of antiquities to the Dutch pope Adrian VI (in 1522–23). Shortly thereafter he worked for Charles V and then for the cities of

Haarlem and Utrecht. His stature, and in the contemporary view even his style, could be compared with Raphael's in Italy.

Van Scorel accepted some smaller commissions in Delft, such as that for a portrait of the city secretary, Cornelis van der Dussen (1481–1556), copies of which are in Amsterdam and Berlin. Evidently he also received an order for the *Wezelaar Triptych* (fig. 36), which is in his manner and depicts the family of the Delft burgo-master Henric Joesz van der Stijpen van Duivelandt (d. 1531) witnessing the *Noli Me Tangere*. The work served as a family memorial in the Nieuwe Kerk, from which it must have been rescued in 1566.<sup>63</sup>

According to another Delft scholar, Pieter van Opmeer, Musius counted among his artist friends not only Van Heemskerck but also the Delft sculptor Willem Danielsz van Tetrode (ca. 1525–1580) and the painters Pieter Aertsen (1507/8–1575) and Anthonie Blocklandt (1533/34–1583).<sup>64</sup> Aertsen worked in

Antwerp from about 1535 until 1557, when he returned to Amsterdam, where he was born. Van Mander describes the high altarpiece that Aertsen painted for the Nieuwe Kerk in his native city:

the *Annunciation*, *Circumcision*, *Three Kings* or suchlike. . . . These so beautiful and worthy memorials of such a great master were, lamentably for art, destroyed by defiling hands through savage stupidity, as has happened also to many of his other works, for example: among others, a beautiful large altarpiece with shutters in Delft in the Charterhouse [the Carthusian monastery outside the city], a *Crucifixion* with on the inside of the doors a *Nativity* and a *Three Kings* and on the outside *Four Evangelists*. And likewise the high [?] altarpiece in Delft in the Nieuwe Kerk: a *Three Kings*, *Ecce Homo* and other such things on the shutters; with many more altarpieces in various towns.<sup>65</sup>

One fragment of the Carthusian altarpiece appears to be preserved in the tall panel depicting Saints Mark and John the Evangelist in the Prinsenhof, Delft.<sup>66</sup> Until recently it seemed that scarcely more of the Nieuwe Kerk's altarpiece survived, namely, the left wing of a triptych with one Magus and servants on one side and a fragmentary



*Presentation in the Temple* on the other (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). It is now clear that *The Adoration of the Magi* on loan to the Rijksmuseum, a panel that has been trimmed on three sides, is the main scene of the same altarpiece (fig. 37).<sup>67</sup> As in Van Heemskerck's design for Saint Agatha's, each panel of the open triptych featured one of the kings. Both of Aertsen's known projects in Delft have been dated to about 1560.

#### DELFT ARTISTS AND AMATEURS

Van Bleyswijck echoes Van Mander in bewailing the loss of altarpieces in Delft, citing with regard to the Nieuwe Kerk not only Van Heemskerck, Van Scorel, and Aertsen but also Anthonie Blocklandt and the famous Antwerp master Frans Floris (1516–1570).<sup>68</sup> Van Mander, whose good friend Cornelis Ketel (1548–1616) had been Blocklandt's pupil in Delft about 1565, describes the latter's genteel upbringing near Montfoort in the province of Utrecht, his early training in Delft with his uncle Hendrick Assuerusz (in the late 1540s, when the latter served as a headman of the painters' guild), and his two years of study with Floris in Antwerp. After his marriage in 1552 the nineteen-year-old Blocklandt settled in Delft and must have become one of the city's most successful artists. Van Mander reports that "in the churches at Delft there were various important altarpieces by him; and among others also one in Gouda with a *Beheading of Saint James* [fig. 38] which excels all others. These beautiful things were mostly destroyed by blind zeal and ignorant frenzy during the riotous Beeldenstorm . . . so that little is left."<sup>69</sup>

Indeed, nothing survives by Blocklandt that can be placed securely within his Delft period (although paintings by him are cited fairly often in Delft inventories of about 1620–40).<sup>70</sup> His earliest known works (of about 1570–72), such as the Gouda panel and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* bought in 1987 by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, reveal an admiration for Floris's congested compositions and taxidermic anatomy.<sup>71</sup>

Blocklandt's activities are not recorded between 1552 and April 1572,<sup>72</sup> when he went to Rome in the company of a Delft goldsmith. He was there for only about four months, but the trip seems to have made an enormous impression; thereafter, forms adopted from Federico and Taddeo Zuccaro and especially from Parmigianino became fused in his work with a personal version of the Floris style. Since his career after 1577 was pursued in Utrecht, Blocklandt's best work might pass without mention, were it not for its influence upon his pupil, the Delft painter Van Miereveld. The latter's four designs comprising a *Judgment of Paris* (fig. 39), engraved in 1609 but inscribed "M. Mierevelt invent. 1588," recall paintings such as Blocklandt's *Venus and Cupid* of about 1580 (fig. 40),<sup>73</sup> and also nudes of the same decade drawn by Bartholomäus Spranger and Hendrick Goltzius.<sup>74</sup> The very idea of arranging a frieze of figures in graceful poses and

treating the subject as a set of prints may be considered an emulation of Goltzius, Holland's greatest printmaker of the time.

Parallels with Goltzius are also found in works by the Delft sculptor Willem Danielsz van Tetrode. His *Hercules Pomarius* (cat. no. 141) predicts to a remarkable degree Goltzius's muscular heroes of the late 1580s, such as the conqueror in *Hercules and Cacus*, a chiaroscuro woodcut of 1588, and the striding weight lifter in *The Large Hercules*, an engraving of 1589.<sup>75</sup> Readers not familiar with Van Tetrode might conclude that here is another case where Delft turned to Haarlem for ideas derived from Italy. But Van Tetrode's *Hercules* and similar statuettes date from the 1570s, and he died in 1580. (He was about thirty-three years older than Goltzius, and forty-two years older than Van Miereveld.) It appears that Goltzius knew some of Van Tetrode's works in Delft and was inspired partly by them to move beyond his early Spranger-like style in a classical direction.<sup>76</sup> Paying homage to Van Tetrode was nothing new in Goltzius's hometown, since the Haarlem humanist and physician Hadrianus Junius (Adriaen de Jonghe, 1511–1575) had written a poem about Van Tetrode's famous new altar in the Oude Kerk, Delft, which he also mentioned in his official history of Holland, *Batavia* (Leiden, 1588).<sup>77</sup> Junius must

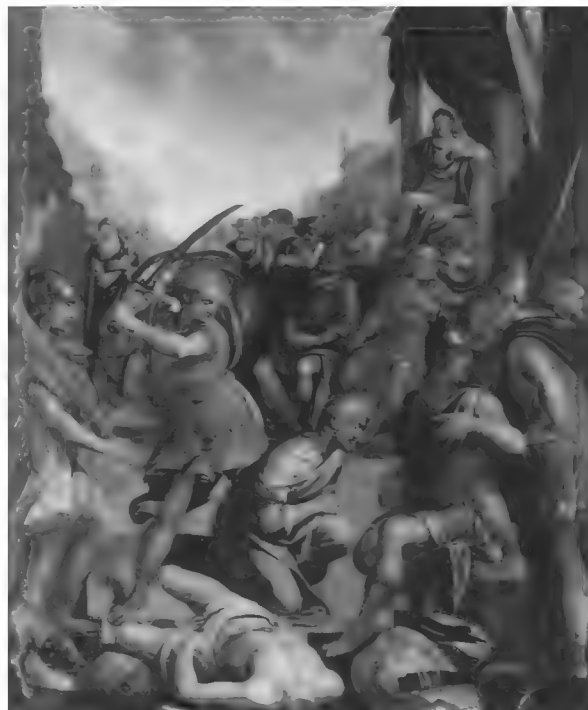


Fig. 38. Anthonie Blocklandt, *The Beheading of Saint James*, ca. 1570. Oil on wood, 125½ x 107¼ in. (314 x 274 cm). Stedelijk Museum Her Catharina Gasthuis, Gouda



Fig. 39. Willem van Swanenburg after Michiel van Miereveld, *The Judgment of Paris*, 1609, after a design of 1588. Four engravings, each  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24.6 x 14.2 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

have come to know the altar well during the few years of its existence, for he spent 1572–73 attending to the health of a man who lived across the street from the Oude Kerk: William of Orange.

“Guglielmo di Daniele Fiammingo,” as Van Tetrode was called in Italy, worked in Cellini’s Florentine studio between 1545 and 1549 and in the Roman workshop of Guglielmo della Porta during the 1550s. He is especially well known for small bronze copies of antique sculpture, including two versions of the *Farnese Hercules*.<sup>78</sup> By 1567 he was back in Delft, where the Oude Kerk’s high altar decorated with statues of Apostles had just been destroyed. The contract between Van Tetrode and the churchwardens of the Oude Kerk (among whom Pieter van Opmeer was the prime mover), signed on March 5, 1568, specifies a high altar of alabaster, black marble, and other imported stone, all carved “according to the model designed by the aforesaid Master Willem and delivered to the aforesaid Church Fathers and that, very precisely, following the art of sculpture and antiquity.” In short, what the patrons wanted for 1,600 guilders and the cost of materials was something “as good as any master can and is able to make, the like of which will not be found in all the Netherlands.”<sup>79</sup> This appears to be approximately what Van Tetrode supplied, between 1568 and 1570: twenty-four alabaster statues of Christ, the Apostles and various saints, and a Virgin and Child. In the same period, he carved three sculptures for the altar of the Guild of the Tree of Jesse in the Oude Kerk. All of these works were either destroyed in a second iconoclastic fury in 1573 or dismantled in 1574 when the first Reformed services were held in the church. Evidently this drove Van Tetrode out of town: by 1574 he was described as a sculptor and architect in Cologne, where a number of other Netherlandish artists also sought refuge, and the following year served the archbishop-elect of Cologne.<sup>80</sup>



Fig. 40. Antonie Blocklandt, *Venus and Cupid*, ca. 1580. Oil on canvas,  $66 \times 35\frac{1}{4}$  in. (167.5 x 89.5 cm). Národní Galerie, Prague

However, he had not disappeared from Delft without a trace. Bronze and alabaster statues by Van Tetrode, including figures of Hercules, Christ, Leda, and twelve Roman emperors (the latter surely busts, like ones he had done in Italy), are recorded in a 1624 inventory of works owned by the Delft silversmith Thomas Cruse, along with eight sculptures by Hendrick de Keyser, ten works attributed to Giovanni Bologna, one assigned to Michelangelo, and, for good measure, an engraving by Goltzius.<sup>81</sup> The whole lot was being sold to the wealthy brewer Aper Fransz van der Houve (or Hoeve), whom Van Mander had described more than twenty years earlier as a former Floris disciple “who does not practice art but who is a good art lover [and] imitator of Bacchus . . . whom he copies daily” (by providing drink to mankind).<sup>82</sup>

Here again, with the mention of Van der Houve, it seems that Delft was a rather small world in the sense that everyone interested in the arts knew everyone else, but at the same time the small world had wide horizons. In the calamitous year of 1566, Van der Houve was pursuing his artistic interests at Fontainebleau, working for Floris together with Blocklandt’s pupil Cornelis Ketel and the Flemish painter Hieronymus Francken (1540–1610).<sup>83</sup> In the 1590s Van der Houve owned at least three fine properties: Huis Burchvliet by Rijswijk, a country seat in Voorburg (the village by The Hague where Constantijn Huygens later built his beloved retreat, Hofwijck), and another house in Voorburg called “The Friesians.”<sup>84</sup> His son, Abraham Apersz van der Houve (1576–1621), followed in his father’s footsteps by studying art abroad (in 1600 he was living in Milan) and by making dilettantish efforts in a Mannerist vein, to judge from his only known painting, *The Golden Age* of 1615, which is based upon a lost composition by Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem.<sup>85</sup>

Van der Houve’s stature as a collector is confirmed not only by Van Mander but also by Aernout van Buchell, a fellow *liefhebber* (art lover) and member of the *kerkeraad* (council of the Reformed Church) in Utrecht, who visited Delft in 1598. His diary tersely records: “Pictores hic sunt Michael Johannijs et Hubertus, amatores Melchior Vineus et Aper Franciscus.” That is, the noteworthy painters in Delft were Michiel Jansz van Miereveld and Hubert Jacobsz Grimani (1562/63–1631), while the amateurs included Van der Houve and the mintmaster Melchior Wyntgis.<sup>86</sup>

At the time, Grimani had just returned to Delft after a decade in Venice; he took his name (as Van Bleyswijck explains) from his patron, the doge Marino Grimani (r. 1595–1605). Van Mander calls Hubert Jacobsz “a good painter and portraitist in Delft,” but no works of his are now identified. Arnold Houbraken says that he developed a superficial manner (comparable to Ketel’s?) in order to deal with English clients who had little patience for sittings.<sup>87</sup> In 1615 Grimani joined Karel van Mander the Younger in setting up his tapestry firm.<sup>88</sup>

That the younger Van der Houve copied a work by Cornelis van Haarlem is not surprising, considering that works by or after the

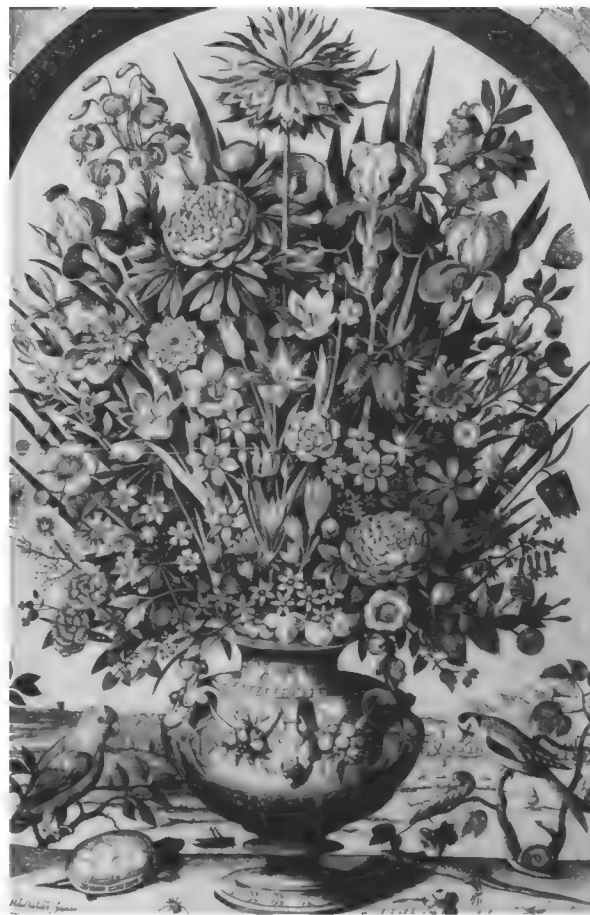


Fig. 41. Hendrick Hondius after Elias Verhulst, *Flower Piece with Birds*, 1599. Engraving, ca. 24½ x 17¼ in. (62 x 45 cm). Albertina, Vienna

aging artist (and Van Mander and Goltzius) were cited fairly often in Delft inventories during the 1620s and 1630s.<sup>89</sup> To these may be added all the paintings by Cornelis van Haarlem that Melchior Wyntgis owned, according to Van Mander in 1604: a twelve-part *Passion of Christ* (from which at least one panel, dated 1595, appears to survive);<sup>90</sup> an “outstanding *Adam and Eve*” (probably the canvas in Warsaw dated 1599);<sup>91</sup> and “a very clever piece with the cleansing of the children of Israel in the Jordan” (almost certainly the large fragment of a panel dated 1600 recently sold at auction).<sup>92</sup> Wyntgis, from an Arnhem family of mintmasters, became a Delft citizen in 1592. Van Mander calls him a Middelburg collector, and indeed he was mintmaster there from 1601 until 1612, when he became auditor-general in Brussels. An inventory of his Brussels household, made in May 1618, on the eve of his imprisonment, refers to Cornelis van Haarlem’s portrait of him (now unknown). In 1626 Wyntgis was again cited as a resident of Delft.<sup>93</sup>

While Van Buchell cites only Wyntgis's name, he describes Van der Houve's collection. It included small sculptures by Van Tetrode (twenty-six years before Van der Houve bought Cruse's collection) and a lifesize painting of Hercules by Jan Gossart. At one goldsmith's Van Buchell saw gems, medals, and other precious objects, and at another's on the market square different types of shells and a "petrified sea-mushroom" (probably coral). These elements of early Dutch and Flemish still-life painting evidently led Van Buchell to the house of Elias Verhulst (d. 1601), whose wife showed the visitor pictures of "almost all types of flowers" and of "shells and animals by the same technique, in very vivid color."<sup>94</sup> No painting by Verhulst survives, but one of his designs was engraved by Hendrick Hondius in 1599 (fig. 41).<sup>95</sup> The same kind of composition was soon to be (or already had been) employed by the famous Middelburg painter Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573–1621) and was adopted later by Jacob Vosmaer in Delft (see cat. no. 88).

The final stop on Van Buchell's tour was François Spiering's workshop, where tapestries were being "made with the greatest art, worthy of a prince, unequalled in mastery."<sup>96</sup> Many of the cartoons, Van Buchell relates, were by Karel van Mander the Elder, whose son entered Spiering's firm about 1606, the year of his father's death.<sup>97</sup>

#### THE VISITOR'S VIEW

Van Buchell's diary entry, like any record of a day's visit to another place, gives a very incomplete picture. As Montias observes, "Van Buchell probably did not mean to write that the portrait painters Miereveld and Hubert (or Huybert) Jacobsz. were the only painters worthy of note." Similarly, Van der Houve and Wyntgis were hardly the only collectors. Montias describes the "vast possessions" of the tax collector Cornelis van Coolwijck, which were inventoried in 1605, as "by far the largest collection of works of art that I have recorded for the period" (1593–1613). The paintings, appraised by Grimaldi and Hans Jordaens—the latter also an artist of the 1590s and later in Delft (see fig. 54)—included a good number of portraits (of family members, princes, and religious leaders such as Luther and Melancthon), mythological subjects, and landscapes, plus two flower pieces and a few genre scenes. "There was also a great abundance of wood, lead, stone, and alabaster sculptures, elaborate embroidery pieces, and brass trellis-work." Montias concludes, "While the proportion of sculpture and other artworks to paintings may have been unusually high in rich houses of this sort, the evidence from later periods indicates that pictures only gradually acquired the dominant position they finally commanded from the 1630s or 1640s on." With regard to a document of 1596, Montias also mentions "painted panels in conjunction with silver and other objects of luxury [as] a juxtaposition we shall often encounter."<sup>98</sup>

These are important observations, and they offer support for the inclusion of tapestries, silver, sculpture, and faience in the present exhibition. One can hardly consider the character of a local "school" of painting and drawing without some assessment of the other arts, nor can one appreciate the supply side of the equation without looking at the demand (meaning anyone who bought works by Delft artists and artisans, no matter where that collector lived).

However, the same scholar tends to downplay the arts in Delft before 1600 (indeed, before 1650), when the city "was a small and undistinguished artistic center." He dismisses the "two major exceptions" to this view, the sculptor Van Tetrode and the painter Blocklandt, with the following explanation: "The fame of these artists may have rested more on the work they had done outside Delft."<sup>99</sup> The fact that Van Tetrode was successful in Florence and Rome and Blocklandt in Utrecht hardly does discredit to Delft, where in any case Blocklandt was responsible for "various important altarpieces" (according to Van Mander) that were soon destroyed, and Van Tetrode's most celebrated creation was briefly on view.

Therein lies one of the essential reasons for the gap Montias perceives between "the relative unimportance of Delft as a birthplace of major painters and sculptors in the sixteenth century" and "its importance as a showplace for great works of religious art."<sup>100</sup> The sequence of calamities in that period—the fire of 1536, the plagues of 1537 and 1557, the iconoclastic riots of 1566 and 1573, and in the 1580s the continuing war with Spain and the assassination of William the Silent—must have seriously impeded the progress of an indigenous school of painting and sculpture on each occasion that the economy and local patrons offered hope. In these circumstances the exceptional cases in the Delft school were not Van Tetrode and Blocklandt but, firstly, artists who did not work for a living (like the Van der Houves), and, secondly, portraitists, whose product was the last kind of artwork to disappear in a recession, a war, or a provincial place.

As an art center Delft was not provincial, although one might gain this impression from Montias's survey of painters who were active there in the 1590s. He characterizes the group portraits painted by Jacob Willemsz Delff (see fig. 50) and by Van Miereveld (see cat. no. 45) as works that "are competent but hardly innovative. Neither these nor the workaday portrait painters of the time, such as Harmen van der Mast and Jan Gerbrants de Jong, were worthy of any special consideration on the part of a man [Van Buchell] who was familiar with the fine work going on in Utrecht (Bloemart, Utewael) and Haarlem (Cornelis Cornelisz., van Haarlem, Van Mander, and Goltzius), let alone with the exciting achievements of Renaissance Italy."<sup>101</sup> The large degree of truth in these remarks will be obvious to any student of the period, just as the word "innovative" will be familiar from conventional stylistic analyses. Most patrons in Delft and

in the neighboring court city were not looking for innovation but for sophistication and fine craftsmanship. If they had wanted Thomas de Keyser or Frans Hals for a group portrait instead of Van Miereveld in 1617 (see cat. no. 45) then they would have asked them, quite as the urbane collector Wyntgis filled up his walls with works by Hals's predecessor in painting "innovative" group portraits, Cornelis van Haarlem.<sup>102</sup>

The traditional conservatism of taste in Delft has often been read as a sign of artistic inertia. The styles of portraiture, landscape, still life, genre, and architectural painting practiced there are considered "old-fashioned" (although they were clearly fashionable in Delft and The Hague), indeed traceable back to earlier times in Utrecht or

Antwerp.<sup>103</sup> And then suddenly in the 1650s — or so it seems to the same critics — Delft became the most innovative place in the Netherlands (if one focuses upon Fabritius, Vermeer, De Witte, and a few others), the successor to the pioneering Haarlem school. The change is usually credited to some *deus ex machina* descending upon the provincial stage: Fabritius himself, Paulus Potter, Pieter Saenredam, and Nicolaes Maes have been cast in the role.<sup>104</sup>

As we have seen, however, Delft had a history of attracting artists from elsewhere, and her own artists were well aware of the latest developments in other cities and in some cases other countries. In the following pages we will focus upon questions of taste and patronage, and insofar as is possible upon the character of Delft society.







### 3. *Painting in Delft from about 1600 to 1650*

WALTER LIEDTKE

ONE OF THE DRAMATIC EVENTS experienced in Delft during the sixteenth century—fire, plague, war, economic recession, religious riots, and so on—was quite so consequential for the future as something that did not happen despite the efforts of the city fathers in 1575 and on other occasions. The House of Orange-Nassau did not establish a court in Delft. Even the magistrates who had hoped for this distinction, and who were proud to have William the Silent (fig. 42) as their neighbor on the Oude Delft in the 1570s and the early 1580s, could not have imagined how the character and fabric of their city would have altered were it not for the (by all accounts) dumb luck of William's assassin, and had the prince remained in Delft directing the war against Spain. Nor could the leading families of Delft, except perhaps for a few of the oldest and wisest, have envisioned the degree to which their own well-being and influence upon local affairs would have changed, and for the most part been diminished, if William's eldest Protestant son, Maurits, had not moved to quarters in the government buildings at The Hague in 1585. At the time, this must have been seen by many citizens of Delft as a loss of face and perhaps of hope for some prestigious appointment. The seventeen-year-old future Prince of Orange was made the nominal head of the Council of State in August 1584 and in November 1585 became stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. And yet the princely family, according to the earl of Leicester (who was governor-general of the United Provinces in 1585–87), was "mervellous poor, and little regarded by the States."<sup>1</sup> The latter were more likely patrons of the arts than the former. François Spiering's workshop in Delft, for example, provided several sets of tapestries to the States General, for its own use and more frequently for presentation as diplomatic gifts.<sup>2</sup>

Opposite: Fig. 42. Willem Jacobsz Delff after Adriaen van de Venne, *William the Silent* (detail), 1623. Engraving, 16 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (40.8 x 30.2 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Delftware tile depicting the Tomb of William the Silent (cat. no. 149)

In the 1620s, however, Maurits built and embellished the Stadholder's Quarters, the king and queen of Bohemia settled in The Hague, and some twelve hundred courtiers, diplomats, and servants resided in the general area of the court and government buildings. The schoolteacher David Beck records in his diary that on March 30, 1624, he and a friend went at one o'clock "to see the Prince of Orange eating," that is, to observe the ritual of dining in public, which in the next decade became more elaborate and a subject for painters of The Hague and Delft (see fig. 92). About five weeks later (on May 6), Beck saw the king and queen of Bohemia dining with the duke of Brunswick, noting in particular the impressive silver display.<sup>3</sup>

Prince Maurits and especially his younger brother and successor as stadholder, Frederick Hendrick (1584–1647; cat. nos. 43, 44), had learned the importance of *pracht en praal* (splendor and magnificence) in the practice of statecraft. It was difficult to be taken seriously by the representatives of foreign courts or by the States General without appearing princely. This was essential not only for diplomacy but for the sense of national identity. Thus the title "Father of the Fatherland" was taken over from the first Prince of Orange by his descendants, the stadholders, despite its paternalistic ring in republican ears. The prince, his residence, and his tomb (as in cat. no. 37) represented his country, the people, and their nation, a point that may require slightly less explanation in London, the second venue of this exhibition, than at the first.<sup>4</sup>

#### *Portraiture and the "Delft School"*

As Beck perused the princely luncheon in 1624 his eyes may have passed over the Delft doctor Jacob van Dalen, called Vallensis (1571–1644; fig. 45a), at the third or "nobles' table," where the prince's personal physician was customarily seated. (Vallensis also has a

prominent place in the left foreground of Van Miereveld's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Willem van der Meer*; cat. no. 45.) According to the Dutch court's dining protocol, dating from (coincidentally) 1624, the stadholder sat at the head table with guests of similar rank and the captain of the guard. At the second or "Council's table" were the highest court and government officials. At the third and even the second table the conversation was mostly in French, as many members of the prince's army and court were foreign noblemen, often of French descent. Non-noble administrators of the court, with the exception of the *hofmeester* at table two, filled in the remaining eight tables in the dining room.<sup>5</sup>

Had the princes of Orange remained in Delft, the consequences for the city's architecture would have been considerable. Convents would have been remodeled, stables and guardrooms constructed, and houses cleared (including courtyards such as the one depicted by De Hooch in cat. no. 27), and the city might have grown beyond its walls. The fine arts would not have been affected so dramatically, because for portable works there was little difference between patrons in The Hague and in Delft. As discussed above, Delft artists such as Van Miereveld and Spiering were hardly the worse off for not living in immediate proximity to the court at The Hague, where good houses were in short supply and pretensions prodigious. As prominent citizens, the leading artists of Delft were better off in their own city, to which courtly patrons traveled at the drop of a chapeau.

Except, of course, the prince: Van Miereveld must have gone to The Hague when the magistrates of Delft commissioned his first portrait of Maurits in 1607 (cat. no. 43). In the same year he became the prince's favorite court painter and during the next twenty-five years received many commissions from members of the Dutch and Bohemian courts, from diplomats like Sir Dudley Carleton, and from distinguished foreign visitors. He also painted many patrician figures of Delft, The Hague, Leiden, and other Dutch cities.<sup>6</sup> In 1625 he joined the painters' guild at The Hague, presumably because he had lost his status as court painter (which exempted him from guild membership) with the death of Prince Maurits. However, he was promptly named court painter by Frederick Hendrick.

Van Miereveld was born in 1567 in Delft the son of a silversmith, Jan Michielsz van Miereveld (1528–1612), who lived on the market square.<sup>7</sup> As a teenager he trained for two years in Utrecht under the former Delft resident Anthonie Blocklandt, at whose death in 1583 Van Miereveld went home. He joined the painters' guild in 1587 and in 1589, at the age of twenty-two, served as one of its headmen.<sup>8</sup> Very little is known of Van Miereveld's early work apart from the mythological composition of 1588 mentioned in chapter 2 (fig. 39). However, Karel van Mander's biography of 1604 already praises the painter as someone "who is outstanding and surpasses [all] others in at least one single category"; he lists among the artist's sitters "the Delft burgomaster Gerit Jansz. van der Eyk, with his wife and children,"

various brewers in Delft, a couple of Amsterdam collectors, and "still in hand . . . [a portrait of] the Princess of Orange [probably Louise de Coligny, William the Silent's widow] and others of the nobility, and noble children." Finally, Van Mander says, Van Miereveld was so celebrated "that he was very often, and still is, invited to join Duke Albert [Archduke Albert of Austria, Rubens's patron], with a guarantee of freedom of religion and general promises." On top of that, he is also "an outstandingly good master in painting kitchens with all sorts of things from life . . . but he can barely find the time to make anything other than portraits, of which he has many to do, even though his preference very much inclines towards compositions and figures" (as in fig. 39).<sup>9</sup>

When Van Miereveld began his career as a portraitist (probably in the late 1580s) there were two older specialists in Delft: Jacob Willemsz Delff (ca. 1550–1601), a native of Gouda who moved to Delft in 1582, and Herman van der Mast (ca. 1550–1610), who was born in Den Briel but was active in Delft by 1579. Van der Mast studied with Frans Floris in Antwerp and then for most of the 1570s worked as a history painter in France, where he was reportedly ennobled. The only pictures by him known today are the pendant portraits (dated 1587 and 1589) in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Delff is a slightly more familiar figure. His surviving works include pendant portraits dated 1581 and a civic-guard painting of 1592 in the Prinsenhof, Delft; a self-portrait with the artist's family of about 1590 (fig. 43); and the charming portrait of a two-year-old boy (1581) and a portrait of the Delft burgomaster Paulus Cornelisz van Beresteijn in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 219).<sup>10</sup>

Delff's more formal portraits are among the first in the northern Netherlands to reveal the influence of the court portraitist Antonio Moro, that is, Anthonis Mor van Dashorst (ca. 1516/19–ca. 1575/76), Jan van Scorel's pupil from Utrecht who went to Antwerp and Brussels in the late 1540s. At the Brussels court and in Italy, Lisbon, and Madrid (1550–52) Mor became familiar with state portraits by Titian, such as the full-length *Charles V with a Dog* (1532–33) and *Philip II* (1551) now in the Prado, Madrid. In works such as the *Portrait of Mary Tudor* (1554; Prado) and the *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Dog* (1569; National Gallery of Art, Washington) Mor adopted poses found in Titian and to some extent his spaciousness and tonalities, which tempered the traditional northern qualities of emphatic modeling and insistent detail.<sup>11</sup> This combination and Mor's own inclination to explore character within the limits of courtly decorum lend to his portraits a disconcerting immediacy. Severe sitters seem to scrutinize the viewer at rather close range (as in Mor's portraits of Sir Thomas Gresham and his wife, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

The tradition of court portraiture in Delft and The Hague descended directly from Mor, who spent his last ten years in Brussels and Antwerp. (Mor and William the Silent served the same master, Philip II, both of them reluctantly.) To be sure, Van Miereveld's

Fig. 43. Jacob Willemsz Delff, *Self-Portrait of the Artist with His Family*, ca. 1590. Oil on wood, 32 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 42 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (83.5 x 109 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



portraits of Dutch princes and even of Delft brewers and burgo-masters lack the hint of Venetian animation that is found in Mor, and his descriptive subtleties. But his patterns served well the purpose of South Holland portraitists, which was to suggest dignified reserve while documenting facial features and costume details. In 1631, for example, Van Miereveld's former pupil Willem van Vliet presented the new archpriest of Delfland, Suitbertus Purmerent (fig. 47), in a manner that may be traced back three generations to compositions by Mor.<sup>12</sup>

This will not sound to some readers like a recommendation, nor does Van Miereveld's approach—"restrained, rather dry visual reports, competent in draughtsmanship and with only a moderate decorative effect"—appeal to modern sensibilities.<sup>13</sup> Van Miereveld does not even offer us the charm of provincial portraitists, such as those who worked in the farther reaches of Friesland or in New

Amsterdam during the seventeenth century.<sup>14</sup> The court painter can be at once sophisticated and boring. But it is misleading to compare Van Miereveld with Rembrandt; in 1631, when the latter first painted formal portraits (for example, *Nicolaes Ruts*, in the Frick Collection, New York), he was twenty-five years old and Van Miereveld sixty-four—older than Rembrandt when he died. (Van Dyck and Van Miereveld died in the same year, 1641, but the fashionable Fleming was thirty-two years younger and the product of exceedingly different personal and historical circumstances.) It is the modern viewer who is provincial, who lacks imagination, when he considers Van Miereveld and Rembrandt in the same context and has little use for the former beyond referring to him as a foil for the latter's genius and panache.

Constantijn Huygens, who visited both artists' studios and considered it an honor to count Van Miereveld among his friends, offers

a different view. "Our forefathers had Holbein, Pourbus and others . . . our Van Miereveld seems in all respects their like, although I would contend that he surpasses them in that no one—in a word—ever saw himself unlike" in one of the master's portraits (a panel of 1628 in the Wallace Collection, London, presumably could have served Huygens as an example; fig. 46). "Most [painters] who, as it were, attempt to force the truth through a disproportionate display of their own limited talent, fall into affectation," whereas this artist is more reliable. "With Van Miereveld, the whole of art lies with nature, and the whole of nature in his art." Finally, Huygens concludes (with a nice choice of metaphor) that with respect to "reality" or nature, the Delft painter "lets all her beauty show in her own clothes, and leaves her free of any accessory."<sup>15</sup>

A year or so after these words were written Van Dyck made the most evocative known image of Huygens (fig. 44), and he painted portraits of Frederick Hendrick and Amalia van Solms (winter 1631–32; prime versions in the Baltimore Museum of Art and a private collection). Van Miereveld depicted the prince and his consort as late as 1632, but Gerard van Honthorst, the future favorite, had already painted his first portraits of Frederick Hendrick one year earlier (for example, the full-length portrait in Windsor Castle).<sup>16</sup> It should be noted, however, that the first portraits Van Honthorst produced for the Dutch and Bohemian courts were barely more animated



Fig. 44. Paulus Pontius after Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Constantijn Huygens*, 1630s. Engraving, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (27.3 x 17.5 cm). British Museum, London



Figs. 45a and b. Michiel van Miereveld, *Jacob van Dalen*, 1640, and *Margaretha van Clootwijk, Wife of Jacob van Dalen*, 1639. Oil on wood, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 23 in. (69.9 x 58.4 cm), and 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (70.5 x 58.1 cm), respectively. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Collis P. Huntington, 1900



Fig. 46. Michiel van Miereveld, *Portrait of a Woman*, 1628. Oil on wood, 26 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (67.1 x 56.1 cm). Wallace Collection, London

in posing or brushwork than Van Miereveld's recent examples.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, the Delft master continued to receive more commissions than he could handle from patrician clients, such as Dr. van Dalen (Vallensis), whose half-length portrait and its pendant in the Metropolitan Museum (dated 1640 and 1639, respectively; figs. 45a, 45b), or versions of them, were still in the artist's studio when he died. The inventory of Van Miereveld's estate (compiled by his son-in-law, the notary Johan van Beest) implies that the costumes in the Van Dalen portraits were painted by the artist's grandson and suc-

cessor, Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger, and the same information is explicitly stated with respect to another pair of portraits: "Pensionaris BERCHOUT [Paulus Teding van Berkhout?] and his wife, wherein the clothing was done by JACOB DELFF."<sup>18</sup>

American readers, at least, will have heard the popular expression, "This is not your mother's [whatever]," meaning that the item in question is the latest thing. A portrait of Van Dalen's mother is also listed in Van Miereveld's estate; the artist often depicted more than one generation of the same family. Our own notions of fashion do

not apply in Delft, at least not with regard to portraits—for which concepts such as family tradition, civic stature, and clothing of heirloom quality (see fig. 46; cat. no. 46) were nearly as important as a faithful likeness. The right frame of reference was instinctively assumed by the stadholder's artistic adviser, Huygens, who as mentioned above compared Van Miereveld to the great court portraitists of the past (in other countries) and praised the artist for his fidelity to appearances. Barely a page later Huygens began his rapturous account of two "beardless youths" in Leiden, Rembrandt and Lievens.

Some critics have found it ironic that the same Dutchmen who rebelled against Spain should adopt styles of dress, portraiture, and public comportment from the courts of Madrid and Brussels. But this was not the French or American Revolution. Concepts of proper behavior and dress were shared by members of noble and patrician society throughout the Netherlands, although they might have been buttressed by such diverse ideologies as court etiquette, Neo-Stoicism, and various forms of Protestantism. "The growth of individualism . . . prompted many to turn inward and closely examine their lives, values, and beliefs as they attempted to reorient and reintegrate themselves. From this intense introspection would emerge a fundamentally altered type of personality, governed more by reason than emotion, with a high degree of self-awareness, a personality endowed with inner authority."<sup>19</sup> This does not sound like the "growth of individualism" as we have known it in America or England during the twentieth century, but it describes fairly well the view of Van Miereveld's sitters.

The resemblance between Van Honthorst's first portraits of princely patrons at The Hague and those by his immediate predecessor is another instance of an artist's understanding court taste (he had recently worked at the court of Charles I, for six months in 1628). So did Rembrandt, it seems, when he painted his *Portrait of Amalia van Solms* dated 1632 (Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris), an exceedingly reserved half-length figure seen in strict profile, like an antique cameo, and like Van Honthorst's *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick* dated 1631 (Orange-Nassau Historic Collection Trust, The Hague), to which Rembrandt's atypical painting was apparently meant as a mate.<sup>20</sup>

Van Miereveld must have been recognized as a peer by many of his middle-class patrons in Delft. At his death he owned two houses, ten parcels of land which were rented to farmers, various bonds and other interest-bearing assets, and 5,829 guilders in cash on hand (a decade's income for a skilled laborer). In his will the painter, an Anabaptist, left several thousand guilders to a wide range of Protestant charities.<sup>21</sup>

To become Van Miereveld's peer was evidently the goal of several successful portraitists in the South Holland area and in Utrecht. His sons Pieter (1596–1623) and Jan (1604–1633) were among his many disciples, but they predeceased him, and his studio was inherited by

his grandson, Jacob Delff (who was also the grandson of Jacob Willemsz Delff). Van Miereveld's most important pupils included Paulus Moreelse of Utrecht (1571–1638) and the Delft natives Willem van Vliet (ca. 1584–1642) and Anthonie Palamedesz (1601–1673). His manner was also adopted by two prominent portraitists of The Hague, Jan van Ravesteyn (ca. 1570–1657) and Daniel Mijtens the Elder (ca. 1590–1647). Mijtens was actually born in Delft but joined the guild at The Hague in 1610 and by August 1628 was in London, working for the earl of Arundel, James I, and then Charles I (Mijtens's Miereveld-like portrait of the queen of Bohemia in St. James's Palace, London, was probably painted at The Hague in 1626–27).<sup>22</sup>

To judge from Van Mander's account, Van Miereveld hardly needed to advertise, but this was accomplished internationally by Willem Delff (1580–1638), who from 1618 served as the master's exclusive engraver after becoming his son-in-law. Like Delft artists of two centuries earlier, he began as a book illustrator and then trained to a higher level (possibly with Hendrick Goltzius). He worked only as a reproductive engraver, making about fifty prints after Van Miereveld (whom he predeceased by three years), including plates depicting Maurits and Frederick Hendrick (1623–24), Sir Dudley Carleton (1620), the Duke of Buckingham (1626), and other public figures. Images of Charles I and Henrietta Maria were engraved in 1628 and 1630 after paintings by Mijtens. Portraits of William the Silent (fig. 42) and his stadholder sons by Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662), another Delft native who made his career in The Hague, are now known only through Delff's three superb engravings (1618–21). In 1625 twenty-five impressions of the portraits of Maurits and Frederick Hendrick were pulled on satin for the members of the States General; two examples are catalogued here (nos. 131, 132).<sup>23</sup>

Some of Van Miereveld's most attractive portraits are not of court figures but of prominent Delft citizens: the pendants depicting burgomaster Ewout van der Dussen and his wife (the latter dated 1617; both, art market, 1994);<sup>24</sup> the portraits of burgomaster Arent Jacobsz van der Graeff and his wife, Sara Bosschaert, both of 1619 (Prinsenhof, Delft);<sup>25</sup> those of Frans Dircksz Meerman and his first wife (1620), which were bequeathed by his daughter-in-law Agneta Deutz to the almshouse she founded (Deutzenhofje, Amsterdam);<sup>26</sup> and many others, including works which like the Van Dalen pendants cited above (figs. 45a, 45b), were yet to be delivered when the artist died. Van Miereveld's use of standardized patterns is obvious, but it has also been observed that his younger sitters started to assume jauntier poses in the 1620s (for example, the Van der Dussens and Frans Meerman), and that in the 1630s his figures became more convincingly modeled with light and shade.<sup>27</sup>

As Dutch readers will be well aware, Van Miereveld left to posterity portraits of some of the most important figures in Dutch history, not only princes and politicians but also preachers, poets, and naval





Fig. 47. Willem van Vliet, *Portrait of Suitbertus Purmerent*, 1631. Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{7}{16}$  x 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (113.5 x 85.4 cm). The National Gallery, London



Fig. 48. Willem van Vliet, *Portrait of a Man*, 1636. Oil on canvas, 33 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (85.5 x 69 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

heroes. In Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum alone there are sober likenesses of the Dutch princes, their nemesis Ambrogio di Spinola (general of Spanish forces), Admiral Maerten Tromp and his wife Cornelia Teding van Berkhout, the Remonstrant minister Johannes Uytenbogaert and his wife, the popular poet and moralist Jacob Cats (1634, 1639), the unfortunate Advocate of Holland, Johan van Oldenbarneveltdt (who was beheaded by Maurits's order at the Binnenhof in 1619), the famous jurist Hugo de Groot or Grotius (who came from a regent family of Delft), the historian and poet Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, and others. The portrait of Uytenbogaert (1632), whose appearance is also familiar from paintings by Rembrandt (1633) and by Jacob Backer (1638) in the Rijksmuseum, resulted from a long visit that the theologian (and court preacher of Prince Maurits) paid to the ailing burgomaster Gerrit Meerman in Delft (July 2–7, 1631). "In the meantime I let the famous painter Mr. Michiel Miervelt take my portrait, at his earnest entreaty."<sup>28</sup>

Van Miereveld may have been gently nudged toward greater animation not only by his younger patrons but also by the examples of his own pupils and followers, in particular Willem van Vliet, who was about seventeen years the master's junior but outlived him by less than a year and a half (Van Vliet was fifty-eight when he died, in

December 1642, according to the biographer Arnold Houbraken).<sup>29</sup>

In one of Van Vliet's earliest known paintings, a portrait of a French nobleman dated 1624,<sup>30</sup> and in the portraits of the Delft notary and collector Willem de Langue and his wife dated 1626 (figs. 228a, 228b),<sup>31</sup> the artist's style is close to that of Van Miereveld in the 1610s and 1620s. In the portrait of Suitbertus Purmerent (fig. 47) the features are more softly modeled than in Van Miereveld, and various textures are distinguished; the arrangement of objects, the handling of light, and the tonal palette suggest space and atmosphere. This development would be unremarkable in Haarlem (although the most similar works by Johannes Verspronk date several years later), but in Delft it seems a fresh breeze (however gentle) from out of town. In some of Van Vliet's later portraits, for instance that of a modish gentleman dated 1636 (fig. 48), Van Vliet was keeping up with Van Couwenbergh in adopting poses more expected of painters from Utrecht and Haarlem. However, the brushwork remains smooth and the details are specific, creating the anachronistic impression of a Victorian homage to Hals.<sup>32</sup>

If the portrait by Van Vliet just mentioned and others like it suggest that he was more than a mere follower of Van Miereveld, then his history and genre paintings, discussed below, resolve the



Fig. 49. Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger, *Portrait of Gabriel Vernatti* (1622–after 1655), 1650s. Oil on wood, 29½ x 24½ in. (74.9 x 61.8 cm). Instituut Collectie Nederland

issue at a glance (see figs. 55, 56; cat. no. 85). The palm for plodding loyalty may be passed to Van Miereveld's grandson and heir, Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger (1619–1661; son of the engraver Willem Delff), whose personal motto could be taken from the inscription on the *Portrait of Christiana Pijl* dated 1640 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp): “M. Miereveld incepit/j. Delfius absolvit.”<sup>33</sup>

The supply of portraits that continued with Delff went almost exclusively to Delft customers, and no wonder, given that Van Honthorst, Adriaen Hanneman, Jan Mijtens, and Pieter Nason were all established as fashionable portraitists in The Hague from about 1638 onward.<sup>34</sup> A representative example of Delff's work is the portrait of Gabriel Vernatti (fig. 49), whose grandparents had been painted by Van Miereveld in the 1610s (Instituut Collectie Nederland). In 1648 Delff painted the *Officers of the White Banner* (fig. 50) for the civic-guard company in which he, Leonaert Bramer, and the art-loving notary Willem de Langue were sergeants. The canvas has served as the vehicle of an illuminating sociological study, but as a composition it does not march a meter beyond the *Officers of the Orange Banner* painted in about 1614 by Delff's uncle, Rochus Jacobsz Delff (Prinsenhof, Delft).<sup>35</sup>

During the 1640s two older portraitists in Delft, Anthonie Palamedesz and Hendrick Cornelisz van Vliet (1611/12–1675; Willem's nephew), painted works more accomplished than Delff's; Van Vliet's



Fig. 50. Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger, *Officers of the White Banner*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 77½ x 108½ in. (197 x 275 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof



Fig. 51. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Family Portrait*, ca. 1635. Oil on canvas, 31½ x 42¼ in. (80 x 107 cm). Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp

portrait of the Van der Dussen family (cat. no. 80) rivals his uncle's work in quality. Both artists absorbed new ideas after 1650, while the younger Delft continued on as before. But even Van Vliet remained a decade behind compared with artists in other cities. The family portrait of 1640 recalls that of the Antwerp artist Cornelis de Vos in 1631 (*Anthony Reyniers and His Family*, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art).<sup>36</sup> Van Vliet's *Portrait of a Woman* dated 1650 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and a pair of portraits dated 1656 (art market, 1999) employ Amsterdam designs of the 1640s,<sup>37</sup> and the female portrait dated 1663 in the Rijksmuseum follows a pattern that was already familiar when Van Honthorst used it in his *Portrait of Amalia van Solms* dated 1650 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). From the early 1650s onward Van Vliet painted a few hundred church interiors (see cat. nos. 81–84) and portraiture became a minor part of his oeuvre.

For his part, Palamedesz kept turning out guardroom and Merry Company pictures in the third quarter of the century, although few of them compare in quality to those dating from the 1630s.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps the genre scenes made him more responsive to new ways of posing figures and arranging groups: his family portrait of the mid-1630s in Antwerp (fig. 51) is almost as animated as portraits of this type painted in Haarlem and Amsterdam (by Thomas de Keyser, Jan Miense Molenaer, and others). The floor tiles, however, are more expected of an artist working in Bartholomeus van Bassen's and Gerard Houckgeest's neighborhood (see figs. 91, 92; cat. nos. 7, 36).<sup>39</sup> One of the few places in Holland where such tiles actually existed in a

domestic setting was in some of the rooms of the palace at Rijswijk, near Delft (fig. 8).<sup>40</sup>

In some later portraits, presumably not of the stodgiest people in Delft, Palamedesz's sitters seem nearly as suave as Hanneman's in the same years (see fig. 52).<sup>41</sup> Similarly, Palamedesz's large family portrait of 1665 in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, presents eight smiling figures and various animals and dead game on the rolling terrain of a country estate, quite as in compositions by Jan Mijtens dating from the 1640s onward.<sup>42</sup> Mijtens's manner of arranging family portraits out-of-doors had already been adopted in Delft by Christiaan van Couwenbergh, whose *Family Portrait at a Fountain* (fig. 53) and similar works date from the early 1640s, when the artist was painting mythological hunting scenes for Frederick Hendrick's palace at Rijswijk.<sup>43</sup>

Another question that remains to be explored is how many Delft patrons had their portraits painted in The Hague from the 1640s onward, reversing the trend that had lasted for at least thirty years. Michael Montias noted one example: in 1669 Jacob Hoogenhouck, captain of the Delft militia, sat for Jan de Baen (1633–1702) and paid him the princely sum of 175 guilders. "It is remarkable," Montias observes, "that so prominent a Delft citizen should have commissioned an out-of-town artist for his portrait."<sup>44</sup> On the contrary, this is exactly what one expects of a leading figure in Delft, given that the fashionable portraitists were now in The Hague, to which sitters must have flocked from all over the republic. In any case, Delft



Fig. 52. Anthony Palamedesz, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, 1657. Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (83.2 x 69.2 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Richard Green Gallery, London)



Fig. 53. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Portrait of a Family by a Fountain*, 1642. Oil on canvas, 76½ x 72¼ in. (194 x 185 cm). Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Antwerp

portraiture after 1650 may be considered peripheral to the specialty at The Hague, where Hanneman, Mijtens, Nason, De Baen, and Caspar Netscher pursued successful careers in the third quarter of the century.<sup>45</sup> Among painters of formal portraits, only Johannes Verkolje deserves inclusion in our catalogue (nos. 61, 62), although his work could be said to illustrate the current style in The Hague and in the artist's native city of Amsterdam.<sup>46</sup>

That there was a distinctive style of portraiture in the southern part of the province of Holland during the first half of the seventeenth century has long been recognized. The term "South Holland" has served as shorthand for painters active in Delft and The Hague, but it also encompasses artists working in a similar manner elsewhere in the area, for example David Bailly (ca. 1584–1657) in Leiden.<sup>47</sup> However, the Delft portraitists do not merely represent one instance of a regional style. Jacob Willemsz Delff and Van Miereveld established the tradition, and the court portraitist and his followers adhered to it more consistently than did any artists elsewhere.

This was not simply a matter of masters training pupils but of taste and social values as well. Perhaps the most impressive aspect of this conservative style is that it underscores a certain demeanor, which is sober, reserved, and dignified. Apart from discreetly placed attributes, the sitter's merits are not clearly distinguished from those of his peers. Van Miereveld's patrons required no analysis for the benefit of family members and neighbors. The artist recorded their

appearance for posterity. As for the poses and expressions he assigned to his sitters, these reveal less about them as individuals than about their community.

The descent of this tradition from portraiture at the Spanish courts in Brussels and Madrid did not impede the development of Dutch qualities. Careful observation, solid modeling, a disciplined use of line, and consistent, one might say "objective," illumination carried the "South Holland style" rather far from its roots in Titian and Antonio Moro. Van Miereveld's debt to Titian was at least twice removed and almost entirely different from what Rubens and Van Dyck saw in the Venetian artist. The easy grace of Van Dyck, with his fluid brushwork and flowing, colorful drapery; the dashing strokes and thrusting gestures of Frans Hals; and the dramatic stage effects of Rembrandt (imagine *The Shipbuilder and His Wife* done over by Van Miereveld) were not suited to most members of patrician society in Delft and The Hague, nor to the court of Prince Maurits. This changed at the courts of Frederick Hendrick and of Charles I's sister, Elizabeth Stuart, at The Hague. In Delft it never changed as much.

Portraiture has been given a fair amount of space in this chapter for several reasons, the least important being that Van Miereveld and his followers have been treated unsympathetically by most historians. More important is the fact that these painters were recognized as major figures in their day, earning considerable respect and incomes ranging from moderate to exceptional (Van Miereveld, Willem Delff, and Palamedesz were especially well off).<sup>48</sup> Finally, there is the question raised in chapter 1 as to whether or not a "Delft School" ever existed, and if so, when.

The most familiar answer is that a few famous artists formed a local "school" in the middle of the seventeenth century. For example, following earlier art historians, Montias suggests that once Paulus Potter, Emanuel de Witte, Carel Fabritius, Pieter de Hooch, and Vermeer joined the painters' guild in Delft, shortly before or shortly after 1650, then "a genuine school—in the sense of a community with intersecting interests in subject matter and techniques, with some similarity in aesthetic approaches, and with significant cross-influences—had at last come into existence." As for the earlier generations, Montias remarks that "no more disparate group of painters can be conceived than Michiel Miereveld, Balthasar van der Ast, Jacob Pynas, Anthony Palamedes, Simon de Vlieger, and Leonaert Bramer who were all active—and more or less successful—in Delft in the 1630s."<sup>49</sup> A year earlier, Christopher Brown made the same claim more dismissively, declaring that "there is nothing, for instance, that the works of Jacob Delff [the Younger], Evert van Aelst [the obscure father of Willem] and Christiaan van Couwenbergh have in common besides the medium of oil paint."<sup>50</sup>

However, if we drop the marginal candidates—Pynas and De Vlieger, for example, worked in Delft but briefly—and add in everyone who was recognized by their contemporaries as a member of the



city's artistic community, then something like a "genuine school" comes into view. Needless to say, it is not quite the same one originally defined by scholars such as Hans Jantzen and Max Eisler, who wrote within the lifetimes of Renoir and Monet.<sup>51</sup> The structure of Eisler's section on painting in his *Alt-Delft* is revealing enough, and typical of historical scholarship in Germany at the time. He divides the seventeenth century in Delft into *Vorgeschichte* ("Prehistory," up to the 1640s); *Wendung* ("The Turning," with Palamedesz, Potter, Houckgeest, and Fabritius behind the wheel); *Die Ernte* ("Harvest Time," with De Hooch chasing after Vermeer); and *Niedergang und Abkehr* (the "Decline and Fall" of wretches such as Verkolje and the aging Egbert van der Poel, Adam Pynacker, and Willem van Aelst, regardless of where they happened to be working at the time).

Much as one could quibble, let us accept Montias's notion of a local school and bear it in mind as we survey works by Delft artists of different periods. We should also concede at the outset that not every painter will contribute to a clear pattern, that some personalities and some facts will always subvert the housekeeping tasks of historians. But not in the realm of portraiture. That Van Miereveld and his circle formed a "school" in Montias's sense requires no further discussion.

### *History Painting and Closely Related Genre Scenes*

The state of history painting in the Netherlands, as noted above, was lamented by Van Mander in *Het Schilder-Boeck* (1604). In addition to the Reformation, which suppressed religious painting and must have discouraged risqué mythologies, the uncertain political and economic circumstances of the early seventeenth century made this an inopportune moment for painting "histories" on a large scale. This was true in most parts of the northern Netherlands but it must have been all the more so in Delft, which on the whole was conservative, strict in its supervision of religious practice, and nearly devoid (as discussed above) of an indigenous school of figure painting.

The sole exception in the period about 1600–1620, aside from wealthy amateurs like the Van der Houves, were the painters in watercolor, whose main product in Delft was tapestry cartoons. Seven *watervervw-schilders* (watercolor painters) were inscribed in the master book of the Delft guild on the first day of 1613, as opposed to forty painters in oil (some of whom were *kladschilders*, or "rough painters," not fine artists). Montias has determined that "all the watercolor painters in the master list, including some who registered after 1613, came from Flanders."<sup>52</sup> The main reason for this must have been that the Flemings (like Jacob Jordaens in Antwerp) had already trained in the profession. Spiering's most accomplished designers, the Van Manders, were also of Flemish descent.

Apart from Karel van Mander the Younger, whose designs for Spiering and himself were made with princely or government (and often foreign) clients in mind, the most successful history painter in

Delft from about 1590 to 1630 was a Fleming who worked mostly on a small scale, Hans Jordaens the Elder (1555/60–1630). He is not well known: in 1981 Eric Jan Sluijter failed to mention him in a survey of Delft history painters active from about 1570 to 1630, while Montias, looking at the evidence from a different angle, noted in the same publication that the two most famous history painters of Delft during the first half of the seventeenth century happened to be a Lutheran (Jordaens) and a Catholic (Bramer).<sup>53</sup> A year later, Montias described Jordaens as "a highly successful painter, judging by the very large number of his pictures in Delft collections and their high prices"; the same scholar has found similar evidence in Amsterdam inventories and sales.<sup>54</sup> And yet the only reference to Jordaens in the 1993 exhibition catalogue *Dawn of the Golden Age* (surveying Dutch art between 1580 and 1620) was fortuitous: in 1603 Hendrick Hondius published an allegorical print after Jordaens, which is mentioned in the text solely as a document of the publishing business at the time.<sup>55</sup>

The engraving's hero, Prince Maurits, had just recently given Jordaens a much bigger job, according to Van Mander in 1604: "A short while ago his Excellency Count Maurus brought sixteen painted tapestry cartoons, very well and art-fully completed by Bernardt [van Orley, about 1530], to The Hague in Holland. On each of them is a life-size man or woman on horseback: the ancestry and descent of the house of Nassau depicted from life. His Excellency Count Maurus had these copied in oil-paint by Hans Jordaens of Antwerp, an art-full painter who lives in Delft."<sup>56</sup> The writer was probably aware, through Spiering or Jordaens himself, that Maurits's father, William the Silent, had inherited a set of eight tapestries from this celebrated series called the *Nassau Genealogy*.<sup>57</sup>

Jordaens is also mentioned in Van Mander's life of Frans Pourbus (1545/46–1581), whose widow "took as her second husband Hans Jordaens, a pupil of Marten van Cleef [Cleve] who (according to some) did not leave his master before time, for he is an excellently good master as well in figures as in landscape and histories, and also most spirited and ingenious at many different subjects: peasants, soldiers, sailors, fishermen, nocturnes, fires, rocks and suchlike clever things. He entered the guild in Antwerp in the year of Our Lord 1579 [actually 1581] and today lives in Delft in Holland."<sup>58</sup>

Much in this account, written when Jordaens had already been in Delft for about fifteen years (he probably arrived about 1587–88), is corroborated by Delft documents or by surviving pictures, such as the Van Cleve-like painting of peasants dancing outside an inn (fig. 81) and a *Wooded Landscape with Christ and the Canaanite Woman* (art market, 1983) in the manner of Gillis van Coninxloo, who served as witness at Jordaens's wedding in Antwerp in 1582.<sup>59</sup> In 1612 the duke of Aerschot owned a very large painting by Jordaens which depicted a beached whale surrounded by a throng of people; to judge from the palette, "noir et dorées," the scene was a nocturne (which is perhaps of interest for Van der Poel; see cat. no. 53).<sup>60</sup> A



Fig. 54. Hans Jordaens, *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness*, ca. 1605. Oil on wood, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (31.1 x 48.8 cm). Richard L. Feigen and Co., New York

landscape and a “conflagration” by Jordaens (perhaps also relevant to Van der Poel?; see cat. no. 50) were included in a Delft lottery of 1626, together with three works by the younger Delft landscapist Pieter Groenewegen, five architectural paintings by Van Bassen, two Blocklandts, and the top prize, *John the Baptist Preaching in the Wilderness* by Abraham Bloemaert. Estimated values were provided by the guild’s two headmen, the still-life painter Cornelis Jacobsz Delft and Jordaens himself.<sup>61</sup> In addition to painting landscapes Jordaens evidently served occasionally as a staffage painter, since he is said to have been responsible for the figures in a scene of ships and rocks by “Jacob Wouters,” that is, Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer, who is known to have painted landscapes before turning to flower pieces (see cat. no. 88).<sup>62</sup>

Jordaens was clearly an eclectic artist, with a wide knowledge of popular subjects and styles. He went to Antwerp several times during the Twelve Years’ Truce (1609–21) to settle family affairs; these trips and perhaps art dealing (paintings comprised five-sixths of the value of his estate) would have kept him well informed.<sup>63</sup> But that amounts to no more than keeping up with the Spierings, the Van der Houves, and others in Delft, considering how much Jordaens’s small religious pictures (fig. 54) resemble works by Van Mander and Cornelis van Haarlem. The proportions and tapering limbs of his

figures and his colorful palette make Jordaens’s history paintings look like compositions by Cornelis van Haarlem of about 1600, done over in a somewhat more classical vein; he favored frontal and rectilinear elements, to the point of gathering figures in isocephalic groups. A few paintings by Jordaens of John the Baptist Preaching are known; the subject was popular with Protestants (being reminiscent of the clandestine “hedge preachers,” who offered sermons during the years of Spanish oppression) and was probably repeated with a view to the open market.<sup>64</sup> In an estate sale in Delft in 1617 a future burgomaster bought one of these pictures by Jordaens for 50 guilders. At the same sale, “Dr. Valensis” (see fig. 45a), paid 130 guilders for a “Peasant Wedding” by Jordaens.<sup>65</sup>

It may seem to some readers that Jordaens could just as well have worked in another Dutch or even a Flemish city. Nonetheless, he links a number of artists in Delft, such as Blocklandt, the visiting Van Manders, Van der Houve, and Bramer, who also specialized in small cabinet paintings depicting biblical and mythological subjects. The presence of Jacob Pynas in Delft (from 1632 to 1641) could be considered a continuation of Jordaens’s line of work, although Pynas, like Bramer, carried the tradition of Italian- and Flemish-influenced history painting into a new era, one benefiting from the examples of Caravaggio, Adam Elsheimer, and their many admirers. If Jordaens

was indeed, as contemporary sources indicate, one of the most successful and respected artists in Delft (he was frequently called upon for guild service and appraisals, and in 1625 was dean of the Lutheran community), then the works that Bramer and Pynas painted in Delft seem like much less isolated developments than they have to some scholars.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, Jordaens's production of small figure paintings in a classicizing style has a parallel in The Hague, with court-favored artists such as Cornelis van Poelenburgh and Dirck van der Lisse.<sup>67</sup> Jordaens has also been compared with the Antwerp painter of small history pictures Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642),<sup>68</sup> but one has the impression that his real Antwerp hero would have been his nearly exact contemporary, Otto van Veen (1556–1629), and, in the north, Bloemaert, in addition to Van Mander and Cornelis van Haarlem.

Willem van Vliet represents a later generation than Hans Jordaens, as his small, recently defined oeuvre reveals.<sup>69</sup> Born about 1584, he was at least twenty-five years younger than Jordaens; Van Vliet's earliest dated portrait, mentioned above, dates from 1624, when he was already forty years old. A genre scene in Detroit (fig. 55), painted in the same year, bears Van Vliet's signature. So does the more colorful *Philosopher and Pupils* of 1626 in Brodie Castle (fig. 56), as cleaning in the 1980s revealed. Despite its polished execution, the latter picture was considered to be by Van Honthorst in the nineteenth century; Benedict Nicolson reassigned it to Crijn Hendricksz Volmarijn (ca. 1601–1645), "Rotterdam painter and art dealer, active in the 1630s, influenced by Honthorst and G. Seghers."<sup>70</sup> This characterization is

supported by two paintings of *The Supper at Emmaus*, each signed "C.H.volmarin" and dated 1631 (Historisch Museum Rotterdam) and 1632 (fig. 57), which nonetheless could have been based directly upon such compositions by Van Vliet (who was twenty years Volmarijn's senior) as the Brodie Castle panel. The historical outline implied here is already familiar to the reader: the Delft painter absorbed ideas from Antwerp and Utrecht, and played some part in passing them on to artists in nearby cities such as Rotterdam, Gouda, and The Hague.<sup>71</sup>

According to Dirck van Bleyswijck (1667–80), Van Vliet started as a history painter and only later took up portraiture, like Van Miereveld (with whom he may have trained about 1605). The Caravaggesque genre scenes dating from the mid-1620s—and presumably history paintings in the same style as well<sup>72</sup>—reveal Van Vliet keeping pace not only with Van Honthorst but also with Peter Wtewael (1596–1660) in Utrecht (with whom Van Vliet has been confused) and with Jan Lievens in Leiden.<sup>73</sup> Van Vliet's large allegorical canvas dated 1627 (cat. no. 85) may suggest a new direction, but his Caravaggesque *vanitas* picture *Man Holding a Bag of Bones* (private collection, London) is dated 1629 and remains close in style to the *Philosopher and Pupils* of 1626 (fig. 56).<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, the fact that *An Allegory* includes colorfully clothed figures in daylight should not obscure its closeness in style to the candlelight scene in Brodie Castle; both pictures could be described as the work of a Van Miereveld follower responding to Van Honthorst and perhaps to other Utrecht painters favored by the Dutch court in the 1620s, namely



Fig. 55. Willem van Vliet, *Two Peasants*, 1624. Oil on wood, 20  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 25  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (51.1 x 64.1 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 56. Willem van Vliet, *Philosopher and Pupils*, 1626. Oil on wood, 33½ x 44½ in. (85.1 x 113 cm). National Trust for Scotland, Brodie Castle

Bloemaert and Moreelse.<sup>75</sup> The lighting and space, the degree of modeling, the tendency to generalize the figure types, the emphasis upon significant gestures, and the woman's costume (white and yellow with a discreetly striped sash)—these are all reflections of contemporary painting in Utrecht, although Van Vliet has considerably toned down the sort of action and expression that is found in Van Honthorst. His synthetic style, which was touched upon above in connection with portraiture (see fig. 48), in this case suits the subject, which may not be entirely clear (see the discussion under cat. no. 85) but is certainly thoughtful and instructive.

The fragmentary evidence hardly allows one to conclude that in 1627 Van Vliet was joining the ranks of the so-called Dutch Classicists;<sup>76</sup> however, the most similar works of the 1620s by Van Honthorst (see fig. 58) and several other artists, such as Pieter de Grebber and Van Vliet's young colleague in Delft Van Couwenbergh (see fig. 59), do represent a development away from theatrical pictures in the Caravaggesque style and toward more stately, dignified



Fig. 57. Crijn Volmarijn, *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1632. Oil on wood, 35½ x 48 in. (90.2 x 121.9 cm). Ferens Art Gallery, Hull



Fig. 58. Gerard van Honthorst, *Solon before Croesus*, 1624. Oil on canvas, 66 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 84 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (168.5 x 214 cm). Kunsthalle, Hamburg

designs in which clear modeling and local coloring contribute to the expression of virtuous content. This is not unexpected, given Delft's earlier support of Romanists and classicists such as Van Heemskerck, Van Scorel, Van Tetrode, and Hans Jordaens.

A small part of the historical background to Van Vliet's classicizing style in *An Allegory* is occupied by a friend of Constantijn Huygens's in The Hague, Jacques de Gheyn the Younger. The latter's few known figure paintings of the early 1600s—for example, the *Venus and Amor* of about 1605, which was probably owned by Prince Maurits (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam); the *Julius Caesar on Horseback Dictating Dispatches* of about 1609 (an inept handling of Roman history hidden in Ham House, Richmond); the *Neptune, Amphitrite, and Cupid* of about 1605–10 (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne); and altarpieces of 1611 and 1618 (the latter for the Catholic count Diederik van Schagen of The Hague)—make for illuminating comparisons with works by Jordaens, Van Vliet, and Van Couwenbergh (especially the canvas by the last in Nantes, fig. 59).<sup>77</sup> De Gheyn evidently provided one of the immediate models for a painting of a teacher and pupils which has recently been recognized as Van Vliet's work (fig. 60); two pictures by De Gheyn, both signed and dated 1620 (one in the City Art Gallery, Manchester, the other unlocated), show bearded professors in profile, facing one or two earnest youngsters. Van Vliet changed the clothing into timeless garb and gave the chair an archaic-looking armrest. In the facial expressions his experience as a portraitist comes to the fore. But like De Gheyn, he painted

figures that are types, not portraits, and the message is essentially the same. Both of the paintings by De Gheyn and the panel by Van Vliet bear a prominent quotation from Menander, which translates approximately as: "The aim of good education is virtue."<sup>78</sup> Another view of learning is put forward by Van Vliet (and, presumably, by his patron) in *An Allegory* (see cat. no. 85).

However heavy-handed, Van Couwenbergh's religious picture in Nantes (fig. 59) was a noteworthy change of pace from the Honthorstian humor of his early work. His merry drinkers, musicians, and lovers of about 1626–28 swing their arms, tilt sideways, and mug at the viewer like sight-gag comedians in silent films. The debt to Van Honthorst extends to exaggerated dentition, décolletage, and coloring. Nevertheless, some of the daylight scenes by Van Couwenbergh, dating from as early as 1626 (fig. 279), suggest direct observation, although they employ conventional staging and lighting schemes.

Van Couwenbergh strikes one as an artist whose experience and temperament were very different from Van Vliet's. Nonetheless, their contemporaneous interest in Van Honthorst's work must have been mutually encouraging.<sup>79</sup> It has been suggested that Van Couwenbergh, after studying with the obscure Jan van Nes, did not go to Italy as once proposed, but spent some time between about 1624 and 1626 in Utrecht.<sup>80</sup> This is entirely plausible, considering the young painter's apparent awareness of works dating from that period by Dirck van Baburen and Hendrick Ter Brugghen as well as by Van





Fig. 59. Christiaen van Couwenbergh, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary*, 1629. Oil on canvas, 48 x 57 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (122 x 147 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

Honthorst. Wolfgang Maier-Preusker has noted a number of obvious correspondences between compositions by these three Utrecht painters and genre pictures by Van Couwenbergh dating from 1626 (see fig. 279) — perhaps significantly, one year before he joined the Delft guild (on October 25, 1627) — until as late as 1650.<sup>81</sup> But one can take these comparisons further. That the *Trictrac Players* of 1630 (fig. 61) depends upon a once well known composition by Van Honthorst dated 1624 (lost in Berlin during World War II) casts no more light on the artist than does Van Vliet's reliance upon Van Honthorst for his *Philosopher and Pupils* of 1626 (fig. 56). But why is it that Van Couwenbergh so often repeats figure types, particular poses (some of them quite unrestrained), and compositional schemes?<sup>82</sup> The answer could be lack of imagination or rapid production, but the variations, changes of scale, and distinctive exuberance of Van Couwenbergh's work — he often seems halfway between Van Honthorst and Jacob Jordaens — speak against these conclusions. The fact that his figures and entire compositions often reverse their apparent prototypes supports another hypothesis, which is further encouraged by the amount of time, as much as twenty years, that occasionally separates a painting (for example, *The Merry Musician* of 1642, fig. 237) from the original model (in this case Van Honthorst's *Merry Violinist* of 1623).<sup>83</sup> It seems possible that Van Couwenbergh visited Utrecht about 1624–26 and compiled a portfolio of drawings after compositions by Van Honthorst, Ter Brugghen, and others, to which he referred over the next twenty years.

When Van Couwenbergh joined the Delft guild in the fall of 1627 he specified his calling as history painter, although genre scenes must have comprised the larger part of his oeuvre between about 1626 and 1629. The desire to be a history painter was commonplace but ill timed in the economy of the late 1620s, unless one had exceptional talent, connections, or social reasons for aspiring to the more prestigious role. The last two considerations appear to apply to Van Couwenbergh. He was the son of a successful silversmith, Gillis van Couwenbergh of Mechelen (Malines), who became a Delft citizen in



Fig. 60. Willem van Vliet, *A Teacher Instructing His Pupils*, ca. 1626–28. Oil on wood, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (60 x 85 cm). Formerly in the collection of Dr. W. Katz, London



Fig. 61. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *The Trictrac Players*, 1630. Oil on canvas, 42 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 52 in. (107 x 132 cm). Location unknown

1606. Gillis married Adriaantje Vosmaer, daughter of the silver- and goldsmith Wouter Vosmaer and sister of the flower painter Jacob Vosmaer (see cat. no. 88). It may be relevant that Van Couwenbergh's teacher, Jan van Nes, came from a wealthy family; it is certainly significant that the nearly twenty-six-year-old artist married Elisabeth van der Dussen, daughter of the wealthy brewer and burgomaster Dirck van der Dussen, in July 1630. Maier-Preusker considers this an example of "dynamic social climbing in the second generation" and compares it with Rembrandt's marriage to a burgomaster's daughter.<sup>84</sup> But several of Delft's silversmiths were themselves from prominent Flemish families (like François Spiering), and the Vosmaers were also rather well off.<sup>85</sup>

Perhaps his parents-in-law had something to do with Van Couwenbergh's sale in 1632 of a large canvas, *The Capture of Samson* (cat. no. 14), to the city of Dordrecht, where it was installed in the main chamber of the town hall.<sup>86</sup> The composition is derived from Jacob Matham's engraving (fig. 235) after Rubens's great painting of the same subject in London, as several authors have observed. Van Couwenbergh's father was a copperplate engraver as well as a silversmith, which probably made the painter more familiar with prints after Rubens and other artists. Engravings after the Flemish master, who was greatly admired at the Dutch court, were probably consulted by Van Couwenbergh when he designed his *Cimon and Pero* of 1634 (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) and a history painting (perhaps on the theme of Semiramis) of about 1640, which is known from a sketched *ricordo* by Bramer (fig. 62).<sup>87</sup> *The Flight of Cloelia* of about 1640, also recorded by Bramer, was inspired by Rubens's

painting of the same subject (formerly in Berlin), which in 1632 was described as hanging in the Stadholder's Quarters at The Hague.<sup>88</sup>

In studies of Vermeer, Van Couwenbergh is usually cited in passing—for example, as one of the "very capable craftsmen" who represent the sleepy art scene in Delft before 1650.<sup>89</sup> In terms of sheer volume and money earned, the production of paintings, drawings, prints, and tapestry cartoons during the 1630s and 1640s probably

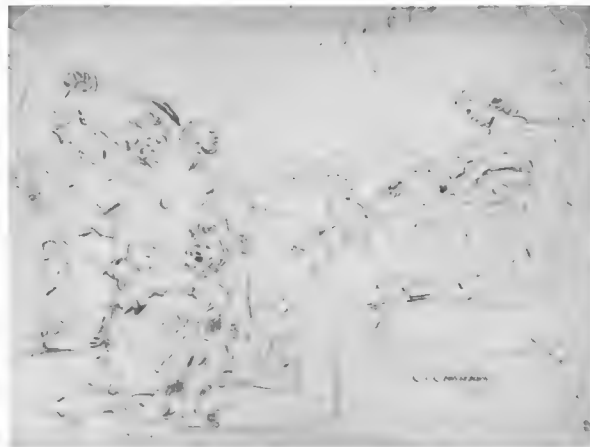


Fig. 62. Leonaert Bramer (ca. 1652–53), copy after a lost painting by Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Historical Subject (Semiramis Commanding Her Husband's Death)*, ca. 1640. Black chalk on paper, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (30.3 x 40.1 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 63. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *The Finding of Moses*, ca. 1640. Oil on canvas, 74 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 61 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (189 x 156 cm). Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels

exceeded that of the 1650s and 1660s, and Van Couwenbergh was one of the most prolific masters of the earlier period. However, much of the evidence—including all of Van Couwenbergh's canvases for the princely palaces—is now known only from documents or has simply been neglected because taste since the mid-nineteenth century has not coincided closely with that of the stadholder and other prominent supporters of artists like Van Couwenbergh.

The point is not that this mediocre painter was important for Vermeer, whose sources were manifold even in the two known paintings (cat. nos. 64, 66) that reveal the most obvious parallels. But Van Couwenbergh was, to judge from the documents, the most successful Delft artist of the 1640s, and his work reveals a great deal about the art world in which Vermeer was raised. For example, the question of how (and why) Vermeer absorbed a number of ideas from mostly earlier painters in Utrecht (scholars have proposed that he spent some time there<sup>90</sup> or picked up the taste from Bramer)<sup>91</sup> is rendered redundant by a closer look at Van Couwenbergh, who throughout the second quarter of the century recycled forms borrowed from Van Honthorst and his colleagues, and from 1638 until at least 1647 was regularly paid 400 to 600 guilders for each large painting in his version of the Utrecht style (the high-end figure was the price that Monconys considered ten times too much for a Vermeer in 1663; see p. 12).

Today one encounters the occasional Van Couwenbergh in small museums, in the salesrooms, or in the storerooms of large collections (for example, fig. 63, which is catalogued as by an anonymous Netherlander). In the 1640s there must have been fashionable family portraits by Van Couwenbergh (see fig. 53) in some of the finer homes of Delft, and large history pictures by him (for example, *Saint Elizabeth of Thuringia Leads a Beggar to Her Hospital* of 1640 in the Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht) in some of the religious and public institutions of Delft, Dordrecht, and other cities in the southern part of Holland. As discussed above, in 1641 John Evelyn admired a ceiling ("the 'Rape of Ganymede,' and other pendant figures") by Van Couwenbergh in the palace of Honselaarsdijk, for which the artist had also painted a large picture of Diana and her companions hunting deer, and a frieze of hunting motifs (he was paid 800 guilders apiece for the latter works in December 1638). In 1642 Van Couwenbergh evidently received 400 and 600 guilders for two large canvases that had just been installed in the Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, near Delft (fig. 8); another "Diana with various other figures and game" for the same palace brought him 600 guilders (the annual income of many "craftsmen") in 1644.<sup>92</sup> One of these paintings, the *Offer to Venus* of 1642, appears as a chimney piece in a room of the Huis ter Nieuburch in an engraving of 1697 (fig. 64).<sup>93</sup>

At about the same time, in August 1643, Van Couwenbergh painted tapestry cartoons for the city government of Delft.<sup>94</sup> The subject is not specified, and Van Couwenbergh's work in this area is virtually



Fig. 64. Jan van Vianen, *Assembly Chamber of the French Ambassadors in the Huis ter Nieuburch, Rijswijk* (detail; Christiaan van Couwenbergh's lost *Offer to Venus* of 1642 is seen above the fireplace), 1697. Engraving, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (22 x 27 cm). Gemeentearchief, The Hague



Fig. 65. Workshop of Maximiliaan van der Gucht (probably after a design by Christiaan van Couwenbergh), *Merry Company by Candlelight*, 1640s. Tapestry, 149½ x 118½ in. (380 x 300 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Sotheby's, Zurich)





Fig. 66. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Man with a Wineglass and Two Women with a Fruitbasket*, 1647. Oil on canvas, 46 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 55 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (118.5 x 141.5 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Sotheby's, London)

unknown. However, a number of Delft tapestries dating from about the 1640s have recently been ascribed to him (see fig. 325). Another attribution, proposed here for the first time (fig. 65), recalls not only paintings by Van Couwenbergh (see fig. 66; cat. no. 15) but also works by Jacob Vosmaer (in the bouquet; compare cat. no. 88), Anthonie Palamedesz (see fig. 83), Bramer and Fabritius as muralists

(discussed below), and, in a general way, interiors depicted by De Hooch, Vermeer, and Cornelis de Man.

In 1647 Van Couwenbergh was paid for painting the "passage" between the rear staircase and the great hall in the Oude Hof (the Noordeinde Palace) in The Hague.<sup>95</sup> The document does not specify whether the artist represented a figural composition or something else; Van Couwenbergh painted a frieze of hunting motifs for Honselaarsdijk and perhaps he supplied something similar in the Oude Hof.<sup>96</sup> In 1651 he completed not only the well-known illusionistic doors with classical figures in the Oranjezaal of the Huis ten Bosch (fig. 67) but also the tall spaces between the eight great pilasters in the room (depicting lifesize heralds surmounted by Roman-style trophies of arms and armor), and, above the four piers, the wooden arches decorated with crests of captured cities.<sup>97</sup>

Also dating from 1647 is a large canvas (fig. 66) possibly intended for a particular place in a room, since the use of a balustrade with figures seen from a low viewpoint recalls the revelers in the Surrounding Gallery in the great hall of Honselaarsdijk (fig. 12).<sup>98</sup> The composition also looks forward to the figures at a balustrade that Bramer painted about 1667 as part of his canvas murals in the Prinsenhof (fig. 136, far left). Bramer had also painted mythological works for Honselaarsdijk: a "Venus and Adonis" (as had Van Couwenbergh) and a "Flora" that served as a chimney piece.<sup>99</sup> As noted above, works by Van Couwenbergh dating from the 1640s are also interesting, in a broad view, for the young Vermeer. Both painters borrowed

Fig. 67. The Oranjezaal (Hall of Orange) in the Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. The murals were painted by a team of Dutch and Flemish artists in 1647–51 following a program devised by Jacob van Campen. Christiaan van Couwenbergh painted the wooden doors on the left (*Minerva and Hercules Open the Doors for Victory*) and the heralds, trophies of arms and armor, and crests of captured cities at the four corners of the room. The large canvas to the right is Jacob Jordaens's *Triumph of Frederick Hendrick*.







Fig. 68. Leonaert Bramer, *The Judgment of Solomon*, ca. 1640. Oil on wood, 31 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 40 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (79.2 x 102.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of National Surety Company, 1911



Fig. 69. Leonaert Bramer, *Saint Peter's Denial*, 1642. Oil on canvas, 49 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 55 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (126 x 141 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 70. Hendrick van Vliet, *Christ and Nicodemus in an Interior*, 1658. Oil on wood, 21 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (55 x 43 cm). Private collection, Cambridge

Fig. 71. Leonaert Bramer, *Salome Presented with the Head of Saint John the Baptist*, late 1630s. Oil on wood, 30 3/4 x 41 1/2 in. (78 x 105.4 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nîmes



ideas from Van Honthorst and artists in his circle (for example, Jan van Bronchorst; see fig. 134). Their similar interests are obvious when one compares Van Couwenbergh's genre scenes dating from 1626 to the late 1640s with Vermeer's early works in the same vein (see cat. no. 66; fig. 279). But then, so are the enormous differences.

Van Couwenbergh joined the painters' guild in The Hague in 1647 and sold his house on the Oude Delft in 1648 for 3,000 guilders. The death of his wife brought him an inheritance of 6,500 guilders, enough to keep a well-paid Calvinist minister going for about seven years.<sup>100</sup> But Van Couwenbergh was not living like a minister, to judge from his substantial debts to a wine merchant in The Hague and to a number of other shop owners. In the mid-1650s he left for Cologne, where he continued to paint history and genre pictures in the Utrecht manner until at least the end of the decade. No works by him securely dated to the 1660s are known (he died in Cologne in 1667).<sup>101</sup>

There is very little in the Delft school that one would describe as "baroque," apart from some paintings by Leonaert Bramer. However, the invocation of this discredited term (at least in discussions of Dutch art) may help to demonstrate that his work was not such an isolated phenomenon in Delft as it has seemed to some writers.<sup>102</sup> Comparison of Van Couwenbergh's "Semiramis" composition (fig. 62), which was probably influenced by Rubens, with one of Bramer's many similar designs (fig. 68) reveals that the two painters were working along parallel lines about 1640. The main figures in Bramer's large *Saint Peter's Denial* of 1642 (fig. 69) recall Van Couwenbergh's

types and poses as well as the Dutch and Flemish artists—in particular, Van Honthorst and Gerard Seghers—whose names are usually advanced. Leonard Slatkes, in order to underscore another source of influence upon Bramer which "has inexplicably been overlooked," that of Van Couwenbergh's Rotterdam contemporary Crijn Volmarijn (see fig. 57), cautions that "by 1642, however, neither Honthorst nor Seghers can be considered part of the active Caravaggesque camp."<sup>103</sup> But Van Couwenbergh certainly was: he continued to depict Caravaggesque dramas through the 1640s and even the 1650s, at the same time that he was following Van Honthorst's more colorful "classicist" style in other works.<sup>104</sup> As for the candlelight effects in Bramer's willfully unfocused canvas in the Rijksmuseum (Saint Peter maintains a low profile in the right background), Volmarijn's nocturnes of the 1630s are relevant, but probably less so than Willem van Vliet's, which were painted earlier right in Delft (see figs. 55, 56). Van Vliet's nephew Hendrick seems to continue the exchange of ideas in a biblical picture dated 1658 (fig. 70), which apart from the window and a few mundane props looks like a scene staged by Bramer, curtains and all (see fig. 71).<sup>105</sup> Van Vliet—Hendrick, not Willem—must have made other works in this manner, or in his uncle's, given Van Bleyswijck's remark that he was not only a painter of portraits and architecture (as in cat. nos. 80, 81–84) but was "also not unlucky in mythologies and histories, both in day and night lighting."<sup>106</sup>

Obviously, a considerable amount of evidence is missing, and not only from the princely palaces or public buildings in Delft. If this were not the case, Bramer's story might be told today less

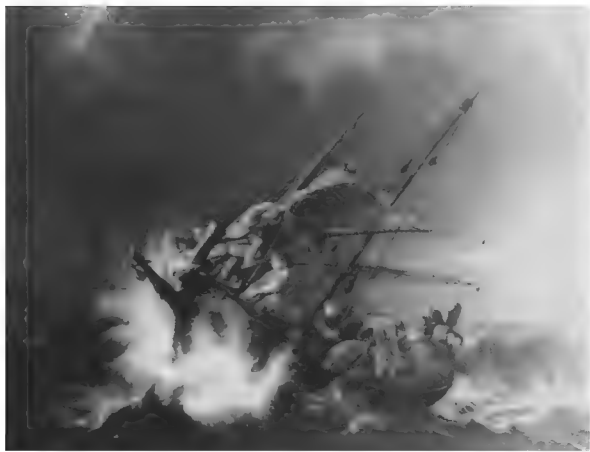


Fig. 72. Simon de Vlieger, *Christ on the Sea of Galilee*, 1637. Oil on wood, 33 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 39 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (84.5 x 101 cm). Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen

in terms of artists active elsewhere—in Antwerp (Seghers), Utrecht (Van Honthorst and Van Baburen), Rome (Caravaggio, Bartolommeo Manfredi, and Adam Elsheimer), and various cities in the southern part of Holland (Volmarijn in Rotterdam, Rembrandt in Leiden, Wouter Crabeth in Gouda, and Benjamin Cuyp in Dordrecht)—than as part of a fairly consistent tradition of history painting in Delft represented by painters such as Hans Jordaens, Jacob Pynas, the Van Vliets, Van Couwenbergh, his apparent follower Willem Verschoor (ca. 1630–1678), and a few others, who briefly included De Vlieger (see fig. 72), De Witte (see fig. 73), De Hooch (see fig. 74), Fabritius (the former Rembrandt pupil and celebrated muralist), and of course Vermeer in a few known and recorded paintings (see cat. nos. 64, 65).<sup>107</sup> But

then, these are two sides to the same story—the view inside and the view outside the walls of Delft. The local school must be placed in a regional context, at the same time that it may be considered more closely with regard to its distinctive qualities.

Indeed, no matter how easy it is to compare certain paintings and drawings by Bramer (for example, figs. 68, 69) and the visual evidence of his work as a muralist (see figs. 79, 136) with compositions by Van Couwenbergh (see figs. 62, 66) and others, there is no denying his distinctive style and eccentricities. His teacher is unrecorded, and as in the case of Vermeer (whom Bramer could have taught) the question is not so interesting, precisely because the artist had such eclectic tastes and strong ideas of his own.<sup>108</sup> The notion, long entertained, that Adriaen van de Venne would have been a likely mentor for Bramer is discouraged by the fact that the Delft draftsman was living in Leiden before his Middelburg period of 1614 to 1624 (Bramer was born on Christmas Eve, 1596).<sup>109</sup> A more plausible candidate would be Hans Jordaens, in view of Van Mander's description of him as a painter of peasants, soldiers, nocturnes, fires, and other "clever things." But in 1615, at the age of eighteen, Bramer went off to Italy, and his dozen years there make the question of his earlier training a moot point.

According to Filippo Baldinucci in 1681, Bramer "spent a long time in Italy by the prince Mario Farnese, for whom he worked a great deal. Returning to Delft, he painted for Rijswijk, for His Highness the Prince of Orange Frederick Hendrick, for the Count Maurits of Nassau and for other *potentati*."<sup>110</sup> The Italian biographer seems well informed, but in fact the information was borrowed from the inscription beneath the engraved portrait of Bramer in Jean Meyssens's *Image de divers hommes desprit sublime*. The book was published in Antwerp in 1649, when Bramer's long career was only half behind him (he died in 1674).<sup>111</sup>



Fig. 73. Emanuel de Witte, *Jupiter and Mercury in the House of Philemon and Baucis*, 1647. Oil on wood, 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (53 x 62 cm). Instituut Collectie Nederland



Fig. 74. Pieter de Hooch, *The Liberation of Saint Peter*, early 1650s. Oil on wood, 12 x 14 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (30.5 x 37.5 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy P. C. Sutton)



Fig. 75. Leonaert Bramer, *Peasants by a Fire*, ca. 1626. Oil on slate, 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (22.4 x 32.5 cm). Private collection

Mario Farnese (1548?–1619) had served in Flanders and Hungary as captain general of the papal armies, on behalf of his uncle Pope Paul III. He lived mainly in his palace in Parma and was known for his support of promising young artists. Meyssens also mentions “le Cardinal Schalie,” who must be Didier Scaglia of Cremona and Rome (elected in 1621). Another one of Bramer’s patrons in Italy was Gaspar Roomer, a Fleming who lived in Naples and collected contemporary pictures by the hundreds. His inventory of 1634 refers to sixty small landscapes by Goffredo Wals, the German teacher in Naples of Claude Lorrain, and “forty small paintings” by Bramer.<sup>112</sup>

Bramer is recorded at various addresses in Rome between 1616 and 1627.<sup>113</sup> Like Van Poelenburgh, Bartholomeus Breenbergh, and Bramer’s housemate Crabeth (the Caravaggesque painter from Gouda), he was a founding member of the *Schildersbent* in 1623 (the “painters’ group” consisted mostly of northerners). This was an extraordinary time for a Netherlandish painter to be living in Rome, in the neighborhood of Santa Maria del Popolo and other churches where large canvases by Caravaggio had been installed. Van Baburen was painting altarpieces there between 1615 and 1620 (and in Parma in 1615), and Van Honthorst flourished in Rome during the same period (his *Christ before the High Priest* in the National Gallery, London, was painted in 1617 for the Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani and was much celebrated and copied).<sup>114</sup> The most important Italian and French representatives of the Caravaggesque manner, Manfredi and Valentin de Boulogne, were active in the same circles.<sup>115</sup> Wals, who like Bramer emulated Elsheimer, was employed by the illusionistic muralist Agostino Tassi in Rome between 1616–17 and

the end of 1618. It has been suggested plausibly that Bramer may also have worked for Tassi, and perhaps learned the rudiments of fresco painting from him. Some small pictures painted by Bramer in Italy, in particular stormy seascapes, are so similar to examples by Tassi that their attributions have gone back and forth; the Roman artist’s influence is obvious even in more distinctive works by Bramer dating from the 1620s (see fig. 75). A footnote to the Tassi episode is that his famous pupil Claude Lorrain intervened in a knife fight between two Italians and Bramer, thereby getting wounded and possibly saving the Dutchman’s life. This happened on October 18, 1627, and by early December Bramer was back in Delft.<sup>116</sup>

Bramer’s use of slate has been connected convincingly with two artists from Verona, Pasquale Ottino (1578–1630) and Marcantonio Bassetti (1586–1630).<sup>117</sup> They employed the same support, and a style comparable with Bramer’s in religious pictures set in cavernous churches and under night skies. Bramer may have become acquainted with their paintings in northern Italy or in Rome, where Bassetti and Alessandro Turchi (1578–1649), his co-pupil from Verona, worked with Giovanni Lanfranco, Carlo Saraceni, and others in the Palazzo del Quirinale in 1616–17. Turchi may also have influenced Bramer, but Bassetti comes closer to his Italian compositions, such as the well-known *Soldiers Resting* of 1626 (Museum Bredius, The Hague). Yet another artist whose work Bramer appears to have studied in Italy is Domenico Fetti (1588/89–1623), who left Rome for Mantua in 1613 and spent about two years in Venice before his early death.<sup>118</sup>

It has been assumed by scholars that all of Bramer’s paintings on slate must date from the Italian period. For example, an atmospheric



Fig. 76. Leonaert Bramer, *Travelers by Moonlight*, ca. 1625 (or later?). Oil on slate, diameter 8 1/4 in. (21 cm). Richard L. Feigen and Co., New York

tondo (fig. 76) which might otherwise be placed much later and compared with nocturnes by Van der Poel (see cat. no. 53) was recently assigned to the mid-1620s "like the other works on slate."<sup>119</sup> But as is suggested by the blue color of the older rooftops in Vermeer's *View of Delft* (fig. 23) and in Fabritius's *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18), slate was not hard to come by in Bramer's hometown. Of course, paintings on stone were rare, much more so than paintings on copper. This fact would have added to a picture's appeal in the eyes of contemporary connoisseurs. While Bramer was still in Rome, a dealer in Delft named Hendrick Vockestaert specialized in paintings on alabaster (as well as in objects made of silver and gold), for which several clients at The Hague still owed him money when he died, in 1624.<sup>120</sup>

Modern notions of the "Delft School" are not very helpful for understanding Bramer's reputation after he returned home. Between 1630 and 1680 only one painter was cited more often in Delft collections: Hans Jordaens.<sup>121</sup> Bramer followed him in painting small "histories" with popular or obscure (learned) subjects, but in a modern manner. One hesitates today to compare Bramer with Rembrandt, but that is what Constantijn Huygens might have done. The Leiden artist's *Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver* of 1629, which Huygens famously praised,<sup>122</sup> is far superior to anything by Bramer in expression and technical facility but bears a strong resemblance to the latter's contemporary compositions (for example, fig. 77) in the grouping of the figures, the theatrical setting and light, and the histrionic glances and gestures.<sup>123</sup> Both painters benefited from the examples of Elsheimer and the Utrecht Caravaggists as they went beyond the

styles of older artists like Pieter Lastman and Hans Jordaens. In Delft the same direction had just been taken in paintings of larger figures by Van Couwenbergh and Van Vliet (see figs. 59–61). Crabeth had also come back from Rome (he was in Gouda by the summer of 1628); a little later in Rotterdam, Volmarijn not only painted Caravaggesque pictures but also sold works by Bramer.<sup>124</sup> Some of Van de Venne's monochrome pictures painted in The Hague after about 1630 might also be compared with Bramer's work, but the parallel is probably of interest only as a reflection of contemporary taste.

The question of craftsmanship is worth considering in regard to Bramer's idiosyncratic version of the current style. Like a number of Dutch artists (for example, De Gheyn), he was a better draftsman than painter, which may itself reflect upon his early training. Working on slate and fresco in Italy gave Bramer a flair for broad effects, such as flashing highlights and agitated swaths of drapery. The careful modeling and attention to detail one finds in works by, for example, Van Vliet (fig. 56) — to say nothing of Rembrandt — were evidently beyond the limits of Bramer's abilities, or at least inconsistent with his artistic temperament. The smooth surfaces of hardwood panels were suitable to Bramer's style; they became his preferred support after 1630, although a fair number of paintings on copper and canvas are also known.

Montias found that the contemporary collectors of Bramer's work included "burgomasters and aldermen and other highly situated patricians of Delft."<sup>125</sup> Paintings by him are also cited in the inventories of prominent dealers such as Johannes de Renialme in Amsterdam (who was active in Delft) and in private collections in The Hague, Gouda, Dordrecht, and Haarlem. Cornelis de Bie, writing at the time that Bramer was decorating the meeting room of the painters' guild in Delft (1661), describes him as famous throughout Italy and Germany, "and in his native Holland renowned in court and home."<sup>126</sup>

Bramer's paintings (undoubtedly on canvas) for the princely palaces have already been mentioned in connection with Van Couwenbergh. These works were part of an ambitious program to decorate Frederick Hendrick's country estates in a manner reminiscent of Italian villas, like the Villa Barbaro at Maser (near Vicenza) with its illusionistic walls and ceilings by Veronese. Bramer must have known as much as anyone in Holland about the subject; he would have seen the creations of Correggio in Parma, of Niccolò dell'Abbate in Bologna, and of Orazio Gentileschi, Lanfranco, and of course Tassi in Rome. However, apart from some arms and legs dangling over cornices and balustrades, there is almost nothing known about illusionistic decorations in Holland, including those by Bramer (see fig. 136), to suggest models other than Correggio (see the discussion under cat. no. 109), Veronese, and Van Honthorst (see fig. 130).<sup>127</sup>

Bramer's illusionistic murals are discussed in chapter 4 in connection with Fabritius and the Delft school after 1650. However, his



later works relied upon conventions already employed during the 1630s at Honselaarsdijk (fig. 12). That building's frieze of figures peering over a balcony looks back to Veronese and forward to a section of Bramer's murals in the Prinsenhof, Delft (fig. 136, upper left), where other sections also recall Veronese.<sup>128</sup> So does the decoration of a room that has not been considered previously in discussions of illusionism in The Hague and Delft: the Assembly Room of the States of Holland and West Friesland, designed by Pieter Post and constructed in the Binnenhof between 1652 and 1655 (fig. 78).<sup>129</sup> The painted wooden ceiling of this chamber (now the Eerste Kamer, or Upper House, of the States General) still survives. The work was done in 1664–65 by two artists of The Hague, Andries de Haen (who joined the guild in 1642 as a *kamerschilder*, or decorative painter, and died in 1677) and his son-in-law Nicolaes Willingh (ca. 1640–1678).<sup>130</sup> The latter painted all the figures seen through oculi against painted sky, while De Haen did the decorative elements (both parts bear comparison with Van Couwenbergh's work). The walls were not painted but hung with tapestries manufactured in 1662 in Schoonhoven. The cartoons for these hangings (which were lost in the nineteenth century) have been credited to Post, but it is conceivable that their execution and perhaps some elements of their design were also delegated to another artist.<sup>131</sup> The most plausible candidate is Bramer, who at about the same time drew at least two

sets of tapestry designs for Maximiliaan van der Gucht. One set (marine subjects) was submitted to the Swedish field marshal Count Karl Gustav von Wrangel; the other, representing The Relief of Leiden (see fig. 210), was evidently intended for a room similar to the Assembly Room of the States of Holland, namely the Council Chamber in the town hall of Leiden.<sup>132</sup> Landscape vistas framed by trees are featured in the latter series, but a drawing of about 1660 (fig. 80), which has been considered a design for a mural,<sup>133</sup> more closely resembles the arboreal and architectural views seen in the tapestries of the Assembly Room. The upper parts of the tapestries are even more reminiscent of Bramer designs, such as a drawing in Oslo that has been dated to the 1640s (fig. 79) and several similar works.<sup>134</sup>

Most viewers today, acquainted with some of Bramer's melodramatic paintings, might wonder what all the fuss was about in the seventeenth century. Of course, his approach to historical themes was more novel then, but his reputation must have been earned as a multisided designer, someone who freshly interpreted familiar subjects, treated others that had rarely been seen, and endlessly invented clever compositions. This may be the reason that De Bie (1661) discusses Bramer as a draftsman, while two eminently deserving candidates, Jan van Goyen and Herman Saftleven, do not rate the same distinction in his book.<sup>135</sup> Perhaps the most striking aspect of Bramer's paintings on slate, wood, copper, and canvas is not their



Fig. 77. Leonaert Bramer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1630. Oil on wood, 17 x 21 in. (43.2 x 53.3 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts



Fig. 78. Pieter Post, Assembly Room of the States of Holland and West Friesland in the Binnenhof, The Hague, designed 1652, built 1653–55. Engraved by Jan Caspar Philips after a design by Mattheus Terwesten and G. van der Giessen, 22¼ x 29¼ in. (57 x 75 cm). Instituut Collectie Nederland

style but their sheer number. Owning a small work by Bramer was somewhat like having an etching by Rembrandt, an oil sketch by Rubens, or a drawing by Leonardo: the object was seen as a part of something larger, a sample from a flowing stream. Meyssens's inscription under Bramer's portrait (1649) tells us not only that he worked for Italian and Dutch princes but that "il a fait beaucoup des ses oeuvres en grand et en petit," as if to say that the artist's powers of invention were unrestricted by practical matters such as size. (We recall that Evelyn, in 1641, admired a ceiling by Van Couwenbergh, "of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery.")<sup>136</sup> Indeed, Bramer painted *frescoes* in Holland (twenty-five years after he left Italy),<sup>137</sup> as well as yards of canvas and tapestry cartoons, at the same time as he turned out suites of drawings and small cabinet pictures on various supports.

Some of the settings and effects in his paintings bring to mind the contemporary taste for the frightful or bizarre, as in hell scenes by Jan Brueghel the Elder and his followers, torchlit temples and dun-

geons by Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger, and scenes of Saint Anthony with assorted freaks, for example by Cornelis Saftleven.<sup>138</sup> The weirder wavelength of Bramer's imagination was shared by De Gheyn as a draftsman in The Hague.<sup>139</sup> These artists worked with collectors in mind. Ghastly revelations by torchlight (as in *The Finding of the Bodies of Pyramus and Thisbe* in the Louvre),<sup>140</sup> subjects that take time to recognize (even Bramer's *Adorations*), exotic costumes, strange environments—this nocturnal world was intended for the connoisseur.<sup>141</sup>

The most impressive proof of Bramer's inventiveness is found in his several suites of drawings, which were evidently produced not as preparatory material but as ends in themselves (see cat. nos. 106, 107, 110, 111). Five series of Old Testament subjects, at least fourteen series of New Testament subjects, six series on classical themes (drawn from Livy, Virgil, Ovid, and others), four series of subjects drawn from contemporary literature, and a dozen other series are known.<sup>142</sup> It has been suggested that Bramer's *Aeneid* illustrations, a set of



Fig. 79. Leonaert Bramer, *Design for a Wall Decoration*, probably ca. 1645–50. Pen and wash,  $7\frac{7}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18 x 21.6 cm). Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo

140 sheets made in the 1650s, “presume a viewer . . . who has already read Virgil in Vondel’s lively prose translation,” and who would have been “amused by the artist’s highly inventive and extraordinarily individualistic manner” of telling the epic tale.<sup>143</sup>

Little is known about the original owners of Bramer’s series of drawings. One set of seventy-two pen-and-ink drawings, *The Life of Lazarillo of Tormes* (Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen, Munich), went to the wealthy art dealer and artist Abraham de Cooge, with a title page inscribed “L. Bramer fecit 1646/ voor A. D. Cooge.”<sup>144</sup> Two series, *Metamorphoses* (Ovid) and *Tyl Eulenspiegel*, were owned by Caspar Netscher’s widow (in 1694), and a *Life of Christ* dating from 1666 is listed in the sale of Dirck van Bercestein (1695). *The Life of Alexander the Great*, *The History of Rome* (Livy), and the *Aeneid* (Virgil), drawing series of 48, 50, and 140 sheets, respectively, were in the 1691 sale of the Leiden scholar Snellonius.<sup>145</sup> The provenance of Bramer’s series illustrating *Il Pastor Fido* (about 1645) is not known, but this pastoral drama was popular at the court of Frederick Hendrick, to which Van Dyck and a team of Dutch artists (Bloemaert, Van Poelenburgh, Dirck van der Lisse, and others) sent paintings based on Guarini’s play.<sup>146</sup> The sixty-five *Street Scenes* (*Straatwerken*) of about 1659 represent common professions and derive from popular prints.<sup>147</sup>

### Genre Painting

Some reference to genre scenes could hardly be avoided in the previous section, given the artists involved. When Evelyn cited the “Rape of Ganymede” and a “drollery” by Van Couwenbergh in the same



Fig. 80. Leonaert Bramer, *Figures in a Loggia*, ca. 1660. Ink and wash,  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 15\frac{1}{2}$  in. (31.5 x 39.5 cm). Victoria and Albert Museum, London

sentence he apparently felt no qualms about categories. Nor should we, given that the Delft artist's history pictures and genre scenes are rendered in the same Utrecht-inspired style and are sometimes almost indistinguishable in subject matter (the sexy waitress in cat. no. 15 has passed for Pomona). Similarly, in his *Philosopher and Pupils* of 1626 (fig. 56) Van Vliet employed a composition that served at the same time for paintings of *The Supper at Emmaus* and *The Calling of Matthew* (by Peter Wtewael, Crijn Volmarijn, Van Vliet himself, and others).<sup>148</sup> It would not be surprising to find in an inventory of the period one of Van Vliet's venerable teachers (especially the man in fig. 60) identified as an ancient sage.<sup>149</sup>

These consistencies in subject and style derive in good part from the fact that the painting of figures, not history or genre per se, was the Dutch artist's actual specialty (he usually painted portraits as well), and that both categories of representation were appreciated for their edifying content. Even Hans Jordaens's inn scene (fig. 81) is an example of the latter, but in the comic tradition extending from Pieter Bruegel the Elder to Jan Steen.<sup>150</sup>

As discussed above, these and other figure paintings in Delft depend mainly upon precedents in Antwerp and Utrecht. The same is true of the kitchen scenes that were painted by the Delft artists Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck, Cornelis Jacobsz Delff, Willem van Odekercken, and (according to Van Mander) the young Michiel van Miereveld,<sup>151</sup> which like the overflowing larders depicted by Pieter Aertsen, his Antwerp pupil Joachim Beuckelaer (1533–1573), their

Flemish followers Frans Snyders (1579–1657) and Adriaen van Utrecht (1599–1652), and the Utrecht artists Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638) and his son Peter (1596–1660) feature figures playing significant or even dominant roles (see fig. 82). Many of the “Delft” kitchen still lifes (as they are often described) were actually painted elsewhere, and in any case cannot be considered a distinctive contribution of the local school.

Anthonie Palamedesz has already been mentioned as one of Van Miereveld's more gifted disciples in portraiture (see figs. 51, 52). However, when we turn to his well-known genre scenes of the 1630s (for example, fig. 83; cat. nos. 47, 48) he seems as much an artist of Haarlem as of Delft. There was a time in the literature of Dutch genre painting when the only explanation for such a development would have been to send Palamedesz up north, since his earliest dated Merry Company scenes (1632–34) strongly recall those painted in Amsterdam by Pieter Codde (1599–1678) and Willem Duyster (1598/99–1635), and in Haarlem by Dirck Hals (1591–1656), Jan Miense Molenaer (ca. 1610–1668), and others, including the Delft visitor Hendrick Pot (ca. 1585–1657).<sup>152</sup> But there is no need to propose such a journey, since genre pictures of the type Palamedesz painted were widely known. His stylistic debts are by no means so specific that they resemble Van Couwenbergh's to the Utrecht Caravaggists or (going in the other direction) Moreelse's to Van Miereveld. Furthermore, the artists who depicted similar “companies” and “conversations” during the 1620s and 1630s include not only those just cited



Fig. 81. Hans Jordaens the Elder, *Peasants Dancing outside a Village Tavern*, ca. 1620. Oil on wood, 30 x 38½ in. (76 x 98 cm). Trafalgar Galleries, London



Fig. 82. Attributed to Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck, *Kitchen Scene with the Parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man*, 1610–20. Oil on canvas, 78 x 107¼ in. (198 x 272 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

but also Willem Buytewech (1591/92–1624), who worked in his native Rotterdam after about five years in Haarlem (1612–17); Esaias van de Velde (ca. 1590–1630), who moved to The Hague after some eight years in Haarlem (1610–18); Adriaen van de Venne in The Hague; Jacob Duck (ca. 1600–1667) in Utrecht; and others elsewhere.<sup>153</sup> The essential subjects of these pictures were modern manners and

fashions, which must have encouraged a cosmopolitan outlook toward whatever was new in the field.

Palamedesz himself was evidently familiar with some of the finer things in life. His father, the Flemish gem cutter Palamedes Stevensz, had worked in London for James I, and the painter appears to have had a much larger income than the average artist in Delft.<sup>154</sup> It may seem fitting, therefore, that until 1647, the date of his earliest known guardroom scenes (see fig. 249),<sup>155</sup> Palamedesz's usual subject was either the real or the imagined members of polite society (compare figs. 51, 84). Of course, there were struggling artists in Holland who painted similar pictures and a few prosperous painters of low-life scenes. Curiously, however, the Delft school tends to support a version of the "Bruegel fallacy," which reasons that the artist would have resembled one of his own figures. Not only Palamedesz but also his follower Jacob van Velsen (see cat. no. 60), Van Bassen (see cat. no. 7), Houckgeest (see below), and (to judge from his decade of travel abroad) Cornelis de Man (see cat. nos. 41, 42) were either wealthy or rather well off.

In the context of the Delft school as a whole, Palamedesz's genre paintings seem important for two complementary qualities. First, his tonal palette and attention to effects of light resemble those of Pieter Codde and, unlike the styles of Buytewech (who died in 1624) and Van de Velde (who died in 1630), are very much in the manner of the



Fig. 83. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Merry Company in an Interior*, 1633. Oil on wood, 21½ x 34¾ in. (54.5 x 88.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam





Fig. 84. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Merry Company*, ca. 1635. Oil on wood, 21 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 34 in. (55.6 x 86.4 cm). Location unknown

1630s. Had Palamedesz lived in Haarlem his naturalism would be considered typical of that school. Second, his description of interior space is more carefully organized than in most pictures painted in Haarlem or Amsterdam, and in this regard his work comes closer to the fancy interior views by Van Bassen (see cat. no. 7), Houckgeest (see fig. 92), and especially Dirck van Delen (1605–1671; see fig. 85), who was active mainly in Middelburg but was well known in Haarlem, Delft, and The Hague (see fig. 93). The connection is especially clear in several paintings by Palamedesz that are not well known and which (like his family portrait in Antwerp, fig. 51) employ a pattern of floor tiles as well as side walls and furniture to articulate three-dimensional space. Indeed, the use of linear perspective tends to underscore the lack of depth achieved by the artist in his figure groups, which take the stage as if they were painted on screens rolling out from the right or left.

In his most successful compositions, such as the *Company Dining and Making Music* in the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 47), Palamedesz achieves convincing space and light: the interior is at once well defined and atmospheric. His style could be described as a synthesis of, on the one hand, the “South Holland type” of genre interior, which had roots in Antwerp (the perspective prints of Hans and Paul Vredeman de Vries), and a parallel in domestic scenes by contemporary Antwerp painters such as Gonzales Coques (see fig. 152); and, on the other hand, the type of genre picture that was painted in Haarlem and Amsterdam, where artists tended to focus more exclusively upon figures and the subtle description of naturalistic effects.<sup>156</sup> But like all historical outlines, this is too schematic a concept of how artists worked. Palamedesz did not achieve some kind of breakthrough, any

more than did Dirck Hals (who collaborated in the late 1620s with Van Delen) or any other painter of domestic interiors during the 1630s and 1640s. His work is merely one instance of a broad evolution, which would have happened in any case, particularly in this genre devoted to fashionable themes. Artistic conventions, coined here or there, became common currency as they circulated through the art trade and with artists who moved or simply paid attention to new ideas. Dirck Hals and other Haarlem artists were aware of Van Delen;<sup>157</sup> Esaias van de Velde, trained in Haarlem, painted figures for Van Bassen in The Hague (their joint efforts are often cited in Delft inventories);<sup>158</sup> Palamedesz, in Delft, painted figures for Van Delen and probably Van Bassen;<sup>159</sup> and the young Rotterdammer Ludolf de Jongh, De Hooch’s close associate in the 1650s, studied with Palamedesz twenty years earlier. Thus, the common questions of who knew what when in studies of De Hooch, Vermeer, and their alleged forerunners are less illuminating than are the broader patterns of picture making, the trends in subject matter and style that reflect local taste and, to some extent, values. Perhaps the most important points to make about “high genre” painting—that is, scenes of high or upper-middle-class society—as it was practiced in Delft between about 1620 and 1650 is that in some pictures the life-style looks very high indeed (as in figs. 83, 84; cat. nos. 47, 48). “Low genre” scenes, apart from cavalry fights (see cat. no. 49), appear to have attracted little interest until the late 1640s.<sup>160</sup>

Imaginary architectural views by Van Bassen, Van Delen, and Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger turn up occasionally in Amsterdam inventories and might be expected in the collection of almost any Netherlander of taste and means (pictures of this kind



Fig. 85. Dirck van Delen, *Musical Company*, 1636. Oil on wood, 19¼ x 24½ in. (48.5 x 61.8 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

were fairly expensive).<sup>161</sup> Nonetheless, the concentration—in both supply and demand—of palace views in The Hague and Delft (for example, a panel by Van Bassen in this exhibition; cat. no. 7), and to a lesser extent in the still-prosperous city of Middelburg, is a remarkable phenomenon, nearly as much so as the construction of actual palaces in and around The Hague. This type of picture, representing a particular kind of “high genre” scene, is considered further below, in the section on architectural painting.

Admirers of Dutch art are well acquainted with examples of remarkable painters by whom only a few works are known. Jacob van Velsen (ca. 1597–1656) is one of those, possibly in part because he married a wealthy woman (a Catholic) and was able to paint at leisure. It is not known whether he was a pupil of Palamedesz, as one might expect (see figs. 83, 88; cat. no. 60). The latter joined the guild more than three years earlier; Van Velsen enrolled on April 18, 1625. His earliest dated works are from 1631 and bear upon the question. A small panel depicting a young painter (fig. 86)—probably not Van Velsen, who was said to be twenty years old in 1617—recalls Codde’s luminous *Young Scholar* of the early 1630s in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.<sup>162</sup> *A Musical Party* (cat. no. 60) is reminiscent of Duyster rather than Codde, and even more so of Jacob Duck (for example, in the flood of light, minimal stage, and fine fabrics and still-life motifs).<sup>163</sup> Finally, an extraordinary small painting on copper in the Louvre (fig. 87), also of 1631, strengthens the impression that *A Musical Party*, with its silhouetted figure in the foreground, reflects the influence of Utrecht artists. Despite the naive anatomy and puppetlike shadow, the strong modeling and bright daylight in the Louvre picture bring to mind effects found in the works of several

Utrecht painters, such as Hendrick ter Brugghen, Jan van Bijlert, Johannes Moreelse, and Duck (and perhaps also Fabritius; see cat. no. 20). The pale green wall and subtle shades of drapery recall Ter Brugghen, as well as other genre painters of the period.



Fig. 86. Jacob van Velsen, *A Young Artist before His Easel*, 1631. Oil on wood, 10¼ x 8¼ in. (26 x 20.6 cm). Formerly A. E. Popham Collection, London



Fig. 87. Jacob van Velsen, *The Fortune Teller*, 1631. Oil on copper, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 9 in. (26 x 23 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

It is only with Van Velsen's *Merry Company* dated 1633 (fig. 88) that Palamedesz should be brought into the discussion,<sup>164</sup> and even here Duck's spare settings and raking light (often from a visible source on the left) and Duyster's moody characters staring downward or

into space make for more intriguing comparisons. Van Velsen is likewise eccentric, given to unexpected tonalities, expressions, and distributions of figures (as in Duyster's paintings, they do not really seem to get along). His slight men and women seem isolated or backed into corners, as in a panel (probably of about 1633–35) depicting the offer of a coin, and its acceptance by a woman who is busy with her jewelry box (fig. 89). The foot warmer, which matter-of-factly refers to passion, is set off like a whispered aside. Beyond it, the space flows freely to a bare wall, then offstage into the light. There is more than a superficial resemblance to Vermeer in Van Velsen's pictorial strategies: as in *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68), but in reverse, forms are built back from the frame along a receding wall; a standing figure anchors the composition; and the space has a life of its own, amplified by brilliant light and measured by modest motifs (a foot warmer, a chair in the background, a print on the wall). A different sort of similarity is found in the drama of a man standing over a woman who is willing but also confined, which looks forward to the body language in Vermeer's *Glass of Wine* (cat. no. 70) and *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167).<sup>165</sup>

Is Van Velsen an unsung hero, another influence on Vermeer? In a small way, he may have been. But as with Willem van Vliet, Van Couwenbergh, and Palamedesz, the artist is of greater interest when seen in the broader view. Light and space, isolated figures, and evocative environments were not invented by Vermeer, Fabritius, or anyone else in Delft, but learned from many sources, including artists active throughout Holland, Utrecht, and the Spanish Netherlands. Van Velsen shows us the process at work twenty years before Vermeer, and he reveals the role of personality in lending nuance to knowledge.

Fig. 88. Jacob van Velsen, *Merry Company*, 1633. Oil on wood, 14 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 in. (37.5 x 56 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg





Fig. 89. Jacob van Velsen, *A Man Offering a Woman Money*, 1630s. Oil on wood, dimensions unknown. Art market, London (1946)

### *Architectural Painting*

Palace views by Van Bassen and other artists were mentioned in the previous section because the figures in them often represent a Merry Company or related theme (see cat. no. 7). On the other hand, the same setting and very similar figures might represent an episode in the story of *The Prodigal Son* or some other biblical tale, despite the contemporary style of interior decoration. In the Delft lottery of 1626 mentioned above, one of the five paintings by Van Bassen with figures by Esaias van de Velde represented “a hall or chamber with the story of the rich man and Lazarus,” and such a picture by the two artists is known.<sup>166</sup>

The drawbacks and advantages of describing various kinds of pictures as architectural paintings have been discussed a number of times.<sup>167</sup> In seventeenth-century inventories, paintings of both secular and ecclesiastical architecture are frequently listed as “perspectives,” and it is clear that they were appreciated as such, that is, for their qualities of design and illusionism. However, in other documents the particular subject is emphasized, as in the lottery of 1626 (another picture by Van Bassen and Van de Velde is said to represent

a temple with “the history of the adulterous woman”).<sup>168</sup> Similarly, De Witte’s views of actual church interiors (for example, cat. no. 92) were often described as “Sermons” by contemporary notaries, thus stressing the subject of worship rather than the building itself.

In other words, both form and content mattered in architectural views. Quite as in the case of “figure painting,” as opposed to history pictures or genre scenes, the suitability of the term depends upon the context. It is helpful to bear in mind that architectural painting was not a “genre” but an artistic specialty which served for various subjects, such as views of “ancient” and “modern” temples; fantastic and plausible palaces; portraits of local churches; Protestant and Catholic churches that are realistic but did not actually exist (as in many Dutch pictures of the everyday world); and cityscapes both foreign and domestic, invented and real (all found in the oeuvre of Jan van der Heyden).<sup>169</sup>

These thoughts are relevant to the topic at hand, for it could be said that until the middle of the seventeenth century specific subjects — for example, a view inside one of the local churches — played a minor role in architectural views painted in the southern part of the province of Holland (artists in Delft, The Hague, and Rotterdam produced examples), compared with the interest in linear perspective and architectural design.<sup>170</sup> These acquired tastes, involving the study of geometry, the decorative and illusionistic qualities of perspective pictures, and an appreciation of architectural forms (especially those imported from France and Italy), were very much at home in court circles, where the enthusiasts included the princes of Orange, their cousin Frederick V, Constantijn Huygens (who was well known as an amateur architect),<sup>171</sup> visitors such as Evelyn, and the professional architects who worked on public projects and for the court, including Van Bassen himself.

The situation was very different elsewhere in Holland. In many cities architectural painting was not practiced at all, or quite differently. The contrast between The Hague and Haarlem is striking: Pieter Saenredam, although familiar with various architects (Huygens, Jacob van Campen, Pieter Post, and Salomon de Bray), restricted his work as a painter almost exclusively to portraits of actual churches in Haarlem, Utrecht, and a few other cities. His Haarlem followers, Gerrit and Job Berckheyde and Isaak van Nিকেle, also concentrated upon the Grote Kerk of Haarlem (Saint Bavo’s) and existing views in Haarlem and Amsterdam. This should not be seen as an artistic movement, as if Saenredam were some kind of Courbet depicting the actual scene (“Show me an imaginary church and I’ll paint one”) and inspiring younger painters to do likewise. Saenredam’s subjects were profoundly important to local patrons, and they were adopted by later artists because the same subjects were still in demand.

On rare occasions during the first half of the seventeenth century Van Bassen also painted actual buildings and monuments. The new tomb of William the Silent was set in an imaginary church interior





Fig. 90. Bartholomeus van Bassen, *Interior of the Cunerakerk, Rhenen*, 1638. Oil on wood, 24 x 31¼ in. (61.1 x 80.5 cm). The National Gallery, London

(cat. no. 6), although it is Dutch Gothic in style and realistic in its space and lighting. Perhaps Van Bassen found the actual setting in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft (see fig. 257) too difficult to represent; evidently the construction of the tomb was still in progress at the time. In 1638 the artist painted a largely faithful view of the interior of the church at Rhenen (fig. 90), which adjoined the palace he had designed for the king and queen of Bohemia.<sup>172</sup> In the following year he depicted the interior of the Grote Kerk (Saint Jacob's) in The Hague (art market, 1971), taking some liberties in the view.<sup>173</sup> These examples, and common sense, contradict the long-standing assumption that Van Bassen and his follower, Houckgeest, simply muddled on with imaginary architectural subjects until someone like Saenredam showed them the way.<sup>174</sup>

Huygens owned two or three paintings by Saenredam, but he would have been able to explain why very different kinds of architectural views were popular in The Hague.<sup>175</sup> The architect, designer, and founding father of architectural painting in the Netherlands, Hans

Vredeman de Vries (1527–1607), had actually lived in The Hague between 1601 and 1604, when he moved to Hamburg, one of the several court cities in which he had worked before. His legacy was kept alive by a number of Dutch artists and architects, including his son Paul (1567–1616), who resided from 1599 onward in Amsterdam (he designed and painted imaginary architectural views and worked on the architectural decorations for Elizabeth Stuart's entry into Amsterdam in 1613).<sup>176</sup> In The Hague, Vredeman de Vries's strongest advocate was the printmaker and publisher Hendrick Hondius, who published the perspectivist's treatises (including the influential *Perspective* of 1604–5) and who was himself an authority on the subject.<sup>177</sup> Perspective was surely on the syllabus when Hondius gave the young Huygens drawing lessons in 1611.<sup>178</sup> In later years his expertise in "perspective and other sciences" brought Hondius to the attention of "kings, great princes and nobles," according to the biographer Cornelis de Bie.<sup>179</sup>

As a painter of "perspectives" and city architect of The Hague, Van Bassen must have been well acquainted with Hondius's publications



and his place of business opposite the Prince of Orange's residence. (The view in fig. 123 is thought to have been recorded from the large house that Hondius occupied from 1614.)<sup>180</sup> The painter was probably born at The Hague about 1590; his father's profession is unknown, but his grandfather, Bartholt van Bassen, had been a clerk of the court. In 1613 the artist joined the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft as an outsider, and in 1622 he enrolled in the painters' guild in The Hague. When he married there in 1624 he was described as a resident of The Hague, but in 1625 he still owned a house in Delft.<sup>181</sup> He served as dean of the guild in The Hague in 1627. In 1628 Van Bassen, "Mr. perspective painter in 's Gravenhage," signed over a small annuity to Cornelis van Poelenburgh, the Italianate landscapist who was favored by the court, and to his heirs. In 1651 Van Poelenburgh's daughter Adriana married Van Bassen's son Aernoudt, who was a counselor at the court.<sup>182</sup>

As noted above, Van Bassen (see cat. nos. 6, 7) was the designer and builder of Frederick V's palace at Rhenen (1629–31),<sup>183</sup> and from 1630 onward he worked on Frederick Hendrick's palaces at Rijswijk and Honselaarsdijk (figs. 8, 10).<sup>184</sup> Huygens, the French architect Jacques de la Vallée, and the Dutch architects Van Campen and Arent van 's-Gravesande were also active at the princely residences, to which Frederick Hendrick himself contributed some design ideas.<sup>185</sup> Between 1634 and 1639 Van Bassen worked on the town hall, the Church of Saint Catherine (Catharinakerk), and the Gasthuispoort (Hospital Gate) in Arnhem,<sup>186</sup> and in 1638 he succeeded 's-Gravesande as controller of architectural projects for the city of The Hague.<sup>187</sup> He collaborated with Pieter Noorwits on the Nieuwe Kerk in The Hague (1649–56) and in 1650 painted a picture of the intended building for the city government.<sup>188</sup>

Houckgeest (see cat. nos. 35–40) was born about 1600 in The Hague, where his uncle Joachim Houckgeest (ca. 1585–before June 13, 1644) was a successful portraitist. Montias reports that his parents were wealthy.<sup>189</sup> Houckgeest probably studied with Van Bassen before joining the painters' guild in The Hague in 1625. By 1635 he had moved to Delft, where he married Helena van Cromstrijen the following year. In 1639 he was cited as a member of the Delft painters' guild, but he rejoined the guild in The Hague during the same year. His mother-in-law had recently married her second husband, François Brandijn, an advocate at the Court of Holland. A document of 1640 records that Houckgeest had designed tapestries (presumably made by Van der Gucht) for the States General.<sup>190</sup> In 1644 he was living in a brewery in Delft called "The Claw," which may mean that he was in the business. His brother Otto (d. 1657) went to the Indies in the same year (possibly in service to the VOC). Houckgeest owned houses, estates, and horses in the 1650s and as far as is known lived comfortably all his life.<sup>191</sup>

It has been said that Van Bassen and Houckgeest "painted in a style reminiscent of Vredeman de Vries,"<sup>192</sup> but this is hardly supported by

direct comparison of the pictures. The younger artists simply borrowed a few of the old man's compositional patterns and architectural motifs. When it comes to qualities of light and shadow, the use of color, and the sense of space, the imaginary architectural views painted by Van Bassen and Houckgeest between 1620 and 1650 (see cat. nos. 6, 35, 36, 37) are clearly works of the new generation, not Mannerist exercises reminiscent of anyone active around the turn of the century. It is true, of course, that Saenredam's contemporary views of actual churches are more naturalistic, quite as the Haarlem landscapes of Salomon van Ruysdael differ from the imaginary landscapes painted in a Flemish manner by Jacob van Geel (see fig. 96; cat. no. 22). But there is more to the question than the contrast of regional styles. Why should Van Bassen and Houckgeest paint buildings as if they were studied "from life"? Van Bassen's type of architectural picture, which has been said to represent a Court Style, had as one of its main purposes the presentation of modern architectural forms in inventive combinations, for the pleasure and edification of connoisseurs. Compositions like Houckgeest's large canvas in Edinburgh (cat. no. 36) depicted contemporary design ideas, architectural concepts, and projects that might just have been completed in Italy or perhaps even in The Hague or Rhenen (on a smaller scale), had Maurits lived longer, or had Frederick V not been dependent upon the hospitality of his princely relatives. If the palace at Rijswijk, with its Ionic columns, pediments, open portico, and classical archway at the end of a central avenue (see fig. 8; cat. no. 101), was a residence that Frederick Hendrick actually built in the 1630s, then perhaps Houckgeest's painting of 1638 (cat. no. 35) could be said to represent the palace of the prince's dreams.<sup>193</sup>

The same comparison could be made between the queen of Bohemia's "well-built palace, or country-house, after the Italian manner" (as Evelyn described it in 1641),<sup>194</sup> and Van Bassen's vision of the residence that, in better times, he might have built next to the Cunerakerk in Rhenen (see fig. 91, where a version of that church appears in the background). Of course, the architectural forms in the foreground are implausible; these repoussoirs resemble motifs that Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger employed in pictures he painted for the queen of Bohemia's brother in London (for example, *Charles I in an Imaginary Palace* of 1626–27, by Van Steenwyck and Daniel Mijtens, in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin) and in works painted later in or near The Hague (probably from about 1638 until his death in 1649).<sup>195</sup> However, the palace proper in the middle ground, with its severe windows and statues above the pediments, strongly recalls the house that Huygens designed and built for himself (with the help of Van Campen) in the Hague between 1635 and 1637 (see fig. 16).<sup>196</sup> And while the fountain might resemble those made for foreign monarchs by Adriaen de Vries (1556–1626), the courtiers in the foreground and figures farther back could be based upon recollections of people going



Fig. 91. Bartholomeus van Bassen, *Imaginary Palace for the Winter King*, 1639. Oil on wood, 25 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 33 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (64 x 86 cm). Private collection, Copenhagen

about their business in the Binnenhof about the time the picture was painted.

In 1634 Van Bassen depicted a great hall with Frederick V and Elizabeth Stuart dining in public (private collection; a version is at Hampton Court). In Houckgeest's repetition of the composition dated 1635 (also at Hampton Court; fig. 92) the distinguished diners have become Charles I, Henrietta Maria, and the Prince of Wales (who, as Charles II, owned the picture). The paintings have been described erroneously as views of the palace at Rhenen and of the Banqueting House in Whitehall.<sup>197</sup> But the architectural style is one

with which the sitters would have felt at home. Perhaps Elizabeth or her faithful supporter William, earl of Craven, commissioned the paintings.<sup>198</sup> But anyone who (like Evelyn) might have "had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand"—including Van Bassen—could have come up with the idea.

In the early 1630s Van Delen painted five large canvases (four of which are about 10 feet, or 3.1 meters, high) that were evidently installed in a house (now number 11) on the Lange Vijverberg in The Hague that was owned by Count Floris II van Pallandt van Culemborg. One of the murals shows a classical palace open to the sky and occupied by the count, Frederick V, and Frederick Hendrick.<sup>199</sup> Similar settings and dignitaries grace three of the other murals, which as an ensemble must have opened the walls of a single room with vistas here and there. In a shorter canvas (which, however, is ten feet wide) the earl of Craven and Elizabeth Stuart stand in the center of an impressive room, apart from an elegant and mostly seated company (fig. 93). (Comparison with one of De Hooch's Delft interiors, such as cat. no. 29, is useful for distinguishing different classes of society and interior decoration—except for the borrowed floor tiles, which were never found in a room like De Hooch's.) Van Delen, Van Bassen (to whom the murals were once attributed), and Houckgeest had a lot in common during the 1630s and 1640s, including prestigious patrons at The Hague.

But paintings of this type also turn up in lotteries and in collections in other towns. Montias cites a "Perspective with Haman" by Van Bassen in Dordrecht (1656), a palace by "Van Beelen" (who must be Van Delen) in Amsterdam (1636), and in Delft between 1620 and 1680 thirty "perspectives" and thirty-seven other paintings said to



Fig. 92. Gerard Houckgeest, *Charles I and Henrietta Maria Dining in Public*, 1635. Oil on wood, 24 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 36 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (63.2 x 92.4 cm). Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Hampton Court Palace



Fig. 93. Dirck van Delen, *Elizabeth Stuart (The Winter Queen) and William Earl of Craven with Other Noble Figures in an Elegant Interior*; ca. 1630–32. Oil on canvas, 90½ x 126 in. (230 x 320 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (on loan to Rijksmuseum Paleis Het Loo, Apeldoorn)

represent churches or palaces.<sup>200</sup> In the right background of the Van der Dussen family portrait by Hendrick van Vliet (cat. no. 80), a small picture of a classical arcade hangs on the wall. One of Van Bassen's or Houckgeest's paintings of Saint Peter's in Rome might be more expected in this Catholic household.<sup>201</sup> Of course, the little picture, if it actually existed, might have had biblical figures, or it may be a product of Van Vliet's imagination, something inserted just to fill space. Montias found that the majority of people who owned paintings of churches and palaces were "Reformed, wealthy, and socially prominent."<sup>202</sup>

There was one Delft artist who painted a picture "reminiscent of Vredeman de Vries": Pieter Antonisz van Bronckhorst (1588–1661), whose *Judgment of Solomon* (fig. 94) was painted in 1622 for the Delft tribunal.<sup>203</sup> The extensive view of Renaissance architecture seen from a dramatically low vantage point allowed Van Bronckhorst to place a statue of Justice above the tragic scene, perhaps in reference to Hendrick de Keyser's figure of Justice (1620) set high on the classical facade of the Delft town hall.<sup>204</sup> Similarly, the picture's many archways seem to take De Keyser's portico (fig. 2) to an extreme, namely, the vanishing point. But the entire setting is extraneous to the matter

Fig. 94. Pieter Antonisz van Bronckhorst, *The Judgment of Solomon*, 1622. Oil on wood, 54 x 74½ in. (137 x 190 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof





Fig. 95. Gerard Houckgeest, *Imaginary Catholic Church*, ca. 1648. Oil on wood, 19 1/4 x 25 1/2 in. (49 x 65 cm). Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

at hand, which tends to confirm that this sort of “perspective” was appreciated by prominent citizens in Delft.

It was suggested above that Van Bassen and Houckgeest did not work in a distinctly “realistic” manner because their subjects were ideal. One might compare their views of Italianate churches and palaces (see fig. 91; cat. nos. 6, 35) with history pictures, which were usually not painted (not even in Haarlem) in the same style as pictures of actual places, people, and things.<sup>205</sup> Architectural paintings in the Court Style must have appealed to contemporary viewers in good part through their artificial effects, such as colorful patterns—the floor tiles in these compositions do more than measure space—and clever geometry. A figure of the waning Golden Age, Pieter Teding van Berkhout, for whom all the Dutch “art of describing” was in the present or recent past, wrote simply that “the most extraordinary and the most curious aspect of [Vermeer’s work] consists in the perspective.”<sup>206</sup> What would he have said of Houckgeest’s painting in Edinburgh (cat. no. 36)? And what would have been the opinion of Houckgeest’s contemporaries (Teding van Berkhout was born in 1643), especially amateurs of architecture like Evelyn and Huygens? In the Edinburgh picture, figures that might have been sketched in the center of The Hague stroll casually through a colossal palace, a structure much larger and more sensibly designed (so Huygens would have thought) than the one depicted in Raphael’s *School of Athens*. Nothing like it would be built in Europe during the seventeenth century, although the comparatively petite Galerie d’Apollon in the Louvre (1661–63) represents a step in this direction.

The most similar views in an actual palace are perhaps those in the Palazzo Reale at Caserta (near Naples), which was designed by Luigi Vanvitelli, the son of the Dutch painter of architectural views Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53–1736).<sup>207</sup>

In the 1640s Van Bassen and especially Houckgeest described more realistic effects of light, color, texture, and space than they had before. In the case of Van Bassen—the older painter (whose works date from 1614 onward) and practicing architect—his approach varied considerably, whether he was depicting actual architecture or not. (The London panel of 1638, fig. 90, for example, is consistent in style with the *Renaissance Church* of 1640 in the Národní Galerie, Prague.)<sup>208</sup> The earliest known paintings by Houckgeest date from much later than Van Bassen’s, the mid-1630s, and he was usually more inclined than Van Bassen to treat architecture in terms of light and space. He also appears to have studied works by other specialists, including Saenredam, Van Steenwyck, and the Rotterdamer Anthonie de Lorme (for whom Palamedesz occasionally worked as a figure painter).

From about 1640 onward, all of these artists tended to articulate space with strong contrasts of light and shade, if rarely so evocatively as Houckgeest in his *Imaginary Catholic Church* of about 1648 (fig. 95). This type of composition, an off-center frontal projection, had been used to diverse effect by Van Steenwyck, Van Bassen, Van Delen, and Saenredam. Here, the space recedes slowly to the choir in the background and spreads laterally into the transept on the left. The sunlit column and pier (where a man begs for charity) slow the

rate of recession and focus attention in the middle of the view. The architecture itself is “imaginary” only in the narrow sense that it was never built; it compares closely in style with Baroque churches in the Spanish Netherlands.<sup>209</sup> In several respects—the warm tonality, the shadows and silhouettes, and the daylight pouring in from the side—the panel not only seems consistent with works in other genres of the mid- to late 1640s (see cat. no. 56) but also looks forward to a number of Emanuel de Witte’s early architectural views (see cat. no. 91). The luminous area on the left, with the column dividing directions of view, anticipates some aspects of pictures by Houckgeest dating from a few years later (see cat. no. 38).

Of course, Houckgeest’s paintings of the early 1650s did not develop directly out of his earlier work, given the different demands of recording actual architecture. But his imaginary views reveal that he had the experience and the inventiveness to do something exceptional, to respond to new circumstances. The more one studies this genre the more one tends to appreciate the facility with which painters such as Houckgeest and Van Bassen were able to blend together elements taken from actual churches, other artists’ views of real and imaginary buildings, and arbitrary design ideas: cropping, reversing, redrafting, relighting, and so on. The same lesson—which has been taught repeatedly by Ernst Gombrich<sup>210</sup>—is learned from a close study of even the most naturalistic works by other Dutch painters, including the most celebrated Delft artists of the 1650s such as Fabritius, De Witte, De Hooch, and Vermeer. As discussed below, Houckgeest’s approach to actual architecture in 1650–51 (see cat. nos. 37–40) represents a new emphasis on visual experience but also the imagination of an old hand.<sup>211</sup>

### *Landscape Painting*

The name of Jacob van Geel (ca. 1585–ca. 1638?) was invoked in the previous section in order to suggest that naturalistic landscape painting was not a significant feature of the Delft school—that is, not until the 1640s, and especially after 1645, when Potter, Pynacker, and Van der Poel can be considered short-term representatives. There are also the many landscapes painted more or less in a Haarlem manner by Pieter van Asch (see fig. 100), which date for the most part after 1650. They could have been painted anywhere in the province of Holland, as long as some works by Salomon van Ruysdael, Cornelis Vroom, Simon de Vlieger (in Delft about 1634–37), Jacob van Ruysdael, and perhaps Jan Hackaert were available for inspiration. It almost goes without saying that Potter was the most interesting landscape painter ever to work in Delft (from about 1646 until 1649), especially with a view to the celebrated artists of the 1650s. But the most typical landscapists of the Delft school in the first half of the century were Van Geel, Willem van den Bundel, and Pieter Groenewegen.

Twenty years ago Montias made the then-surprising discovery that “more paintings by the landscape painter Joos de Momper were found in Delft inventories than by any other contemporary Flemish master.” For example, the wealthy grain merchant Joris Claesz Tristram, who died in 1617, owned six paintings and nineteen landscape drawings by the Antwerp artist, who at the time was still in the middle of his career (he lived from 1564 to 1635). Seven landscapes by De Momper—who never visited Holland, so far as is known—were listed in the Delft estate of Frans Jaspersz Mesch in 1627.<sup>212</sup> Works by De Momper and by his fellow Flemings Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), Denijs van Alsloot (1570–1628), and Roelant Savery (1576–1639) were also collected by Frederick Hendrick. Apart from purely topographical views (for example, by Daniel Cletcher), the prince did not own any naturalistic landscapes by artists like Van Goyen, Van Ruysdael, or Huygens’s favorite, Esaias van de Velde.<sup>213</sup> The most popular Dutch landscapist at the court appears to have been the Utrecht painter of Italianate views, Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1594/95–1667). Works by his follower Dirck van der Lisse (1607–1669) and by Gijsbert d’Hondecoeter (1604–1653), Moses van Uytenbroeck (or Wtenbrouck; 1595/1600–1648), and Adam Willaerts (1577–1664) are also listed in the stadholder’s inventories. As in other genres, then, landscape painters and their patrons in Delft and The Hague looked mainly in two directions, toward Antwerp and Utrecht.

From the mid-1590s onward, De Momper received commissions from the archducal court in Brussels. So did Jan Brueghel later on (from about 1606), although he continued to work for his great Italian patron, Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan. Savery, of course, had served Emperor Rudolf II in Prague (about 1604–11). Thus, the Flemish landscapes that Frederick Hendrick collected were by artists already favored at Habsburg courts and by connoisseurs in Italy. His Dutch landscapes were by artists working in a similar vein, which had first been mined in Antwerp and Rome, and in Flemish expatriate outposts such as Amsterdam and the Rhineland town of Frankenthal (the main figure in the last two places was Gillis van Coninxloo).<sup>214</sup> As in the case of history painters and portraitists such as Rubens, Van Dyck, Jordaens, and Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert, Frederick Hendrick’s interest in landscape painting did not focus upon local heroes, but followed international taste.

This must have made an impression in Delft, but De Momper’s popularity there, and a large influx of Flemings, predate the period during which the stadholder formed his collection. Of course, landscape painting throughout the country in the first quarter of the century was deeply indebted to Flemish forerunners. In the southern part of Holland and in Zeeland, to judge from what is known to have been painted in Dordrecht, Middelburg, and Rotterdam as well as in Delft and The Hague, the Antwerp tradition of imaginary mountain and woodland views had deeper roots and longer





Fig. 96. Jacob van Geel, *Landscape with the Plundering of a Coach*, ca. 1610. Oil on copper, 9 x 17½ in. (22.9 x 44.8 cm). Detroit Institute of Arts

branches than elsewhere in the newly united provinces, with the possible exception of Utrecht.<sup>215</sup>

The earliest representatives in Delft included Hans Jordaens (see fig. 54) and François Spiering's designers, Karel van Mander, father and son (see cat. nos. 118, 137–39). Jordaens frequently set biblical subjects in landscapes. In one large canvas, for example, the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau is expertly staged by placing Esau's army and Jacob's family against two sides of a sweeping valley, with the embracing brothers in the center of the extensive view.<sup>216</sup> In another painting Christ and the Canaanite woman meet among some twenty figures snaking into the distance between twisted trees and an alpine stream. Jan Briels describes the composition appropriately as a mixture of motifs borrowed from Gillis d'Hondecoeter (1575/80–1638; the Antwerp-born father of Gijsbert) and Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1606).<sup>217</sup> As a history painter and especially as a landscapist Jordaens was followed by his son Simon (ca. 1585?–1631), who with his father became a citizen of Delft in 1612. He painted staffage for other Delft landscape painters, such as Pieter Stael (ca. 1575/76–1622) and Willem van den Bundel.<sup>218</sup>

It would require another chapter to untangle these artists' sources in the works of better-known Flemish immigrants, such as d'Hondecoeter, Van Coninxloo, Savery, and David Vinckboons. And it would be an unrewarding task. The main point of interest here is how consistently this tradition was followed in Delft from the 1590s to the 1640s. This says less about the artists than it does about local taste.

Beyond that, it is their occasional eccentricities that attract attention, especially in the oeuvres of Groenewegen and Van Geel.

Van Geel was active in Delft only between 1626 and 1633. He was probably born about 1585 in Middelburg, where he was recorded in the painters' guild between 1615 and 1625 (as dean in 1617). Constantly in debt, he may have fled to Delft. In 1627 he married the widow of a silversmith; they lived unhappily together until her death in 1632. In February 1633 Van Geel asked the painters' guild in Dordrecht for permission to work there for half a year. He became a



Fig. 97. Willem van den Bundel, *View of a Village*, 1623. Oil on wood, 15½ x 20½ in. (39.5 x 52 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

regular member in the following year. The place and year of his death are unknown but none of his works is dated after 1638.<sup>219</sup>

Van Geel's early work in Middelburg (for example, fig. 96) employs patterns adopted from Antwerp painters such as Jan Brueghel the Elder and Denijs van Alsloot.<sup>220</sup> The undulating tree trunks recall Savery but lack his grounding in studies from life. Van Geel's trees are his most distinctive feature: in the 1620s they become unbelievably mossy and overgrown, as if they emerged with the ebb of the biblical flood (see cat. no. 22). Primeval forests, made mysterious by the shadows of ancient trees, were painted a century earlier by Albrecht Altdorfer and came to life again in works by Van Coninxloo, Savery, and Elsheimer. Jacob Pynas (ca. 1585–1656), who worked in Delft for some years (1632–39), Van Coninxloo's pupil Hercules Seghers (1589/90–1633/38), and Rembrandt in paintings like *The Stone Bridge* of the late 1630s (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) clearly display admiration for these masters and help to place Van Geel in his proper context.<sup>221</sup> Two pictures by Seghers were acquired by Frederick Hendrick in 1632, but Van Geel never had such an honor. His many small paintings must have been modestly priced. In the 1630s his technique became increasingly fluid and his palette tonal (a rich variety of browns and greens); this approach cost him less in time and materials than did the details and local colors of his early work. At the same time, Van Geel was responding slowly to recent trends, as established, for example, by Van Goyen (who was in The Hague from about 1632). But his subject remained the same during the Delft and Dordrecht periods. If anything, his slight adjustments in the direction of naturalistic description make his later works look like reports from another continent.<sup>222</sup>

Willem van den Bundel (1577–1655) was born in Brussels.<sup>223</sup> His family moved via Antwerp to Delft, where they joined the Calvinist community in 1586. At the end of 1597 Van den Bundel became a pupil of Van Coninxloo in Amsterdam; he married there in 1600. He was cited as a resident of Delft in 1603 but is recorded in Amsterdam between March 1607 (when he was present at the important sale of his late master's collection) and 1620, when his father's death evidently brought him back to Delft.<sup>224</sup> In Amsterdam, Van den Bundel appears to have been well known in the artistic community: he attended auctions, appraised pictures, and is recorded in the company of Pieter Lastman, the landscape and history painter Adriaen van Nieulandt, and other artists (he must have known Jacob Pynas).<sup>225</sup> In Delft, Van den Bundel and his second wife bought a house on the Vlamingstraet. He joined the painters' guild in 1623 and often served as an officer in the 1620s and 1630s. A son, Willem, evidently a painter, was buried in Delft in December 1623. A nephew, Jacob Dinsich (Van den Bundel's sister's son), was recorded in the guild between 1622 and 1624 but became a baker's apprentice in 1625.<sup>226</sup>

Van den Bundel's wooded landscape in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 97), dates from 1623, when he was forty-six years old. His

style is usually associated with that of his teacher and more convincingly with that of Gillis d'Hondecoeter, who by 1610 had moved from Utrecht to Amsterdam. The two artists were about the same age and both had early ties to Delft: d'Hondecoeter's Flemish family moved there before 1601; he married there in 1602; and he attended his son Nicolaes's wedding in Delft in 1637 (a year before his own death). Comparison of Van den Bundel's village view and other works of the 1620s with works by d'Hondecoeter such as *The Country Road* of about 1615–18 (also in the Rijksmuseum) shows that the Delft painter did owe a great deal to that master.<sup>227</sup> But the rhythmic trees recall other artists, such as Van de Venne, Vinckboons, and the Antwerp painter Alexander Keirinx (1600–1652), who, after 1626, was in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and London.<sup>228</sup> Van den Bundel's manner became more naturalistic in the 1620s and 1630s, probably in response to Van de Venne (who lived in The Hague from 1625 onward) and Esaïas van de Velde, both of whom were very well known in Delft.<sup>229</sup> Some late village views by Van den Bundel might seem to anticipate Hobbema. Unlike artists of the younger generation, however, Van den Bundel (like Van Geel) appears never to have studied nature as well as art.

Pieter Groenewegen (ca. 1600–1658?) as a landscapist was very different from Van den Bundel and Van Geel. On the basis of his best-known painting, the imaginary Roman landscape in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 98), he is usually described as a follower of Breenbergh. Other works are reminiscent of Jacob Pynas, who was one of the earliest Dutch landscapists to reside in Rome (about 1605–8). Groenewegen worked in Rome during the early 1620s, at the same time that Breenbergh, Van Poelenburgh, and Bramer were there. He joined the painters' guild in Delft on March 30, 1626. The son of wealthy parents, Groenewegen rented a house in 1633 for 1,380 guilders, enough to buy a more modest residence.<sup>230</sup> In the Delft lottery of 1626 three landscapes by the artist, with figures by Van de Velde, were valued at 32, 32, and 48 guilders.<sup>231</sup> His works are cited fairly often in Delft inventories, especially during the 1640s. Vermeer's father, Reynier, dealt in them.<sup>232</sup> In 1657 and 1658 Groenewegen was cited as unwilling to pay admission fees to the painters' confraternity *Pictura* in The Hague.<sup>233</sup> He evidently died shortly thereafter.

Another painter of imaginary Roman landscapes was Hendrick van Vliet. His surprising panel in Birmingham (fig. 99), dated 1641, is arranged like some of Groenewegen's works (the shadowy foreground, the massing to one side). However, the tunnel-like views in a grotto, littered with improbable fragments of ancient Rome, recall Van Poelenburgh's followers in Utrecht, such as Abraham van Cuylenborch (ca. 1610–1658).<sup>234</sup>

Pieter van Asch (1603–1678) outdid Van den Bundel in eclecticism. The two artists joined the Delft guild in the same year, 1623, but Van Asch was twenty-six years younger. His father, Hans van Asch (ca. 1570/71–1644), is said to have painted portraits, but he

Fig. 98. Pieter Groenewegen, *Roman Landscape with the Palatine and Parts of the Forum Romanum*, probably 1630s. Oil on wood, 22 x 35½ in. (56 x 90.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



never joined the guild, and Pieter paid more (6 guilders) than a master's son would have when he was registered.<sup>235</sup> Works by Van Asch are cited only twice in Delft inventories of the 1630s; twelve are listed in the 1640s, sixteen in the 1650s, ten in the 1660s, and seven in the 1670s.<sup>236</sup> Paintings by Van Goyen appear fairly often in Delft inventories of about 1640–70, and that artist of The Hague may have influenced Van Asch in works of the 1650s.<sup>237</sup> But the latter look a generation out of date. For example, the *River Landscape* in Amsterdam (fig. 100), which Van Asch probably painted in the 1650s, reminds one of works by Salomon van Ruysdael dating from about 1635.<sup>238</sup>

In paintings dating from before 1650 (and occasionally later) Van Asch seems a follower of Van den Bundel.<sup>239</sup> In the third quarter of

the century he evidently gained impressions from artists working in Amsterdam, such as Jan Wijnants and Jan Hackaert.<sup>240</sup> The latter's backlit trees, and perhaps those of Pynacker as well, were adopted by Van Asch in the 1670s. One of his works appears to be summarized in the background of Vermeer's *Guitar Player* in Kenwood, London.<sup>241</sup> It suits the young woman's sunny disposition.<sup>242</sup> Van Asch employed several styles and essentially one theme, the joy of walking in the country on a lovely day.

The pastoral ideal could be said to link Van den Bundel, Van Asch, and the short-lived Paulus Potter (1625–1654). The native of Enkhuizen grew up in Amsterdam, where he studied with his father, Pieter. Evidently he also trained with Jacob de Wet in Haarlem, in about 1642. Potter joined the Delft guild on August 6, 1646; whether

Fig. 99. Hendrick van Vliet, *Imaginary Landscape with a Grotto*, 1641. Oil on wood, 21½ x 35½ in. (54.5 x 90.2 cm). Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham

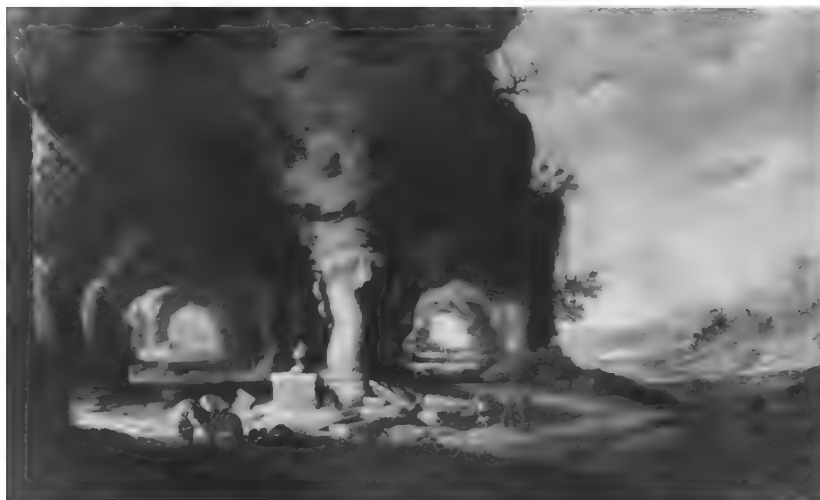


Fig. 100. Pieter van Asch, *River Landscape*, probably 1650s. Oil on wood, 10 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (26.5 x 40 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



he lived in the city or somewhere nearby is unknown. His landscapes of about 1647–48 include meadows and buildings like those in the general area of Delft and The Hague.<sup>243</sup> A notation in one of the Delft guild books, probably dating from about 1650, indicates that Potter had resigned. In 1649 he entered the painters' guild in The Hague and rented a house from Van Goyen on the Dunne Bierkade, which faced the fields extending toward Rijswijk and Delft.<sup>244</sup>

Potter married the girl next door, Adriana van Balckeneynde. Her father, Claes Dircksz, was the most important building contractor in the city. He worked for Pieter Post and Constantijn Huygens, and was commissioned by the young stadholder Willem II to carry out renovations at Honselaarsdijk. The biographer Arnold Houbraken records (1718–21) that Van Balckeneynde introduced Potter to important clients, and that Count Johan Maurits “and other great ones” visited his studio. *The Farmyard*, or “The Pissing Cow,” as the work was already known in Houbraken’s day, was painted for Frederick Hendrick’s widow, Amalia van Solms. “Someone who had the princess’s ear” persuaded her that it was unsuitable.<sup>245</sup> But it is remarkable that this large, sunny farmyard scene, however marvelously painted, was ever intended as a chimney piece in the princess’s private apartments in the Oude Hof. Three years later, in 1652, an envoy of the Swedish court who had examined the picture in Amsterdam wrote to a confidant of the queen of Sweden that “In truth, one will see nothing so meticulously fashioned, for there is not a cow, horse, goat, sheep, tree nor piece of vegetation that does not excite one’s admiration.”<sup>246</sup> The remark recalls Huygens’s praise of Van Goyen, Van de Velde, and other landscapists of the 1610s and 1620s (“the works of these clever men lack nothing in terms of natural realism except the actual warmth of the sun and movement of the air”), and also Philips Angel’s praise of Gerard Dou (in *De luf der*

*Schilder-Konst*, 1642) for his very close description and also lifelikeness, the latter achieved through a certain looseness of touch rather than excessive finish.<sup>247</sup>

It seems likely that Potter’s success with important patrons in The Hague had as much to do with his idealized view of country life as it did with naturalistic description, although admiration of the latter was by no means limited to the middle class (Charles II’s response to Dou was mentioned above).<sup>248</sup> While one must be cautious in comparing the *hofdicht* (country-house poem), which flourished at the time,<sup>249</sup> that genre and Potter’s both reflect the urbanite’s pleasure in escaping to the countryside. The view of a Dutch farmyard found in the Mauritshuis painting of 1648 (fig. 101) is in a sense the same as that perceived from the coach on the road in the left background. Life on the land is not about feeding the pigs at five in the morning but about contented cows, cozy cottages, unlimited space and sunlight, fresh air, and the freedom to strip naked and splash in a pond. The coach is drawn by six horses, attended by a liveried driver and jogging grooms. They appear to be headed for the country house (“probably De Werwe near Voorburg”) seen through the distant trees.<sup>250</sup> Delft can be discerned on the horizon.

The most famous country-house poem of the period is Huygens’s *Hofwijck* of 1651. The title, which means “refuge from court,” refers to Huygens’s small, exquisite villa, built in 1640–42 with the help of Pieter Post on the Vliet by Voorburg.<sup>251</sup> The poem includes the complaint that city folk are spoiling the neighborhood:

*Another castle yet, raised in a single night!*  
*I guess the Vliet will wind up as a street.*  
*Soon The Hague will not know where it stands,*  
*At Voorburg or the dunes . . .*



Fig. 101. Paulus Potter, *Cows Reflected in the Water*, 1648. Oil on wood, 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (43.4 x 61.3 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague

*Must Voorburg join the game? I do recall the day  
This was a clover field, where fatted cattle lay.  
A garden, it looks now, a Hofwijck, I'll be damned.  
We [locals] go to nothing, those people get too grand.*<sup>252</sup>

The intense observation found in Potter's pictures of landscape and animals, their freshness of vision, is almost the opposite of Van den Bundel's. His widow claimed that he never went out without a sketchbook, and the evidence is there, together with qualities of light and atmosphere that cannot be captured with a pencil or pen. Potter was also completely aware of the latest contributions to Dutch landscape painting; he particularly admired the Haarlem artist Pieter van Laer (1599–ca. 1642) and Jan Both (ca. 1615–1652) in Utrecht. The cooler, brighter light and platinum-blond tonality of Potter's paintings dating from the late 1640s, as well as his contrasts of light and shadow, silhouetting effects, and wonderfully diffused backlighting (see cat. nos. 54, 55), owe much to those artists just returned from Italy (Van Laer in 1639, Both about 1642) — and even more to direct observation. Potter may be compared with Vermeer in this respect: he would learn a great deal from other painters, see what they had seen,

and then look again at nature, judging for himself. "The balance of his compositions is sophisticated, his perspective utterly convincing and his light effects breathtaking."<sup>253</sup> What Potter achieved required extensive learning in the studio and long walks in the countryside.

Potter has been seen as the catalyst of the "Delft School" that emerged in the early 1650s (Fabritius, De Witte, De Hooch, and Vermeer). This widely held notion goes back to a section ("Ein Malerbesuch") in Max Eisler's dated classic, *Alt-Delft* (1923), about Potter's "visit" to Delft. As recently as 1996 it was assumed that the landscapist's "provocative, naturalistic handling of light, prompted the experiments and innovations of Delft painters around the middle of the century." This is quite a tall order for an artist who was only twenty-five at the time (in 1650), but the writer wisely allows that older Delft masters, including Van der Ast, Bramer, Palamedesz, and Van Velsen, had also created convincing effects of space and light. "With all this talent on hand, it did not take much for the artistic life of the city to ignite; the arrival of Paulus Potter in 1646 was presumably the spark."<sup>254</sup>

Potter's style seems to the present writer more a symptom than a cause. Throughout the United Provinces, regional differences in



style appear much less pronounced in the middle of the century than in the decades before. The art trade, painters on the move, and changing tastes brought fresh ideas from other towns. A collector of about 1650 would have been familiar with a far greater variety of Dutch art than that known to earlier generations. Perhaps this was especially important in subjects such as landscape, genre, and still-life painting, in which individual observation, exceptional craftsmanship, and distinctive motifs were generally prized more than in history painting and portraiture. But even in those specialties, painters in Delft and The Hague (for example, Palamedesz, Hanneman, and Jan Mijtens) were following the latest fashions by the middle of the century. Other factors, such as the decline of court patronage, are discussed in the next chapter.

Adam Pynacker (ca. 1620–1673), from Schiedam, was recorded in Delft on several occasions between August 1649 and May 1651. The documents usually connect him with Adam Pick, a painter and innkeeper who may have also dealt in pictures.<sup>255</sup> According to Houbraken, Pynacker spent three years in Italy; Harwood considers this likely and suggests that the artist traveled south between about 1645 and 1648.<sup>256</sup> She also compares Pynacker's *View of a Harbor in Schiedam* (cat. no. 57) with views of Delft by Fabritius and De Hooch. The two paintings by Pynacker exhibited here (both of which date from the early 1650s) are remarkable for their strong sense of order, their intense illumination, and the use of contrasting light and shadow to establish zones of space (see cat. nos. 56, 57). Similar qualities are found not only in Potter but also in Houckgeest, Fabritius, Vermeer, and other artists active in Delft during the early 1650s (compare cat. nos. 18, 39, 69).

These impressions can be tested in the exhibition space. What may not be evident there is how Potter and Pynacker continued or transformed the arcadian theme that had long been favored in The Hague. When Huygens, well before his Hofwijck days, praised Jan van Goyen and Esaias van de Velde, he included Paulus Bril, Cornelis van Poelenburgh, and Moses van Uytenbroeck in the same breath. George Keyes explains this apparent (to modern eyes) contradiction by noting that "Esaias's landscapes from the 1620's are often arcadian in character and differ markedly from the type of landscape developed by Van Goyen during the later 1620's."<sup>257</sup> Pynacker's Italianate views depend upon Jan Both, the Amsterdam landscapist Jan Asselijn, and his own observations, and were painted in Delft, at the Brandenburg court (1654–55), in Schiedam, and after 1661 in Amsterdam.

As is well known, a number of artists who worked in Delft during the 1650s went on to Amsterdam: Willem van Aelst, Potter, De Hooch, De Witte, and others. The movement of artists, their wider experience, and changes in patronage and the art market—the increasingly complicated nature of the art world in the middle of the century raises the question of whether the "Delft School" of fond memory, represented by a few artists who worked there in the 1650s

and 1660s, was as coherent as the Delft school of the preceding fifty years. Of course, the answer to the question is yes and no.

### *Still-Life Painting*

It is possible to refer to still-life painting in Haarlem and—in some circles—to the same genre in Amsterdam, Leiden, or Middelburg and feel confident that the listener has an appropriate image in mind. "Still-life painting in Delft" does not ring a similar bell. This is not surprising, since the usual approach, linking one artist to another (as with Pieter Claesz and Willem Claesz Heda in Haarlem, or Ambrosius Bosschaert and Balthasar van der Ast in Middelburg), is not very helpful in the case of the Delft school. However, when one surveys the still lifes that were actually produced in the city one tradition predominates, and that is flower painting of the Middelburg type, namely, the representation of fancy bouquets as found in the oeuvres of Bosschaert and his followers (including Van der Ast, who spent his last twenty-five years in Delft), Jan Brueghel in Antwerp, Roelant Savery in Utrecht, and Jacques de Gheyn in The Hague. Three painters produced the same kind of still life in Delft: the now-obscure Elias Verhulst (see fig. 41); Jacob Vosmaer (see fig. 102; cat. no. 88); and Van der Ast (see fig. 103; cat. nos. 3–5).

This tradition was updated in Delft by Willem van Aelst, who studied with his uncle, the less accomplished still-life painter Evert van Aelst. Only some youthful works by Willem van Aelst were actually painted in the city (see cat. nos. 1, 2), but his early success at foreign courts, like that of Maria van Oosterwijck (see fig. 108), may be seen as the attainment of a goal toward which Vosmaer and Van der Ast must have aspired. The latter's celebrated brother-in-law, Bosschaert, died in 1621 while delivering a 1,000-guilder flower piece to Prince Maurits. In 1632 Princess Amalia van Solms had in one of her private rooms at The Hague "two small paintings in ebony frames, one a basket with fruit and the other a basket with flowers, done by Van der Ast."<sup>258</sup>

In any event, the persistence of flower painting in Delft appears to reflect local demand for these luxury goods, rather than a succession of masters and pupils. Delft was home to many dealers and craftsmen offering rare objects: silver and silver-gilt vessels (see cat. nos. 143–48); sculptures made of alabaster, wood, and bronze (see cat. nos. 141, 142); finely decorated majolica; elaborately worked damask; jewelry, gems, cameos, medals, and the like; imported shells, pieces of coral, and other natural rarities. Shells from Indonesia, the West Indies, and Africa were brought home by the East and West India Companies; Chinese porcelain was imported mostly by the VOC (see cat. nos. 5, 8). Of course, still lifes incorporating motifs such as these were made in Antwerp, Middelburg, Haarlem, Utrecht, and The Hague as well as in Delft, but it is worth emphasizing that Delft dealers and collectors are known to have possessed all kinds of



Fig. 102. Jacob Vosmaer, *Flower Vase in a Niche*, ca. 1615. Oil on wood, 30 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 21 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (77 x 55.2 cm). Private collection, Brussels

curiosities, man-made and natural (both categories are, in a sense, represented by flower pictures).<sup>259</sup> Montias remarks how often rich homes in Delft during the years 1593–1613 displayed fine examples of decorative art as well as paintings (including, in the collection of the tax collector Cornelis van Coolwijck, floral still lifes).<sup>260</sup> It may also be recalled that the Utrecht art lover Aernout van Buchell, during his visit to Delft in 1598, went from Aper van der Houve's collection (of bronzes, paintings, gems, and medals, among other things) to two goldsmiths' shops on the market square (where he saw shells and coral as well as precious metalwork), and from there to the still-life painter Verhulst's house, where he was shown pictures of rare flowers, shells, and little animals.<sup>261</sup>

Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer (ca. 1584–1641), a native of Delft, gave his age as twenty-four when he married in 1608. It has been suggested that he studied with Jacques de Gheyn, who had settled with his wealthy wife in The Hague (her hometown) by about 1602, and painted the earliest dated *vanitas* still life (Metropolitan Museum) in the following year. De Gheyn may have already painted small flower pictures like those by Bosschaert and Savery about 1600, but large bouquets quite similar to the rare examples by Vosmaer date from 1612–15.<sup>262</sup> Vosmaer's earliest known dated works are flower pieces that appear to date from 1613 (see cat. no. 88), the same year in which he was listed as a member of the Delft painters' guild. Of course, it is possible that as a teenager Vosmaer studied with Verhulst or someone

else. But Van Bleyswijck says he started out as a landscapist and only later turned to still life.<sup>263</sup> A coastal view (of rocks and ships) by "Jacob Wouters," with figures by Jordaens, was cited in a Delft collection in 1626.<sup>264</sup> Perhaps this background in another genre accounts in part for the comparative fluidity with which Vosmaer's flower pictures are painted (as in figs. 102, 300). However, works by De Gheyn himself represent a step in this direction, compared with the examples that Bosschaert and Van der Ast painted in the same decade, between about 1610 and 1620.

When Vosmaer started to paint flower pictures, he must have been well aware of their value in the marketplace. The average middle-class buyer could not afford them. De Gheyn, who did not need to earn a living, sold paintings to Prince Maurits and to the States of Holland. Vosmaer was also well connected, if not at the same level. His family was probably Calvinist, since he served as a captain major in one of Delft's civic-guard companies.<sup>265</sup> He traveled to Italy (before 1608) and was evidently about thirty when he settled down to work: Montias found no paintings by him in Delft inventories before about 1620, but they are cited consistently later on.<sup>266</sup> Van Bleyswijck writes that he was quite successful, which is supported by the presence of his paintings in noteworthy collections and by the prices he obtained (up to 130 guilders).<sup>267</sup>

Like the flower pieces painted by Roelant Savery at about the same time—this Flemish artist lived for the most part in Amsterdam from about 1614 to 1618 and then in Utrecht<sup>268</sup>—Vosmaer's still lifes appealed to a collector's erudition as well as to his aesthetic sense. Some of the flowers Vosmaer recorded were exceptionally rare, such as the fritillary crowning the arrangement in the painting exhibited here (cat. no. 88). The *vanitas* theme often suggested in representations of bouquets, particularly when they include flowers of different seasons and fallen petals or leaves, is underscored by the cracks and chips in Vosmaer's vases and especially in the stone niches. In their didactic flavor as well as their style his flower paintings come closest to De Gheyn's, and a close connection between the artists is suggested also by a few little-known studies of isolated flowers and insects by Vosmaer.<sup>269</sup> These strongly recall the zoological and botanical specimens that were carefully selected and sketched by De Gheyn.<sup>270</sup>

Of flower pictures painted by the first three specialists in Delft no more than about ten survive, and they are all by Vosmaer. The only visual evidence for his predecessor, Elias Verhulst, is Hondius's print of 1599 (fig. 41). This is more than we have for Vosmaer's exact contemporary Harmen Arentsz van Bolgersteyn (ca. 1584–1641), who is recorded in the guild list of 1613 as a flower painter.<sup>271</sup> In 1618 he took on a pupil, Reymbrant Verboom, who evidently intended to become a portraitist but never succeeded at anything.<sup>272</sup> A portrait by Van Bolgersteyn sold for 26 guilders in 1628.<sup>273</sup> His flower pictures must have borne some resemblance to Vosmaer's, considering that the two artists started out in the genre at about the same time. Some thirty-

five years after Vosmaer painted his most typical still lifes, the same kind of picture in approximately the same style (perhaps a copy) was signed and dated 1652 by Willem Verschoor, the young Delft painter otherwise known solely for his *Cephalus and Procris* of 1657 in the manner of Van Couwenbergh (Centraal Museum, Utrecht).<sup>274</sup>

Balthasar van der Ast (1593/94–1657) was raised by his father, a wealthy Middelburg widower who died about 1609. The fifteen-year-old Balthasar went to live with his sister, who had married Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder about 1604. Both painters moved to Bergen op Zoom (in nearby North Brabant) in 1615, but Bosschaert settled in Utrecht the following year. Van der Ast joined the Utrecht painters' guild in 1619; his earliest known works date from the following decade. When Bosschaert died, in 1621, his young sons, the still-life painters Ambrosius the Younger (b. 1609), Johannes (b. 1610/11), and Abraham (b. 1612/13), evidently became the pupils of Van der Ast.<sup>275</sup>

Van der Ast had moved to Delft by May 1632, when the notary Willem de Langue (fig. 228a), a prominent collector who often acted on behalf of artists, helped him secure 200 guilders from a jeweler in Utrecht.<sup>276</sup> He joined the guild in June 1632 and was fined for not having citizenship, which he gained in April 1633. The announcement of his forthcoming marriage to Margrieta Jans van Bueren was registered on February 26, 1633, and official permission to marry at Rijswijk was granted on March 19.<sup>277</sup> A codicil of 1650 records that the Van der Asts had two daughters and that the family lived on the east side of the Oude Delft, by the Oude Kerk; the view out the window in Van der Ast's ambitious still life in Dessau (cat. no. 5) was evidently recorded from his own house.<sup>278</sup> Van der Ast was buried in the Oude Kerk on December 19, 1657.

The painter had no known personal reasons for moving to Delft, and it was likely a business decision. A number of Utrecht artists, including Van Honthorst, Moreelse, Van Poelenburgh, and Van der Ast's close associate, Savery, had sold pictures to Frederick Hendrick and Amalia van Solms. So had Van der Ast, presumably, unless the pair of pictures recorded in the princess's quarters in 1632 came to her through an intermediary. De Gheyn died in 1629 and, with all due respect to Vosmaer, there was very little competition for a flower painter in the area of Delft and The Hague, especially one working at Van der Ast's exceptional level of quality. It is also possible that most of the likely customers in Utrecht had been satisfied; Savery's flower paintings date no later than 1630. Many of the leading collectors in the city were influenced by the taste of the court,<sup>279</sup> and Van der Ast probably knew that this was also true in Delft and in The Hague itself.

Another indication that Van der Ast may have had courtly clients at The Hague is his extraordinary still life in Douai (fig. 103), a large panel which unfortunately is too fragile for travel overseas.<sup>280</sup> An abundance of fruit, flowers, and shells is displayed before a ruined wall and a seemingly abandoned palace, all of which suggests the vanity of worldly life. The work has been dated to about 1640, and



Fig. 103. Balthasar van der Ast, *Still Life with Flowers, Fruit, and Shells*, ca. 1640. Oil on wood, 52¼ x 55½ in. (134 x 140 cm). Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai

the architectural background has been attributed to Bartholomeus van Bassen, which appears completely plausible on both counts. Indeed, both the execution of the architecture and its design speak strongly for Van Bassen's authorship at about the time that he painted his *Imaginary Palace for the Winter King* (fig. 91), where the broken column in the foreground and perhaps the church tower in the background may allude to Frederick V's immortal soul. The butterfly floating above the flowers in the Douai picture is another common symbol of the soul.

That Van der Ast's style changed very little over the years is one of many received notions in the history of Dutch art.<sup>281</sup> The same is said of Van Miereveld and could be said of Van Geel (see cat. no. 22), the Middelburg landscapist whose career in Delft overlapped Van der Ast's for about a year. However, given the conservative nature of taste in Delft, the gradual shift in Van der Ast's style during the 1630s and 1640s deserves appreciation. *Still Life of Flowers, Shells, and Insects* of about 1635 (cat. no. 4), for example, despite the gentle ascent of petals and wings into the upper parts of the picture, has a lower viewpoint, softer modeling, subtler shadows, blonder tonality, and generally more convincing daylight and depth than most Dutch still lifes of the previous decade. Modern critics would still describe contemporary works by Claesz and Heda as more advanced, meaning

that they are in some respects more naturalistic. But connoisseurs of the period would not have seen Van der Ast as working in the same genre as the Haarlem painters of "monochrome banquet" still lifes. His motifs resemble the contents of a naturalist's cabinet, which would have been pulled from shelves, drawers, and books for a visitor's inspection, one by one. There is never in Van der Ast's work that sense, as in the Haarlem paintings, of a sudden interruption, some minor drama in which lessons are learned almost at a glance. His flowers and shells are laid out for repeated scrutiny, and the general impression is solely one of beauty, nature's and art's.

"As far as still life goes we see in Delft a remarkable popularity of the so-called kitchen still life."<sup>282</sup> Popular, perhaps, but not as distinctive as the flower piece (which is considered further below). Kitchen still lifes were also produced in several other cities, sometimes by Delft artists who had moved. Of those actually painted in Delft, it would be useful to know what proportion went into local collections, as opposed to being sold elsewhere. It is remarkable that fourteen specialists in still life (including flower pieces) were newly inscribed in the Delft guild between May 1613 and December 1649, as compared with three earlier on, and three between 1650 and 1679.<sup>283</sup> But they were mostly minor masters who painted inexpensive works, depicting subjects such as vegetables, dead game, fish,



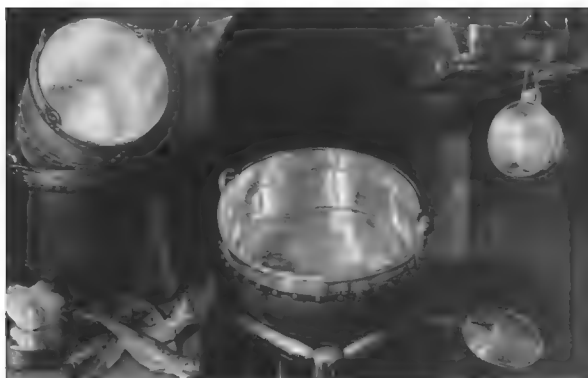


Fig. 104. Cornelis Delff, *Still Life with Kitchen Utensils*, ca. 1620s. Oil on wood, 26 x 39 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (66 x 100 cm). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

and copper cooking ware. The same and similar motifs are found in Rotterdam pictures, especially those dating from the 1630s, when Pieter de Bloot, Cornelis and Herman Saftleven, Hendrick Sorgh, and (in the 1640s) the young Willem Kalf all painted kitchen and stable interiors. None of their efforts in this vein is cited in the contemporary records of important collectors and dealers, unless they were numbered among the *stukjes* (pieces) of cheap stock.<sup>284</sup>

It may be that Delft's importance as a market town, a center of distribution for produce, dairy products, and so on, made the area fertile terrain for kitchen still lifes. The theme originated with

Aertsen and Beuckelaer, both of whom had earned reputations in Delft (as discussed in chapter 2). Two of the city's would-be history painters, Van Miereveld and Christiaan van Bieselingen (ca. 1558–1600), also dabbled in the genre.<sup>285</sup> The main representatives were Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck (ca. 1568–1635 or later; see fig. 82), a native of Delft who evidently worked in Haarlem after fifteen years in Italy (from about 1590 to 1604),<sup>286</sup> and his pupil, Cornelis Delff (ca. 1571–1643; see fig. 104). The latter, one of the sons of Jacob Delff (fig. 43), was mentioned as a member of the Delft guild in 1610, and in 1620 took on a pupil, Jan Jansz, the son of a prosperous wine merchant.<sup>287</sup> In 1629 Delff painted pennants and did other small jobs for the city.<sup>288</sup> He was a respected member of the artistic community, serving as a guild officer and appraiser; works by him are cited fairly often in Delft inventories.<sup>289</sup> This answers part of the question about local collecting posed above. But Delff would presumably have done just as well—according to one record, he earned about 13 guilders a picture<sup>290</sup>—if he had moved to Rotterdam, like the painter with whom he has something in common, Egbert van der Poel (see cat. no. 52).

Even more than Cornelis Delff, the brothers Harmen and Pieter Steenwyck might be considered representatives of a regional rather than a local style. Their tables piled with fruit, birds, fish, and unpretentious kitchen ware (see fig. 105), and especially a painting like Harmen's of a country kitchen (fig. 106), would be assigned to the Rotterdam school if their authors were unknown. Their other main

Fig. 105. Harmen Steenwyck, *Still Life of Fruit and Dead Fowl*, ca. 1650. Oil on wood, 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 40 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (77.5 x 102 cm). Private collection, Greenwich, Connecticut







Fig. 106. Harmen Steenwyck, *Interior with Kitchen Utensils*, probably early 1650s. Oil on wood, 8  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 10 in. (20.5 x 25.3 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof (on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland)

subject, the *vanitas* still life (see fig. 107; cat. no. 59), was at home in Leiden, where the Steenwycks actually trained.

Their father, Evert Harmensz, was from Steenwyck in Overijssel, a fortified town that Prince Maurits recaptured from the Spanish in 1592. Evert Harmensz is cited in Delft as a lens and spectacle maker from the 1590s until his death in 1654.<sup>291</sup> He became a citizen in 1611, one year before Harmen was born. Pieter was born about 1615. We do not know exactly when either painter died, but Pieter witnessed his father's will in April 1654, and Harmen is last recorded on January 6,



Fig. 107. Harmen Steenwyck, *Vanitas Still Life with a Skull, Books, and Fruit*, ca. 1650. Oil on wood, 23  $\frac{1}{8}$  x 29  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (58.9 x 74 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof (on loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland)

1656, in Delft. Harmen studied painting with his well-known uncle, the portraitist and still-life painter David Bailly, in Leiden between 1628 and 1633. Pieter did the same about 1633–35. Harmen joined the Delft painters' guild in November 1636 and Pieter in November 1642. Two years later, however, Pieter became a master in the Leiden guild, and from 1652 to 1654 he worked in The Hague.<sup>292</sup> Harmen evidently stayed in Delft until 1654, when he went to Indonesia. He returned in the following year but nothing more about his activity is known. It could be said, then, that the Steenwycks' contribution to the Delft school was essentially Harmen's, between 1637 and 1654. However, more than a dozen of his paintings are cited in Delft inventories in each decade between 1650 and 1679.<sup>293</sup>

Like Van der Ast, the Steenwycks gradually adopted a more luminous and spacious style in works dating from the 1630s onward (such as cat. no. 59). Their tactile descriptions of earthenware vessels, metal pitchers, and cooking pots bear comparison with Delft's, but also with the Haarlem monochromists, with Jan den Uyl in Amsterdam, with Dou and Lievens in Leiden, and with other artists active throughout the province of Holland.<sup>294</sup> Even Willem van Odekercken, the Delft *kladschilder* (rough painter) and part-time perpetrator of genre scenes and still lifes, was obviously aware of the specialists in Haarlem and Amsterdam, such as Gerrit Heda and Den Uyl.<sup>295</sup>

Thus, it appears that in the 1630s and 1640s the still-life painters of Delft (like their colleagues specializing in genre, landscape, and architectural painting) gradually became more responsive to the naturalism that is usually associated with Haarlem, although artists in other cities, such as Amsterdam and Leiden, were moving in the same direction. In general, the Delft painters were a decade or two behind their models, but few of them could be called provincial. In the main, they were aware of and sympathetic to the most advanced ideas of the time but continued in a comparatively conservative manner because it suited courtly and patrician taste.

It has been said that some of the Steenwycks' still lifes, "illuminated by beams of light, recall the light-filled paintings that brought fame to the Delft School of Pieter de Hooch, Gerard Houckgeest, Emanuel de Witte, and Vermeer in the 1650s and 1660s."<sup>296</sup> Parallels may be found in works by Palamedesz, Van Velsen, Potter, and other artists who worked in Delft during the second quarter of the century. But the implication that Delft held some kind of patent on daylight or that the rise of the famous "Delft School" was essentially an internal affair (or internal combustion, for which Potter was "the spark") is not supported by a closer look at the full range of evidence. There are Haarlem and Amsterdam paintings—Codde's *Young Scholar* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, was mentioned above—that would be considered typical of Delft if they had been painted there. Obviously, Delft painters brought their own values to the naturalistic trend—more classically ordered compositions, cooler light, local colors, the tendency to restrain gesture and expression and to



Fig. 108. Maria van Oosterwijck, *Vanitas Still Life*, 1668. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 34 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (73 x 88.5 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

emphasize contemplation and craft. And there was the considerable advantage, once the new naturalism found a home in Delft (meaning, in part, a younger generation of clients), that it was still something fresh and, for painters such as Houckgeest and De Witte, Fabritius and De Hooch, an approach rich in possibilities. The repetition of familiar formulas is all too conspicuous in the later works of artists like Pieter Claesz and Dirck Hals, whereas even old ideas may pass unrecognized as such in paintings by Vermeer and his colleagues in the 1650s.

To judge from their works dating from about the middle of the century, it would be hard to say just where the still-life painters of Delft were active, without documentary evidence. The easiest to locate might be the Steenwycks, since their particular kind of *vanitas* picture and their style indicate a discrete area, Delfland—that is, Leiden, The Hague, or Delft (see fig. 20). Van der Ast might be discovered in Utrecht, anywhere in the southern part of Holland (he strongly influenced the Dordrecht fruit and flower painter Bartholomeus Assteyn),<sup>297</sup> or back in his native province of Zeeland. With Gillis Gillisz de Bergh (ca. 1600–1669) the search would become more difficult (see cat. no. 8). N. R. A. Vroom treats him as a close associate of Claesz on the basis of compositions and motifs and his monochrome palette (which is in fact not exceptionally so). However, a characteristic still life with fruit and cheese, probably dating from about 1640, “does show a rather unusual and mysterious

light-fall for a Haarlem painting.”<sup>298</sup> This is a curious way to describe the work of an artist who spent his whole career in Delft.

De Bergh’s father, Gillis, was a sailmaker from Ghent who became a citizen of Delft in 1590. Daniel de Bergh, a Delft silversmith and engraver, was the artist’s uncle. The younger Gillis joined the painters’ guild in 1624, and his brother, Mattheus (d. 1687), was inscribed in 1638. The latter painted history pictures in the manner of Van Couwenbergh and remains even more obscure than that other follower, Verschoor.<sup>299</sup>

Gillis was more successful. A fair number of works by him are cited in Delft inventories of about 1650–80. Dated paintings are rare, but one of 1625 and another early work adopt motifs from Cornelis Delff (his teacher?).<sup>300</sup> By the 1640s, and perhaps earlier, De Bergh was emulating Van der Ast, as in a panel depicting the graceful fall of fruit from a porcelain-bottomed basket.<sup>301</sup> The influence of Claesz and his colleagues appears to have commenced at about the same time, the late 1630s, to judge from borrowed motifs and the format and style of De Bergh’s best paintings. The pewter plates, silver-gilt tazzas and guild cups, and *roemers* with convincing reflections are reminiscent of Claesz, but the variety of Wan-li porcelain in De Bergh’s oeuvre must come from Van der Ast and the VOC.<sup>302</sup>

Evert van Aelst (1602–1657), the uncle and teacher of Willem van Aelst (1627–1683 or later), is said to have “enjoyed considerable success in Delft . . . if we may judge from the large number of his works



Fig. 109. Abraham van Beyeren, *Still Life with a Silver Wine Jar and a Reflected Portrait of the Artist*, ca. 1655. Oil on canvas, 39 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (99.7 x 82.6 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art

listed in contemporary inventories.<sup>303</sup> But high production often compensated for low prices: the elder Van Aelst, who joined the guild in 1632, is known to have accumulated debts for food, beer, and wine and to have paid them off with a number of pictures on at least one occasion.<sup>304</sup> In 1643 Evert consigned a painting with Reynier Vermeer in order to settle a debt, but neither party succeeded in selling it.<sup>305</sup> When the artist died in February 1657, the contents of his studio were declined by his nephew and heir.<sup>306</sup>

The few known works by Evert van Aelst suggest that he was a middling master who painted small pictures of subjects similar to De Bergh's.<sup>307</sup> One simple still life of a glass, a tipped tazza, and two pieces of fruit recalls the early Leiden works of Jan de Heem,<sup>308</sup> which have also been considered a source for the young Willem van Aelst's precise detail, luxurious surfaces, and elegantly twisting lines.

In addition to his famous nephew, Evert's pupils included Emanuel de Witte and Adam Pick.<sup>309</sup>

Willem was the son of a notary and probably Catholic. He joined the Delft guild in November 1643, when he was only sixteen or seventeen years old. He lived in France between 1645 and 1649; the two works exhibited here (cat. nos. 1, 2), while consistent with the works of Evert van Aelst and Gillis de Bergh in the 1640s, were probably painted abroad. From France the artist went to Italy, where he worked with Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1619/20–1678) in the service of Ferdinand II de' Medici.<sup>310</sup> Van Aelst's cool colors, favoring blues, may reflect his exposure to French and perhaps Italian paintings of the 1640s; they bring to mind the ice blue highlights of Vermeer. Van Aelst was back in Delft in 1656, but at his uncle's death early in 1657 he was living in Amsterdam.

Although scores of still lifes must have been painted in Delft after 1650, they require little comment here and will not be mentioned in the next essay. Artists came and went, and for the most part could have worked somewhere else, especially Amsterdam, which was the great art center of the Dutch Republic from the early 1650s onward. For example, Isaac Denies (1647–1690), born in Amsterdam, brought Van Aelst's approach to flower paintings and hunting pieces back to Delft in 1676. Isaac Vroomans (ca. 1655–1719), called the "Slangenschilder" (Snake Painter), was apparently from Delft, but became one of several followers of Marseus van Schrieck (Van Aelst's colleague in Italy), who worked in Amsterdam during the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>311</sup>

Maria van Oosterwijck (1630–1693), from Nootdorp near Delft, worked in Delft during the 1660s and (according to Houbraken) kept a studio there, but lived in Amsterdam from 1673 onward. In January of that year she asked two witnesses in Delft to testify that in April of the preceding year she had consigned two still lifes to an Amsterdam merchant for sale in Munich.<sup>312</sup> She earned an international reputation: Houbraken cites sales to Louis XIV, the Habsburg emperor Leopold I, William and Mary (who reportedly gave her 900 guilders), and the king of Poland (2,400 guilders).<sup>313</sup> The biographer also calls Van Oosterwijck a pupil of Jan de Heem's in Utrecht (where he worked from 1665 to 1672) and describes her rejection of Willem van Aelst's offer of marriage. Van Oosterwijck's grandfather and father were both preachers in Delft and she was said to be

"unusually pious." This is of interest for her most impressive work, an elaborate *vanitas* still life dated 1668 (fig. 108), which has been discussed as "a remarkably unified statement about religious faith and the promise of life after death," and also as a direct response to a painting of the early 1650s by De Heem.<sup>314</sup>

An obscure painter of fish still lifes, Johannes Fabritius (1636–1693 or later), deserves honorable mention because he was Carel's younger brother. A large canvas signed "Joanne[s?] Fabricius. pinxit" was formerly in the Museo de Arte de Ponce in Ponce, Puerto Rico.<sup>315</sup> The subject, although not rare in Delft, was more common in The Hague, where Abraham van Beyeren (1620/21–1690) and Isaac van Duijnen (1628–1679/81) painted numerous examples.<sup>316</sup>

Van Beyeren was a native of The Hague who lived mostly in that city until 1657, when he joined the guild in Delft.<sup>317</sup> He returned to The Hague in 1663 and five years later moved to Amsterdam. Some of his flower pieces and *pronk* (fancy) still lifes could be considered part of the Delft story, especially because they were purchased there.<sup>318</sup> The light effects that Van Beyeren lavished upon vessels of silver, gold, and glass (see fig. 109) recall passages in works by a number of Delft artists, ranging from Cornelis Delff to Willem van Aelst.<sup>319</sup> On Vermeer's shadowy tabletops (see fig. 110) one discovers isolated gleams that bear a passing resemblance to reflections in Van Beyeren. But on closer inspection it is clear that Vermeer saw things very differently, and also that he could have been, if so inclined, one of the most extraordinary still-life painters of his century.



Fig. 110. Detail, Johannes Vermeer, *The Letter Reader* (*Young Woman Reading a Letter*; fig. 163)







## 4. Delft Painting “in Perspective”: Carel Fabritius, Leonaert Bramer, and the Architectural and Townscape Painters from about 1650 Onward

WALTER LIEDTKE

FOR MANY READERS, as for many writers in the past, the “Delft School” will be familiar as an honorific, a title bestowed upon a small group of exceptionally talented painters who gathered in Delft during the 1650s. One scholar who has given a great deal of thought to the influence of patrons, guilds, and prominent masters concedes that in some cases these factors cannot explain “the emergence of a local school.” He cites Delft as an example, since the artistic community there “began to take on the glamour of a major centre towards the mid-seventeenth century for no observable reason. Starting then, Delft shone for two decades, establishing its eternal reputation for church paintings, architectural views [Daniel Vosmaer’s townscape, fig. III, is cited] and of course for the work of Vermeer.” The present writer is then credited with “an original theory explaining the sudden emergence of Delft,” namely, that until 1650 the fruit of local artists was (to quote myself being quoted) “cultivated in the light and shade of the court. . . . But after the unexpected death of Willem II in November 1650, and the sudden rise of Amsterdam (already the commercial capital) as the political and social center of the Netherlands, painters in Delft turned from the taste of the court to everything the more northern schools [meaning Haarlem and Amsterdam] had achieved.”<sup>1</sup>

This thought was revived in the preceding chapter, with particular regard to the landscape paintings of Paulus Potter but also in the discussions of architectural, genre, and still-life painting. It was suggested that the art trade, newly arrived painters, and a younger generation of patrons in Delft made some of the artists who were active there more receptive to the kind of naturalism that had been introduced in Haarlem and Amsterdam, especially within those genres



Delftware tile depicting an imaginary church interior (cat. no. 152)

that favored observation of the immediate environment over international fashions (which history painting and formal portraiture followed more closely, especially in paintings made for the court). The simple fact that time had passed—that, for example, the landscapes of Van Goyen and Van Ruysdael, the still lifes of Claesz and Heda, and genre scenes by Codde, Duyster, Dirck Hals, and others had been around for twenty years—must have affected the taste of collectors not only in Delft but also in The Hague, Rotterdam, Dordrecht, and elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> One might consider, for instance, that the leading genre painter of the

mid-1650s in Delft was De Hooch; in Dordrecht, Nicolaes Maes; in The Hague, Jan Steen; in Rotterdam, Ludolf de Jongh; and in Utrecht, Jacob Duck. (Leiden, given its location and abundant talent, is more complicated, but Gerard Dou, Frans van Mieris, Gabriël Metsu, Quiringh van Brekelenkam, and others do not alter the general view.) Each of these artists was actually trained in Haarlem or Amsterdam or was strongly influenced by painters working in those cities.

The same tendency may be discerned in other genres, although the topicality of “everyday life” makes that kind of image more revealing of changes in taste. As we have seen, there were many specific reasons why a landscapist such as Willem van den Bundel or Pieter van Asch, a still-life painter such as Evert van Aelst or Gillis de Bergh, a marine painter such as Simon de Vlieger, or an architectural specialist such as Gerard Houckgeest might have come under the influence of masters active in the northern part of Holland. But in a broader view, regional differences in the arts tended to diminish because the Dutch nation came together as a whole. The strengthening bonds of commerce and trade, of people and institutions in different cities, of the provinces acting interdependently (if not always “united”), created a world of human endeavor that was very different

Opposite: Fig. III. Detail, Daniel Vosmaer, *A View of Delft through an Imaginary Loggia*, 1663 (fig. 342)



Fig. 112. Johannes Vermeer, *The Geographer*, 1669. Oil on canvas, 20½ x 17½ in. (52 x 45.5 cm). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main

from that of fifty years before, let alone the late-medieval system of protective guilds, local powers, and privileges.

And then, indeed, the rise of Amsterdam in the third quarter of the century (a subject worthy of an exhibition) made a great impression upon the other Dutch cities that still flourished in the arts, such as Leiden, Haarlem, Delft, Dordrecht, and, to a lesser extent, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht.<sup>3</sup> From about 1651 to 1672—the First Stadholderless Period—Amsterdam was the commercial, cultural, social, and political capital of the Netherlands. Of course, the great port had been growing throughout the first half of the century. But political events played into the hands of the Amsterdam bankers, merchants, and regents who built magnificent town houses like those on the Bend in the Herengracht, commissioned Jacob van Campen's new town hall (1648–58; now the Royal Palace), and

formed celebrated art collections. At Frederick Hendrick's death in 1647, his twenty-one-year-old son, Willem II, succeeded him as stadholder. Ego, greed, and bad advice (Huygens was shoved aside by less honorable advisers) encouraged the young prince to renew hostilities with Spain, which hardly suited the business interests of already anti-Orange Amsterdam ("It's the economy, stupid," to describe their position in American terms). In 1650 Willem II sent his cousin Willem Frederick, stadholder of Friesland, to attack Amsterdam. Despite getting lost in the fog, the army frightened the city into submission. But then Willem died of smallpox, one week before his widow, Mary Stuart (eldest daughter of Charles I), gave birth to Willem III (1650–1702; r. as William III, king of England, from 1689 until his death). In early 1651 the delegates of northern Holland dictated terms to the States General, which did away with the office of

stadholder, divided the army into provincial commands (which proved a disaster when France invaded in 1672), and allowed the Advocate of Holland to assume national leadership. Johan de Witt (1625–1672), previously Advocate of Dordrecht, was assigned the top post in 1653. His marriage into the Bicker family of Amsterdam secured his political position and the power of a small group of wealthy regents. This lasted, despite a number of international crises, until 1672, when England, France, Cologne, and Münster attacked the Netherlands by land and sea. The States General named Willem III captain general of the army and then stadholder. On August 10 De Witt and his brother Cornelis were butchered by an Orangist mob.

In the late 1640s and early 1650s some artists moved from Amsterdam to Delft (Potter, Fabritius) or elsewhere in the southern parts of Holland. But many more went in the other direction, to prosper in the big-city world of wealthy clients and successful dealers. (Among the latter, one of the most prominent was Johannes de Renialme, who worked in Amsterdam, although he had a house in Delft and joined the guild there in 1644.)<sup>4</sup> Jacob Pynas and De Vlieger, who had worked in Delft during the 1630s, moved to Amsterdam in 1642 and 1648, respectively. Potter and De Witte followed about 1652, Willem van Aelst by early 1657, and De Hooch by 1661. Van Beyeren, Van Oosterwijck, and a few now-forgotten masters also moved to the new capital.<sup>5</sup>

In Amsterdam, artists as different as Rembrandt and Van Aelst earned fame throughout the Netherlands and in other countries. Delft artists had never been famous or influential elsewhere, with the obvious exception of Van Miereveld.<sup>6</sup> The stature of the Delft school today would surprise Vermeer's contemporaries, especially since the period we consider the city's age of glory (about 1650 to 1675) was indisputably a time of decline in the local art world, except for the faience industry.

Twenty years ago the present writer referred to Delft as a "profoundly conservative, patriotic, provincial town."<sup>7</sup> If fame and influence are the measure of an artistic center, then perhaps Delft may be described as "provincial," as not playing a part on a larger stage. Delft was also provincial in the sense that much of what was produced there, at least in painting, is typical of the region, the southern part of the province of Holland. But Delft was hardly provincial in the same sense as cities in the northern and eastern provinces, such as Alkmaar, Arnhem, Deventer, Enkhuizen, Groningen, Hoorn, Kampen, Leeuwarden, and Zwolle. In terms of sophistication, of keeping au courant with major art centers such as Antwerp and Utrecht, and of producing works of outstanding quality, Delft was not provincial, at least at the level of its leading painters and draftsmen. (The question would not even come up with regard to tapestry, silver, or faience.) On this point, many writers have applied the standards of their own time, according to which—in America, England, the modern Netherlands, and elsewhere—provincialism is closely associated with conservative

taste and even with conservative values such as patriotism. Perhaps from this perspective, Delft in the seventeenth century was provincial, but then so was Madrid.

In the preceding chapter it was suggested that the Delft school between 1600 and 1650 was in some ways more coherent than most writers have allowed. When one closely examines the characteristics of each specialty, such as portraiture, history painting, genre, landscape, still life, and architectural painting; when one considers what was not well represented in Delft (peasant scenes, marine painting, naturalistic landscapes, and so forth); and when one compares style and expression across categories of subject matter, then it appears that in some ways Delft was simply typical of a region, and that in other ways its artistic character was exceptional. The school's high standards of craftsmanship, international forms (usually coming from Antwerp or Utrecht), refinement, and reserve are qualities that link Delft in the first half of the century not only to the art of the past (Anthonis Mor, Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem, Ambrosius Bosschaert, Joos de Momper, and so on) but also to that of the future, namely the supposedly "classical" phase of Dutch painting, which Vermeer's style supposedly illustrates.

For example, in one Delft work of art "the design lacks any dynamic element. Reason dominates the emotion and keeps the vision under sober control." This might describe a picture by Van Miereveld, by Willem or Hendrick van Vliet, by Van der Ast, by one of the Steenwycks, or by Potter (perhaps *The Bull*, dated 1647, in the Mauritshuis, The Hague). But the painting is by Vermeer, whom Seymour Slive contrasts with Rembrandt. He continues, "Vermeer's composition [*The Geographer*, fig. 112] has become more tectonic, his technique less arbitrary and spontaneous, and his brushwork less personal. By the time it was painted, the Baroque impulses of the preceding generations cooled, not only in Holland, but throughout the continent. Vermeer's picture dates from the period when Poussin was acknowledged as a leading figure of European painting."<sup>8</sup>

One can hardly argue with this passage, which was painted with a broad brush for a large audience. But do we need Poussin's input for values that were traditional in Delft, where earlier artists rarely ever felt "Baroque impulses"? The proper context for Vermeer is not "Holland" (meaning the Netherlands) but South Holland and specifically its most cosmopolitan part.

Two questions remain. First, how coherent, and how distinctive, was the Delft school in its culminating phase (1650–75)? And second, to what extent was this still the Delft school of earlier years? A simple answer, in my view, is that the most innovative Delft artists of the 1650s and 1660s achieved (unconsciously, to be sure) a synthesis of qualities that were well established in Delft and the naturalistic mode of description that had been at home in Haarlem, "Cradle of the New Art."<sup>9</sup> The decline of court patronage after Frederick Hendrick's death removed one of the major factors that had influenced local

taste, at least at the top end of the art market. (This does not mean that courtly taste died with him.) The rise of Amsterdam probably had a complementary effect, since that much larger and more diverse center of Dutch culture acted like an exchange (*bours*) of artistic ideas. Of course, this all seems quite abstract until one follows painters around, such as Potter, Fabritius, De Hooch, De Witte, and the several Dordrecht artists who trained in Amsterdam, such as Ferdinand Bol (who stayed there), Nicolaes Maes, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Cornelis Bisschop, and Aert de Gelder.

Historians search for logical connections, but one must consider also the role of chance, the coincidental encounter of artists whose experience and personalities fostered fresh ideas. Potter, Fabritius, De Hooch, De Witte, Steen, and others who were familiar with painting in Haarlem and Amsterdam did not settle in or near Delft by common consent, or for the same reason (hope for work at the court might have drawn one or two of them). The pictures of minor Delft masters such as Van der Poel (see cat. nos. 50–53) and Van Asch (see fig. 100) also remind one of painters up north but lack the look of something new. For every apparent pattern there are numerous exceptions, but one must admit in the end that the old notion (familiar from studies of genre painting especially) of Delft succeeding Haarlem in the art of describing has some simple truth to it after all.

This happened less suddenly than has been maintained. The modern notions of progress and revolution in the arts have encouraged the search for pivotal artists and pictures. “Imagine what a sensation one of De Hooch’s early masterpieces of around 1658 must have caused!”<sup>10</sup> But the object in question (cat. no. 29) is no *Demoiselles d’Avignon* that emerged from a studio after years of seclusion, but an impressive new version of a type of picture that had been painted in the southern part of the province of Holland for more than a decade (see fig. 85). Ironically, the best genre interiors by Palamedesz and Van Velsen (cat. nos. 47, 48, 60) would be considered ingredients in the explosive mix of new ideas if they happened to date from the time of Potter’s “visit” to Delft during the late 1640s, not fifteen years earlier (see pp. 88–89).

The powder keg of painters to which Potter set the spark was a rather mixed company. In 1650 Potter was twenty-five, Fabritius twenty-eight, De Witte about thirty-four, Hendrick van Vliet about forty, and Houckgeest about fifty. The first two artists had come to Delft recently. De Witte arrived in 1641, and the two oldest were natives. The differences in age and training (not to mention specialties) support the idea of a gradual shift in the art market during the middle years of the century. This is a frustrating hypothesis, of course, because it is largely inferred from the supply side of the art market (apart from the negative notion of the court’s decline). A closer look at Delft collectors and especially Delft dealers active in the 1650s and 1660s may shed light on the subject (see chapter 7). Abraham de Cooge, for example, not only dealt in a remarkable

range of pictures but did so with the help of colleagues in Antwerp and Amsterdam.<sup>11</sup>

### *Architectural Painting*

The question of artists’ ages, just mentioned above, comes immediately to the fore in discussions of architectural painting in Delft from 1650 onward. The evidence suggests that Houckgeest’s great panel in Hamburg (cat. no. 37) was the first Delft picture of its kind: a remarkably faithful record of an actual site (compare fig. 257). But how could a tiger so long in the tooth—“already fifty,” as Arthur Wheelock noted twenty-five years ago—change his stripes so radically, or so it seems when one compares Houckgeest’s works of 1650–51 to some of his earlier pictures (see cat. nos. 35, 36)? Perhaps the influence of a Haarlem artist, Pieter Saenredam, helped the old man across the street and into the Nieuwe Kerk. But, in Wheelock’s opinion, “it is unlikely that anyone’s influence at that stage of his career could have totally eradicated his own artistic heritage.”<sup>12</sup>

Wheelock’s solution, like Hans Jantzen’s in 1910, was to name De Witte as Saenredam’s heir—for example, in the beautiful panel lent to this exhibition by the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (cat. no. 92).<sup>13</sup> But brilliant solutions to new challenges, like that faced by Houckgeest in the narrow choir of the Nieuwe Kerk, usually come from exceptional skill and experience, not from naïveté (which is obvious in several of De Witte’s early church interiors, like the one in Winterthur; fig. 119). And challenges, in this culture, usually came from patrons, who would have approached a proven professional when they wanted something new and important, like an accurate record of William the Silent’s tomb and the burial site of the House of Orange.

A commission for Houckgeest’s large painting in Hamburg could have come from almost anyone sympathetic to the Orange cause. The States General (which commissioned the monument) might have approached the artist, or been referred to him by Bartholomeus van Bassen; it will be recalled from the previous chapter that Houckgeest had designed tapestries for the States General before 1640. Other possibilities include the City of Delft, Willem II or someone in his circle, the rival faction of Amalia van Solms, and numerous private individuals. In the years immediately after Frederick Hendrick was entombed beneath the monument (May 10, 1647) and after the Treaty of Münster (May 15, 1648), potential patrons for the first faithful view of William the Silent’s tomb (compare cat. no. 6) and for the others that followed it (see cat. nos. 37–39, 93) would have included anyone of means who wished to honor the new nation, the Father of the Fatherland, or the House of Orange-Nassau.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that Houckgeest painted several fine pictures of the tomb in 1650 and 1651, that De Witte and Hendrick van Vliet promptly followed his example, and that the former artist in Amsterdam (see

fig. 301) and the latter in Delft continued to turn out views of the monument until the 1670s, as well as paintings of other national monuments such as the tombs of Admirals Piet Hein (cat. no. 81), Maerten Tromp (cat. no. 82), and Jacob van Wassenaer (his tomb in the choir of the Grote Kerk in The Hague was painted by Van Vliet in 1661),<sup>15</sup> encourages us to consider the whole development in rather broad terms, that is, as a celebration of the new nation and its famous heroes. The significance of these national monuments is underscored in the first instance by their placement in the choirs of great city churches, which apart from numerous "signs of support" (grave boards, and flags and pennants representing cities, guilds, and civic-guard companies) were virtually bare of other embellishments.

One can imagine the impression this would have made on a visitor like Rubens (who passed through Delft in 1627) or on anyone accustomed to Catholic churches, in which the same space would have been occupied by the high altar, a great religious painting or carved altarpiece, choir stalls, and numerous other objects intended for the practice of the faith. The state had not become a religion, but in the stripped and whitewashed churches of the Dutch Republic the spaces formerly most sacred were generally given over to national and civic monuments (and, beneath the stone floor, to prominent citizens). The main pulpit was usually moved to the side of the nave, allowing plenty of space for chairs to be arranged facing the preacher (see fig. 120; cat. no. 92). These were customarily removed between regular services, so that the interior of the church became an extension of the market square, a civic space where one might be thinking less about religion than about family, history, peace and quiet, or affairs of the heart (which seem to figure in a few pictures, as in cat. nos 40, 81).

Many themes and subthemes may be discerned in Dutch paintings of church interiors. The national monuments depicted in the Delft examples may have given rise to the genre in that city, but in the long run the subject in the majority of these pictures is the church itself (see cat. nos. 13, 84). The inclusion of grave boards (which commemorate buried individuals by displaying their coats of arms) and the more imposing memorial tablets (as in cat. no. 83) allow one to suppose that a particular painting was intended for a certain person or household. However, there are too many of these paintings, at least two hundred by Van Vliet, to suggest that more than a small proportion of them were made for particular individuals. Van Vliet's and De Witte's examples range in quality from carefully designed and executed works to routine variants turned out in short order. Their paintings were presumably priced accordingly, depending upon size, quality, motifs, and perhaps even the number of figures (excluding those that simply catch the eye in a distant space).

Some of Van Vliet's twenty-year production of church interiors must have been purchased by visitors to Delft, for the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk were admired well beyond the immediate

vicinity. As is well known, Van Vliet also depicted a few churches in other cities, such as Leiden, Gouda, The Hague, and Utrecht;<sup>16</sup> his first dated painting of a church interior represents the Pieterskerk in Leiden (fig. 121) and appears to have no subjects other than the Gothic structure and life after death (a gravedigger and other motifs suggest a *vanitas* theme).<sup>17</sup> In the case of works sold to Delft citizens, the church depicted must often have been the client's own, and thus the acquisition may be considered an expression of devotion to that particular house of worship and congregation. Obviously, this could have meant much more than the words suggest: the church where one worshiped was likely to be the church where one married, where children were baptized and laid to rest, where entire families were buried, where one expected to be buried in the near future or eventually. The church interior also would have expressed one's faith in God, in his presence and protection, which often seem suggested by the great spaces and floods of light. Finally, for local viewers there was the element of civic pride in these venerable buildings, which towered above all others and were visible from far into the countryside (see fig. 8). Even today in Delft there are no sights so memorable as the massive tower of the Oude Kerk glimpsed along the Oude Delft (see fig. 1) and the soaring tower of the Nieuwe Kerk viewed from the market square, and no interiors as grand and evocative as the vaulted spaces within.<sup>18</sup>

The history of architectural painting in Delft has been told extensively in recent publications.<sup>19</sup> The present section offers what might be described as an ex-cathedra summary, while finer points are deferred to the catalogue.

The extraordinary design of Houckgeest's painting in Hamburg (cat. no. 37) had essentially three purposes: illusionism, emphasis of meaning, and effectively describing the site. To take the last point first, it may be said that the artist's task was not an easy one. The actual choir is narrow and tall, with the monument backed into a

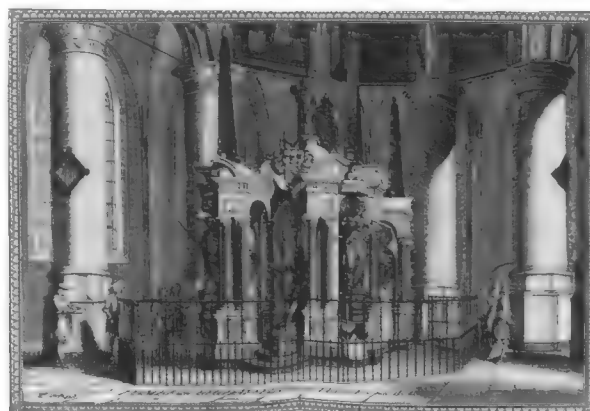


Fig. 113. Conraet Decker, *The Tomb of William the Silent in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft*. Engraving, 7¼ x 10½ in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection





Fig. 114. Dirck van Delen, *The Tomb of William the Silent in an Imaginary Church (with a Family Portrait)*, 1645. Oil on wood, 29½ x 43¼ in. (74 x 110 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

dead end of archways and a comparatively featureless clerestory wall. An engraving in Van Bleyswijck's book (fig. 113) shows the straight-ahead approach. Perhaps the duller image of the tomb to date from the seventeenth century, it conveys almost no sense of what the space is like. Van Bassen in 1620 (see cat. no. 6) and Van Delen in 1645 (see fig. 114) avoided the problem by placing the monument in an imaginary church interior.<sup>20</sup> Houckgeest's picture goes to the other extreme: it seems as true as possible to one's experience of the site (compare fig. 257), where columns are always nearby, the ambulatory sweeps around the monument, and almost every element—the archways, the vertical lines of the tomb (especially the marble obelisks above the corners), the princely grave boards, the soaring white walls, the windows high overhead—pulls the eye upward, almost to the vaults. The latter, at least in the ambulatory over the viewer's head, are sensed behind the painted archway at the top of the composition.

This framing device and the nearest column were both painted on top of finished sections of architecture. Houckgeest may have considered omitting these motifs, and then decided in favor of them. (The nearest column was dropped from the small Mauritshuis picture of the following year [fig. 115], for which the support itself was cut round above.) In any case, the Hamburg picture's final state favored the illusion of three-dimensional space. The fictive archway and advancing columns, the arbitrary field of floor tiles (there were none in the church), and geometric elements such as the blank back of a grave board and the tie-rods and flagstaffs articulating the choir's space, all contribute to the impression that one can enter the space

and explore it. This must have been especially compelling for contemporary viewers who had actually been there: Houckgeest's view is so faithful to the interior as seen from a particular vantage point that it seems like a fragment of one's own memory.

In Houckgeest's church interiors dating from 1651, which are generally smaller in scale (see cat. nos. 38–40), he made the most of their illusionistic qualities, employing rapid recessions of walls and floors, sudden shifts in scale, and clever conceits such as the green curtain hung "in front" of the painting (on which the brass rod casts a shadow), lent to this exhibition by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (cat. no. 40). The Leiden-like impression made by these works, little worlds in miniature, is not found in Houckgeest's very first views of actual church interiors. There is a richer play of physical sensations: the coolness of shadows, the warmth of daylight, the moisture of the atmosphere in these usually damp environments (a feeling Van Vliet wonderfully evokes, at least in the 1650s). Water stains dapple the whitewash on the columns, which reveals the shapes of stones and bricks underneath. Cracks and chips appeal to touch, making the viewer feel more alive and at the same moment reminding him that it won't last forever. The bright, restricted palette, the understated contours, and the subtle use of changing tones to suggest volumes and to establish locations in space remind one of paintings by Potter, Fabritius, De Witte, De Hooch to some extent, and Vermeer in the later 1650s (see cat. nos. 68–70; fig. 163). There are indications in Houckgeest's earlier works that he was capable of describing naturalistic effects. But it remains quite remarkable how he responded to the actual look of architectural space, rather than its conceptual rendering.

The new perspective scheme, an “oblique” or “two-point” arrangement which scholars have exhaustively analyzed, is only one aspect of the artist’s achievement in this memorable work.

One impressive passage is the slice of space on the right (see cat. no. 37), where the figure of an old man marks distance and softens the sudden encounter of near and far columns. Parts of a black marble monument and a diamond-shaped grave board ease the transition above. The clear-glass window in the ambulatory, the arch and triforium to the upper right, and other elements lead to spaces out of view. A streak of sunlight from an unseen window carries the eye to the group of boys, who use the illumination for their project, a drawing or rubbing. In front of the tomb, a family stands respectfully before the bronze statue of William enthroned (only his left leg is visible; compare fig. 113). The father evidently describes the prince’s virtues, which are more lastingly extolled by the bronze statues at

the four corners of the tomb. Here, finally, one discovers another reason for Houckgeest’s unexpected design, the oblique approach which has so much else to recommend it. The main figure in the view is not William or one of the visitors but the most beloved of the prince’s offspring, Liberty.<sup>21</sup> (Justice is seen in shadowy profile to the right; Faith and Fortitude are on the back of the tomb; see cat. no. 93.) Van Bassen (see cat. no. 6), mostly by means of lighting, and more insistently Van Delen (see fig. 114) had also assigned Liberty a leading role.

Houckgeest’s painting is so accomplished in almost every aspect of its design and execution that the idea of dependence on another artist—especially a comparative novice like De Witte—may be dismissed out of hand. Jantzen, who wrote in Monet’s lifetime and saw academic learning (for example, artificial perspective) and direct observation as antithetical, imagined that De Witte, a painter of light and shadow, was the more likely innovator in Delft.<sup>22</sup> De Witte’s “optical” approach was indeed revolutionary in the genre, but he needed Houckgeest’s example when he first turned to the use of perspective and the composition of architectural views. Within a year, the younger artist was painting outstanding pictures in a distinctive style (for example, cat. no. 91).

A few more words on perspective are necessary. Many modern readers find the subject tedious, but it will be remembered that an amateur of the period, Pieter Teding van Berkhout, considered the use of perspective to be the most noteworthy feature of paintings by Cornelis Bisschop and by Vermeer. Van Bleyswijck writes of Van Vliet, his contemporary in Delft, that “he understands perspective well, which may be seen in his modern [Gothic] or contemporary temples. When he has made them at his best, they are very well foreshortened and illusionistic, as well as colored naturally.”<sup>23</sup>

The oblique or “two-point” projection that Houckgeest began to employ in 1650 had been described and illustrated in a number of perspective treatises, most clearly in those of Vredeman de Vries (1604–5) and Hondius (1622; see p. 78). It had not been used before by Dutch painters (there are Italian, German, and French precedents), and apart from Saenredam very few of them had dealt with the conditions imposed by an actual site. Saenredam used the wide-angle distortions of one-point perspective to exquisitely stylize his designs. The two-point scheme (which, in fact, has a third or central vanishing point, as well as the two “distance” points) minimizes distortions at the sides of the composition; it is only in the upper parts of the construction, in areas farthest from the horizon (set of all vanishing points), that geometric shapes—for example, the column capitals and arches to the upper left in the Hamburg picture—tend to stretch out of shape and flatten. Here, too, the fictive archway in Houckgeest’s first painting of actual architecture enhances the illusion by masking distorted shapes.

The skill required to construct a two-point scheme was no greater than that employed by Houckgeest in the first decade of his career. A



Fig. 115. Gerard Houckgeest, *The Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with the Tomb of William the Silent*, 1651. Oil on wood, 22 x 15 in. (56 x 38 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague

minor hack might copy a printed perspective scheme without comprehending how it worked, but Houckgeest was a professional active in a circle of enthusiasts. In the 1640s he experimented with eccentric (literally, off-center) one-point perspective schemes, so that architectural elements recede slowly from one side (see fig. 95; a more striking example is dated 1640).<sup>24</sup> In any other genre (involving trees, figures, and other motifs) one would describe the result as a diagonal recession, but in the terminology of artificial perspective any line headed for the principal vanishing point is an orthogonal, period.

All this, for Houckgeest, was routine practice. However, one aspect of his perspective scheme in 1650 was no such thing: its exceptional fidelity to the architecture. A freehand sketch of an architectural environment cannot possibly maintain exact proportions and shapes. Such a record will be further transformed when the artist submits his drawing to the discipline of a perspective cartoon: at that point not only shapes and proportions but also apparent distances and overlaps (for example, the precise way in which a near column covers a more distant form) will be noticeably modified. This has not happened in Houckgeest's Hamburg picture (as photographs made with normal lenses reveal), and the only plausible explanation is that the artist used an automatic drawing device, mostly likely a perspective frame. The instrument is perhaps best known through Dürer's engraving of 1525, where such a "window" is used to draw a foreshortened lute, but by Houckgeest's day much more efficient models had been illustrated and described in print (see fig. 116). By using such a device Houckgeest could trace the architecture and (given the fixed vantage point) create a perspective scheme simultaneously. If the device included the conventional "window frame," the artist might also have used it to find a view in the first place, and to judge immediately how the composition would look, not with roving eyes but with a fixed point of view.<sup>25</sup>

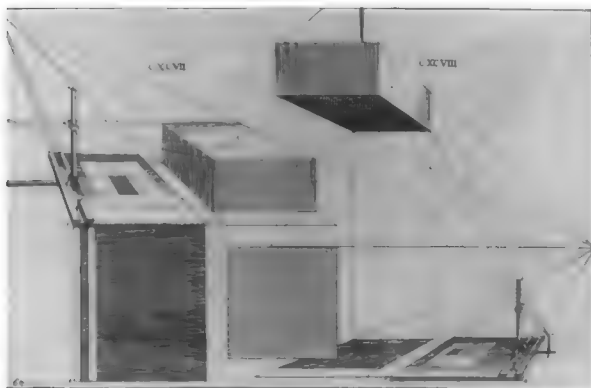


Fig. 116. Samuel Marolois, *Perspective . . .*, Amsterdam, 1628. Figs. CXCVII–CXCVIII demonstrate the use of a perspective frame. Engraving,  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$  in. (19.1 x 31.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951

Like most artists who discover or invent a successful method, Houckgeest explored its possibilities in subsequent works. Most architectural painters had used one-point schemes in order to represent a large extent of architecture in a single view. Houckgeest's subject, by contrast, was an intimate corner of space, surrounding a main motif. Saenredam had isolated views in Saint Bavo's, Haarlem, and in other Dutch churches for the same reason: not only to create interesting compositions but also to concentrate upon a particular monument or significant part of the interior. His example must have impressed Houckgeest, but Saenredam's perspective schemes were not suitable to the Delft painter's goals of fidelity and illusionism.

How Houckgeest progressed in other works of 1650 and 1651 is discussed in the catalogue entries and has been treated at length elsewhere. Basically, he approached the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk from different angles, reversing and cropping views he had just drawn. The broad panel dated 1651 in the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 39) is an exceptional case of experimentation that bears comparison with Fabritius's wide-angle townscape of the following year (see the discussion below; cat. no. 18).

One church interior painted by Houckgeest about 1650 deserves honorary mention here (fig. 117). (Its state of conservation did not allow the canvas, which is in storage in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, to be included in the present exhibition.) Only the author of the Hamburg picture could have discovered this view in the Oude Kerk, which although long catalogued as by Van Vliet has been discussed by several writers as one of Houckgeest's most characteristic inventions.<sup>26</sup> As Wheelock observed, the surprising similarity of the Hamburg panel's overall design ("it is difficult to remember that the paintings depict two different churches") would be even more obvious if the archway had not been added to the larger work. When one visits the site (see fig. 118) where Houckgeest recorded the view with his back nearly to the wall in the Joriskapel (Saint George's Chapel; compare cat. no. 81 by Van Vliet) or when one consults a plan, it becomes clear that Houckgeest explored the unpredictable spaces of the Oude Kerk until he found the view that most closely resembled the earlier composition. The tomb of Piet Hein is much farther from the observer than is the monument in the Nieuwe Kerk view, but the figures (nearly the same cast of characters) are arranged to lead the eye directly through the allée of archways and over streaks of light on the floor. To the left in the Amsterdam canvas the view is closed by engaged columns and walls, while to the right the space is open. Houckgeest filled the secondary area of interest with a freshly dug grave and a diagonal file of figures. The floor tiles and the nearest gravestones form oblique recessions, which enhance the openness and balance of the view as a whole. The tie-beams above help to link foreground and background, left and right, not unlike the flagstuffs in paintings of the Nieuwe Kerk's choir.

The open grave, the tomb, and other commemorative motifs suggest a *vanitas* theme, as in many later Delft church interiors, and



Fig. 117. Gerard Houckgeest, *The Oude Kerk in Delft with the Tomb of Piet Hein*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 in. (68 x 56 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 118. In the Oude Kerk, Delft



as in *vanitas* still lifes (for example, by Pieter Steenwyck) that include a tribute to Admiral Tromp or another hero.<sup>27</sup> But it seems likely that this picture, like Houckgeest's views in the Nieuwe Kerk, was intended primarily as a patriotic work. The large flags hanging above the tomb were captured by Hein from the Spanish fleet and, like the princely grave boards above the tomb of William the Silent, should be considered as part of an ensemble, and a tribute to a hero who had ended his days in Delft.

Houckgeest had evidently moved to Steenberghe, in North Brabant, by May 1651.<sup>28</sup> From 1653 until his death, in 1661, he lived in nearby Bergen op Zoom. No works are dated 1652; a small panel dated 1653 (*New Church in Delft with Pulpit*, in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels) may reflect a trip back to Delft or be based on an earlier drawing. Although a few works date from later on—the most impressive is the *Interior of the Great Church at Bergen op Zoom* of about 1655 (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen)—Houckgeest effectively retired after quitting Delft. He left behind a line of work that saw Van Vliet (d. 1675) and De Witte (d. 1691/92) to the end of their careers.<sup>29</sup>

A native of Alkmaar, De Witte studied in Delft with the still-life painter Evert van Aelst during the early 1630s. He joined the guild in Alkmaar in 1636 but is documented in Rotterdam in 1639 and 1640. His daughter was baptized in the Oude Kerk, Delft, in October 1641; he married her mother eleven months later. At the time, the couple

were living rent-free in a small flat in the Choorstraat, right behind the Oude Kerk. In exchange, De Witte instructed the lessor's nephew, Pieter Leenderts van der Vin, "in the art of painting without concealing any knowledge or science understood or known to him." De Witte did not join the painters' guild in Delft until June 23, 1642. Pieter van der Vin entered the guild in November 1645 and died at the age of twenty-nine in May 1655. A portrait of Van der Vin and his wife by Carel Fabritius was sold from Van der Vin's bankrupt estate for the respectable sum of 45 guilders.<sup>30</sup>

Several documents record De Witte in Delft during the 1640s. A second daughter was baptized in the Oude Kerk in February 1646. One year later, De Witte arranged to rent a house on the market square from May 1647 to May 1648. In November 1649 he sold two paintings at half their value to the art-dealing innkeeper Adam Pick in order to settle a gambling debt. In March 1650 De Witte leased a house on the Nieuwe Langendijk for one year, at a rent of 140 guilders.<sup>31</sup>

In January 1652 two residents of Amsterdam stated in that city that they would guarantee a third party's debt to De Witte. This has been presented as evidence that the artist had moved to Amsterdam by that date,<sup>32</sup> but this is uncertain.<sup>33</sup> Delft dealers routinely sold paintings on behalf of Delft artists in other cities, and there are other possibilities. The next known document records De Witte appraising paintings in Haarlem in April 1655, along with the Alkmaar artist





Fig. 119. Emanuel de Witte, *The Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with the Tomb of William the Silent*, ca. 1651. Oil on wood, 42 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 35 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (107.5 x 90.5 cm). Museum Briner und Kern (Stiftung Jakob Briner), Winterthur

Caesar van Everdingen, his brother Allart (the landscapist), the genre painter Jan Miense Molenaer, and Pieter Soutman (De Witte may have become acquainted with the first- and last-named artists earlier, since they worked on the murals in the Huis ten Bosch).<sup>34</sup> When De Witte remarried in Amsterdam in September 1655, he was described as “Emanuel de Wit from Alkmaar, painter, widower of Geertje Adriaens van de Velde, living on the Blommarckt” together with the bride (“elders dead, res. same place”). Three years later the lady, convicted of robbery, was banned from Amsterdam for six years.<sup>35</sup>

The rest of De Witte’s occasionally colorful and sometimes miserable life goes far beyond our subject.<sup>36</sup> However, it is important to emphasize that the style of architectural painting he refined for four decades was formulated in Delft during the early 1650s. Before then, he produced some minor portraits and history paintings (see fig. 73). In these fluidly executed works, pictorial space is created mostly by overlapping planes of light and shadow and by arbitrarily

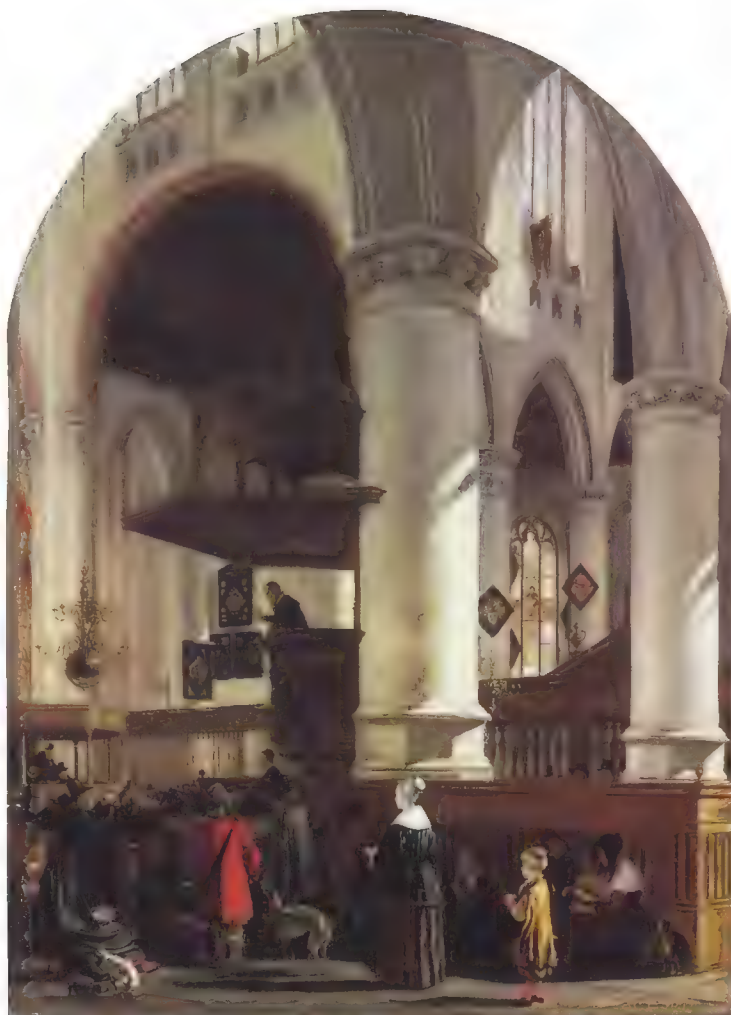
setting brightly lit figures against dark backgrounds. There is some similarity to Bramer’s work in the precarious handling of space, and none at all in the suggestion of narrative. De Witte was temperamentally a painter of impressions, of patterns and light effects, without much patience (as his biographer Houbraken noted) for thinking things through.<sup>37</sup>

The only dated church interior by De Witte before the Carter Collection panel (cat. no. 93) and the *Courtyard of the Amsterdam Exchange* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam), both dated 1653, is the *Oude Kerk* view of 1651 in the Wallace Collection (fig. 120). All the other architectural pictures that he appears to have painted in Delft can be placed chronologically only on the basis of comparisons with the Wallace panel (which cannot be lent) and with works by Houckgeest that seem to have influenced him.

From his earliest church interiors to the latest, De Witte’s standard of quality was remarkably uneven. However, some of his first



Fig. 120. Emanuel de Witte, *The Oude Kerk in Delft During a Sermon*, 1651. Oil on wood, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (59 x 43 cm). Wallace Collection, London



efforts in the genre reveal that his subjective mode of observation had found a surprisingly sympathetic *métier*. In the Wallace Collection's picture and the Ottawa panel of a similar subject and date (cat. no. 92), the main virtues of the artist's mature manner are already evident, while qualities recalling his figural paintings remain. He sets up a shallow foreground occupied by quiet figures; a middle zone in which the main motifs are strengthened through highlights and silhouettes; and a background which, whether frontal or oblique, falls like a curtain behind center stage. In later years this layered, coulisse-like effect would be employed throughout the picture, so that the space resembles a visual field or pattern of impressions, without clear divisions into zones of depth. But in his early church interiors De Witte was learning methods of composition he had not considered before.

A good example of De Witte's early response to Houckgeest is his ambitious and clumsy picture in *Winterthur* (fig. 119). Comparison with his point of departure, Houckgeest's painting in the

Mauritshuis of the same view (fig. 115), clarifies De Witte's different interests. The man and boy on the left and a couple and child in front of the tomb were adopted from Houckgeest but are now less distant and isolated. The figures in the center have become a second family with a young servant and greyhounds, one of which catches the other dog's attention and a brilliant fall of light.

The architectural motifs are more obviously derived from Houckgeest, whose elimination of a column from the right foreground suited De Witte very well. The subject, as he conceived it, is a fashionable outing to the famous tomb, not a record of the site. He includes the choir wall up to the clerestory, and yet the height of the space has been reduced by half. The two nearest columns in Houckgeest's picture have been shoved together on the left in order to show more of the monument, which sits in the choir like a boat bobbing by a pier. The four obelisks rising and a view through the center of the tomb suggest that De Witte consulted other sources, such as

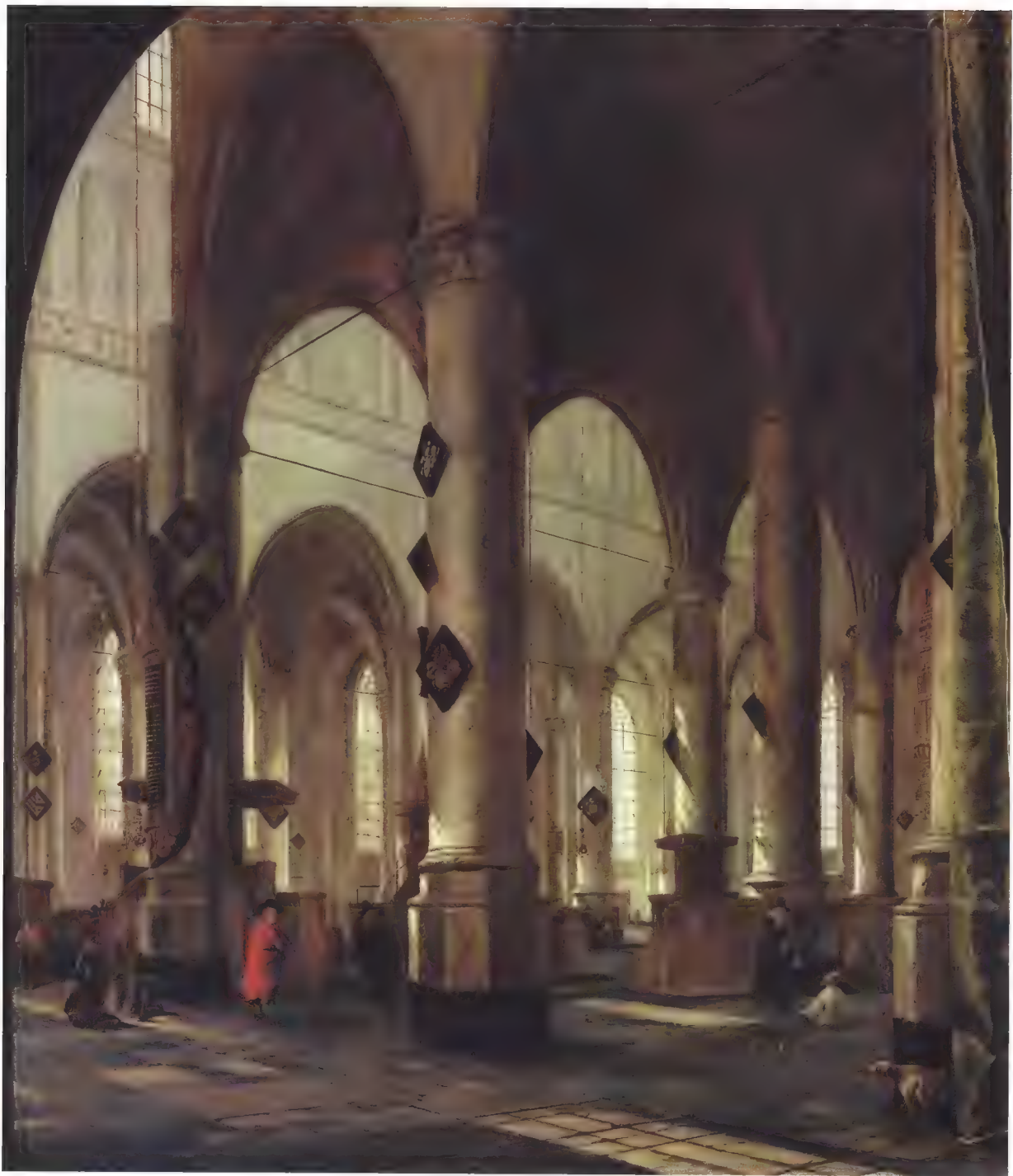


Fig. 121. Hendrick van Vliet, *The Pieterskerk in Leiden (View from the Northern Transept to the Southwest)*, 1652. Oil on wood, 38 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 32 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (97.5 x 82 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick

his own drawings or a print (see fig. 328). The curtain and arched frame, and the shadow cast on the fictive painting by the curtain rod, may have been inspired by Houckgeest's view of the pulpit in the Oude Kerk, depending upon that picture's date (cat. no. 40; compare also De Witte's picture in Ottawa, cat. no. 92). In the loose brushwork of the fairly large panel in Winterthur these borrowed elements have lost most of their illusionistic effect.

If one were dealing with almost any other Dutch artist it would be tempting to say that the painting in Winterthur must date earlier than De Witte's Oude Kerk views in London and Ottawa (fig. 120; cat. no. 92) because it is awkwardly composed, less carefully painted, and more obviously dependent upon another artist's work. However, the most meticulous attempt to place De Witte's church interiors of the Delft period in chronological order will lead one to conclude that it cannot be done and that they should all be dated in or about 1651.

In contrast to the Winterthur painting, where De Witte ignored the principal virtues of the works by Houckgeest to which he referred, the Wallace Collection picture demonstrates that he had learned enough from the older master to do something distinctive and well composed. The shape of the panel seems to have determined the placement of the columns and the rhythms of the archways, although Houckgeest's painting of the pulpit in the Oude Kerk (cat. no. 40), the Mauritshuis picture (fig. 115), and even the view to the tomb of Piet Hein (fig. 117) could have influenced De Witte's design. Photographs reveal how De Witte realigned the Oude Kerk's elevations and in general departed from Houckgeest's approach.<sup>38</sup> The more distant architectural forms have been made to recede gently and to gracefully fill in the picture field. This counterpoise of sympathetic shapes, the stillness of the figures (which flow together), and the fall of warm sunlight evoke a sense of peace and solemnity. The emphasis placed upon the preacher and pulpit is balanced by the visual weight given to the columnar woman in the foreground (who looks forward to figures by Ter Borch, De Hooch, and Vermeer) and to the blond boy behind her. The recession to the left not only is countered by the recession to the right but is also tempered by the sideward fall of sunlight and by motifs that weave a pattern across the view. The archways, the figures, and especially the choir screen and church furniture act in concert to form a continuous, nearly horizontal barrier. The very elements that Houckgeest would have used to emphasize and measure progress into depth (including figures) are used by De Witte to bring the background closer to the picture plane. For him, architecture seems less a logical system of geometric forms than a sequence of images, like landscape vistas or scenes in stained glass. Light and shadow, closely valued tonalities, softer drawing, and looser brushwork than any artist in this specialized genre had used before all contribute to a general impression that is remarkably coherent and "optical," rather than formed of more tactile indications of three-dimensional space. Look-

ing ahead, one surmises that the qualities De Hooch and perhaps even Vermeer could not have found in an artist like Houckgeest—however important he may have been for employing perspective in views of actual architecture—could have been admired in De Witte's church interiors of the early 1650s. His space is defined by architecture but animated by light, atmosphere, and humanity.<sup>39</sup>

For twenty years following the departures of Houckgeest and De Witte from Delft (both by about 1652), Hendrick van Vliet was by far the leading painter of architectural pictures in Delft and the immediate area (Van Bassen, in The Hague, died in 1652). His example made an impression not only in his native city, where he strongly influenced Cornelis de Man and to a lesser extent Johannes Coesermans (see cat. nos. 41, 13), but also in Rotterdam (Anthonie de Lorme and the visiting Daniel de Blicke) and even in Haarlem (Job Berckheyde).<sup>40</sup>

In their sheer abundance and variety Van Vliet's paintings of church interiors create the impression of a commercial enterprise. This was nothing new in the world of Dutch art but it was new to the genre in Delft. De Witte often turned out work hastily in order to maintain income, but Van Vliet's production was more consistent and systematic. His constant search for new views in the churches of Delft, his trips to other towns (see fig. 121), and his use of standard schemes indicate work for the open market. A number of pictures dating from the 1660s and early 1670s appear to have been made with the help of assistants, and despite splendid exceptions the last decade of his oeuvre represents a decline. (The small, simple compositions date mostly from this late period.) His possessions were valued at 300 guilders after his death, in 1675. By contrast, a "perspectieff" by the artist was estimated to be worth 190 guilders in the 1657 estate inventory of the art dealer De Renialme.<sup>41</sup>

A picture that would have brought such a price is Van Vliet's earliest dated architectural view, *The Pieterskerk in Leiden* of 1652 (fig. 121). The artist may have depicted Delft churches a little earlier but no example is known. Perhaps a Leiden client asked for a painting of his own church like those that were made in Delft, or a Delft resident had some connection with the Pieterskerk. It is also possible that Van Vliet, shortly before Houckgeest and De Witte had both moved away, decided to compete in the genre by representing another important church in the general area. He painted several pictures of the Pieterskerk during the 1650s, all showing approximately the same view through the cluster of columns at the corner of the transept and nave.<sup>42</sup> The paintings could have been based on a single sketch which, with impressive flexibility, applied the approach taken by Houckgeest in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft (cat. no. 37) to a different part of a much more spacious interior. As if conceding the point, Van Vliet spliced the Nieuwe Kerk's triforium (the vertical slits in the nave wall) into the first of his Pieterskerk views.

Van Vliet never exhibits Houckgeest's kind of fidelity to an actual site, neither to the motif nor to the overall impression of the

environment. Like De Witte (see cat. no. 92), he favors picturesque effects, such as the luminous veil of forms framed by shadowy archways. The use of a darkened foreground to set off sun-filled space may be traced back to the 1630s, when Saenredam, Van Bassen, and Houckgeest (see cat. no. 36) first adapted the Caravaggesque convention to their own discipline. But the effect fifteen years later is nearly as transformed as is Vermeer's version of Van Honthorst's silhouetted scheme (see figs. 164, 165). The old device was tested against experience, which revealed to Van Vliet blurred contours, textured and porous surfaces, murky vaults, and hazy vistas sweeping from side to side.

It is remarkable that even in this specialty where compositional patterns, drafting techniques, and specific motifs were shared by a few members of the same painters' guild, different ways of seeing emerged immediately. Unlike De Witte, Van Vliet clearly enjoyed the practice of perspective for its own sake. For instance, in the painting in Brunswick of the Pieterskerk (fig. 121), the many tie-bars, seams in the floor, and examples of patient geometry (as in the column bases) pay tribute to Houckgeest's kind of expertise. But Van Vliet does not reveal the same concern for architectural grammar and vocabulary. The care with which Houckgeest constructed, or reconstructed, views of the Delft churches resembles the sense of order he displayed in earlier works. This was not for Van Vliet: his arches spring like saplings, without a thought for bearing weight. Colonnades rush to the sides like curtains being opened, slanting downward in deference to low points of view. Forms are stretched vertically and distances multiplied, making for impossible intervals between supports.

Van Vliet's goal was illusionism of a more conventional kind than that found in Houckgeest's paintings of 1650, although there is some resemblance to the trompe-l'oeil effects found in Houckgeest's small pictures of 1651 (see cat. nos. 38–40). One never has that peculiar sensation, as in Houckgeest's Hamburg painting (cat. no. 37), of seeing the view exactly as one remembers it after visiting the site. Van Vliet creates false impressions of immediate experience, rather as Pynacker does in his improbably beautiful settings bathed—no matter what the country—in a Mediterranean light (see cat. nos. 56, 57). Chipped and worn columns, tinted green by omnipotent damp, transmit the chill of Gothic churches, with their peculiar promise of sanctuary and death. But there is also hope in the fall of light, which streaks across columns at sharp angles and casts the trace of high windows onto willfully chosen sections of floor.

On the right in the Brunswick picture of 1652, two bright rectangles lead the eye to the distant, sun-filled baptistery, where one man, dressed in a red jacket, helps another survey the space. The area of sunlight in the foreground draws attention to the illusionistic curtain, possibly a sign of revelation, and an irreverent dog, a uniquely Netherlandish reminder of mundane life. The second patch of sunlight is set against an open grave. The various stages of human life are

represented by children, adults of different ages, and grave boards and stone slabs.

Van Vliet's various debts to Houckgeest, De Witte, and other artists are highly revealing but beyond our topic here, which is the nature of painting in Delft. Comparing his works with those of his colleagues raises intriguing questions about naturalistic representation. One discovers repeatedly, as in Van Vliet's early architectural pictures, a prompt development away from compositions based upon direct observation and a review of recent innovations, and toward standardization, the establishment of patterns and devices that can be employed and manipulated without further reference to the subject itself. Even within the narrow range of Houckgeest's work in 1650 and 1651 and of De Witte's during the next few years, one finds images that appear like revelations and others that simply recycle current ideas. Repetition is avoided by introducing new motifs and formal modifications, some of them drawn "from life." But the best inventions were allowed to last for a long time.

These remarks are especially relevant to Van Vliet because his architectural views are usually one step further removed from the source than are the paintings of his immediate predecessors. It is true that he often returned to the Delft churches and visited others to record new views (see fig. 122) and that many of his effects—his descriptions of light, space, atmosphere, textures, and human behavior—benefited from fresh observation (see the sketchbook exhibited here, cat. no. 128). But even his earliest dated works in the genre, which represent a church that Houckgeest and De Witte never depicted, suggest that Van Vliet did not so much discover a new way of seeing as adopt the new style. He put together something like Houckgeest's solids, De Witte's voids, and the tactile surfaces of still-life painting in Leiden and Delft. Van Vliet lingers over the surfaces of forms in the foreground, which stand out like objects on a table placed against a wall. An illusionistic curtain is employed more frequently than in the work of any other architectural painter and often assumes a principal role. In some works, like the view to the tomb of Piet Hein exhibited here (cat. no. 81), the figures, a few objects, and the immediate foreground take over the picture, in which forms loosely based on a real space serve as a stage.

In the later 1650s Van Vliet developed a smoother, thinner execution overall and an emphasis upon light and color rather than texture and form. The shift in style resembles that of Vermeer as he progressed from works of about 1657–58, such as *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68), to paintings of the early 1660s, such as the *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* (cat. no. 71). A more obvious parallel to genre painting in Delft is found in Van Vliet's new emphasis, between about 1657 and 1662, upon deep perspective recessions (see cat. nos. 83, 84), which anticipated Vermeer's departure from comparatively intimate scenes to those of figures set the width of a room away (as in figs. 161, 168). These changes are usually considered within the



Fig. 122. Hendrick van Vliet, *The Oude Kerk in Delft (View from the Choir to the Northwest)*, 1654. Oil on wood, 29 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 23 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (74 x 60 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

context of a single oeuvre or genre, but they occurred widely in Dutch painting at the time (compare fig. 138). “La partie la plus extraordinaire et de la plus curieuse consiste dans la perspective,” or so Pieter Teding van Berkhout might have said of many pictures dating from these years (see p. 15).

Van Bleyswijck similarly praised Van Vliet for his knowledge of perspective and for his paintings of church interiors, of which the best were judged to be “very well foreshortened and illusionistic.”<sup>43</sup> Van Vliet’s reputation as a perspectivist is interesting for Pieter de Hooch and other genre painters in Delft, who in the mid-1650s at the earliest started to describe domestic interiors and courtyards with the help of carefully drafted perspective cartoons (as in cat. nos. 80–84, 23–34). Of course, one should not assign the architectural painter too crucial a role. As discussed briefly below, the Delft type of domestic interior may be placed within a much broader context of genre scenes that had been produced in the southern part of Holland for some time. Furthermore, other Delft artists, such as Bramer, were familiar with perspective practice (see fig. 129), which was also clearly explained in contemporary treatises. The projection of rooms as seen in the oeuvres of De Hooch, Vermeer, and even the more eccentric De Man (see cat. no. 42) did not require expertise on the

level demonstrated by Houckgeest, Van Vliet, or Fabritius (see cat. no. 18). Once an artist like De Hooch mastered the basics, he would have been able to solve most problems on his own.

Nonetheless, very few of the possible precedents found outside Delft have the realistic sense of space one admires in works by De Hooch and Vermeer dating from about 1657 onward (see cat. nos. 25–34, 68–73) and in church interiors by Houckgeest, De Witte, and Van Vliet dating from the early 1650s. The three architectural painters, not least Van Vliet, are also noteworthy for the attention they gave to ordinary people walking about, standing, and sitting in various corners of the Delft churches. It is not difficult to discover compositions that resemble Delft genre scenes by cropping details from paintings like Houckgeest’s *Oude Kerk* view lent by the Rijksmuseum (cat. no. 40), De Witte’s views of the same subject in London and in Ottawa (see fig. 120; cat. no. 92), and Van Vliet’s early picture with the tomb of Piet Hein (cat. no. 81). These interior scenes, with their white walls, cool colors, and measured fall of light; their illusionistic spaces seen close at hand; their geometric order; their intimation that the same sort of environment continues out of view—all this must have made these pictures of public places in Delft attractive to the same city’s painters of the private world. One of them, De Man, was at home in both genres (see cat. nos. 41, 42), and De Hooch discovered domestic spaces that seem inseparable from those of the community (as in cat. no. 30).

### *Townscape Painting*

Townscape (or “cityscape”) painting flourished in Delft during the 1650s and 1660s, with works by Egbert van der Poel and Daniel Vosmaer (see cat. nos. 50, 51, 86, 87) and with one extraordinary picture apiece by Vermeer and Fabritius (fig. 23; cat. no. 18). There were many precedents, such as profile views of cities seen from a certain distance (as in cat. nos. 89, 90) and prints depicting city squares, as in Adriaen van de Venne’s engraving *The Abdijplein in Middelburg* of 1618.<sup>44</sup> Quite a few views in The Hague, especially from either end of the artificial lake, or Hofvijver (see fig. 123), date from the 1580s onward, in other words, from the time Prince Maurits and the States General occupied the neighboring buildings. In general, townscapes proper, which are usually considered to represent views within discrete parts of a city or town, were related to particular events or to the special significance of the buildings in view. Both conditions apply in Hans Bol’s gouache of the Hofvijver dated 1586 (*Gemäldegalerie, Dresden*), where a water spectacle honoring the earl of Leicester is in progress outside his temporary headquarters (see p. 26).<sup>45</sup>

Despite the logical connection between meaning and a new art form, earlier writers often treated the rise of townscape painting in the Netherlands as a stage in the stylistic development of landscape painting and topographical views in general. Wolfgang Stechow, for



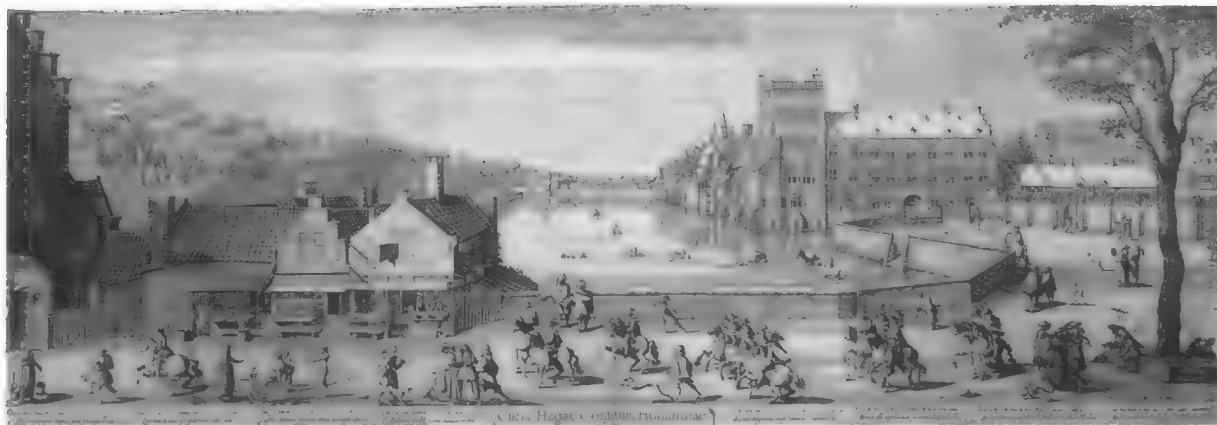


Fig. 123. Simon Frisius after Hendrick Hondius, *The Hofvijver Seen from the Buitenhof at The Hague*, 1621. Etching, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 48 $\frac{5}{16}$  in. (44 x 124.3 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

example, observed that “the town view proper does not appear before about 1650,” and that “it presupposes the renewed emphasis on structure and colour which has so consistently turned out to be the hallmark of those crucial years.” In fact, Stechow maintains, “town view painting was the result of the stylistic change [in landscape painting] around 1650. Its origins lay, not in Haarlem, where Saenredam was working, but in Delft.”<sup>46</sup> Similar views had been expressed earlier by R. Fritz (1932), and by Max Friedländer, who went even further: “The highest, the incomparable achievement of Delft art is . . . the town view.”<sup>47</sup> It seems likely that none of these thoughts would have been expressed had Vermeer never painted *A View of Delft* (fig. 23). Although it is a “townscape” of the older type (a profile view), it reflects design ideas from recent landscape painting in Amsterdam.<sup>48</sup>

Fabritius’s *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18) is generally considered to be the earliest townscape (or town view proper) to have been painted in Delft. (As discussed below, other artists, and possibly Fabritius himself, painted earlier views of the court district in The Hague.) If the very small canvas was painted as an illusionistic picture meant to be seen in a special viewing case or “perspective box” (see figs. 240, 241), which now appears virtually certain, then the work was not a convenient prototype for other artists, and probably not readily available to them.

The various views of Delft that were painted by Van der Poel, Daniel Vosmaer, Fabritius, and Vermeer have been discussed by some historians as if they comprised a coherent genre. However, Van der Poel’s and Vosmaer’s souvenirs of the Delft “Thunderclap” and its aftermath (see cat. no. 51) are not townscapes in the usual sense, but records of a famous disaster. The main concern of Dutch

townscape painting is civic pride, which is conveyed in good part by topographical fidelity.<sup>49</sup> Thus it may be said, without meaning to seem eccentric, that townscapes were almost nonexistent in Delft, except for Fabritius’s *View in Delft* (which is also a special case). Vosmaer’s views of Delft represent ruins or are profiles of the city recorded from outside the walls (the picture in Ponce, cat. no. 86, comes close to being a proper townscape because of the closeness of view). Other pictures that have been described as Delft townscapes, such as Jan Steen’s portrait of a Delft burgher and his daughter (cat. no. 58) and *The Little Street* by Vermeer (cat. no. 69), may be dismissed from the category for obvious reasons. De Hooch’s courtyard and garden scenes, and imaginary street views by Jacobus Vrel (active 1654–62), have also been placed beside the architectural views of Fabritius, Vosmaer, and Vermeer, but De Hooch may be said to have painted outdoor living rooms, not public spaces, and Vrel may not have been able to locate Delft on a map (he was probably not from the southern part of Holland, in any case). In summary, the closest thing to an orthodox townscape from Delft would appear to be Jan van der Heyden’s view of the Oude Kerk on the Oude Delft dated 1675 (fig. 1),<sup>50</sup> except that the artist was not a resident but one of the several short-term visitors who recorded views in the city (see the essay “Along the City Walls” below).

Setting these qualms aside, one may consider Vosmaer’s views of Delft as townscapes, especially if he was responsible for a recently published picture of the market square as seen from the south side of the Stadhuis.<sup>51</sup> Furthermore, not only his canvas in the Ponce museum (cat. no. 86) but also the painting with the peculiar vista seen through the columns of an imaginary loggia (fig. 111) record quite restricted parts of the city, even more so than in the celebrated

painting by Vermeer. Finally, the disaster pictures and the sad scene in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 299) are for the most part topographical records, although they focus upon what had been lost in the fall of 1654.

What makes Vosmaer's and, to a lesser extent, Van der Poel's views of Delft representative of the local school is their subjective approach, that is, the unexpected vantage points and the emphasis upon light, textures, and "painterlike" (*schilderachtig*) passages, such as brick and plastered walls, foliage, reflecting water, and shimmering roof tiles (as in cat. nos. 86, 87).<sup>52</sup> These are qualities shared with De Hooch's courtyard views (cat. nos. 30, 31, 33) and with Vermeer's painting of a house seen from across a street or canal (cat. no. 69). Even Vermeer's *View of Delft*, in its composition and approach to the city as a whole (compare cat. nos. 89, 90), may be described as more picturesque than topographical, which is not surprising given the evidence that it was made for a private patron rather than for the city government or a public institution. As has been noted often, *A View of Delft* (called "The City of Delft in perspective, as seen from the south side") was sold in the Dissius auction of 1696, indicating that it had once been owned by Jacob Dissius's father-in-law, Vermeer's patron, Pieter van Ruijven. The fact that the Dissius sale also included four paintings of church interiors (three of them ascribed to De Witte) may suggest that Van Ruijven wanted to have views of various sites in Delft.<sup>53</sup>

Such an ensemble would have had little in common with the engraved views assembled in illustrated maps (see cat. nos. 134, 135). Even when exceptionally faithful to a particular subject, Delft townscapes and architectural paintings of the 1650s onward have the look of personal impressions, of things too familiar and sympathetic to describe objectively. In these pictures, as in portraiture, posterity requires something other than the simple truth.

### Carel Fabritius

Carel Fabritius has long been appreciated as one of Rembrandt's most gifted disciples and as a precursor of Vermeer. Indeed, these judgments date back to the seventeenth century, when Samuel van Hoogstraten (1678) praised "our Fabritius, my co-pupil" under Rembrandt,<sup>54</sup> and when a poem by the local publisher Arnold Bon was printed in Van Bleyswijck's description of Delft (in the pages of 1680). In the last four of thirty-two lines we are told:

*Thus did this Phoenix, to our loss, expire,  
In the midst, and at the height of his career,  
But fortunately there arose from his fire  
VERMEER, who masterfully trod his path.*<sup>55</sup>

Van Bleyswijck restricted his discussion of artists in Delft to deceased natives of the city. The inclusion of Fabritius was arbitrary, since it

was perfectly well known that he was a short-term resident. The passage preceding Bon's poem is of sufficient interest to quote in its entirety:

Carel Fabritius, a very excellent and outstanding painter was so quick and sure in matters of perspective as well as naturalistic coloring and laying on his paint that (in the judgment of many connoisseurs) no one has yet equaled him; we will rank him here amidst the famous Delft Painters since no one has been able to tell me conclusively at what other place he was born; furthermore the whole world knows well enough that this great Artist after living here for many years [?] was in the end pitifully crushed to death in his own House by the explosion of the Powder Magazine (described above) on the 12th of October, 1654, together with his Mother-in-law and Brother[-in-law?], as well as Simon Decker, former sexton of the Oude Kerk whose portrait he was painting and also Mathias Spoors, his faithful Disciple and Pupil; all of whom were killed instantly when the house collapsed and were (after lying in the rubble for six or seven hours) pulled out with great sadness and no small difficulty by their fellow Citizens; Mr. Fabritius alone had a little life left in him and was (given the destruction of so many Houses) taken temporarily to the Oude Gasthuis [the Old Hospital, fig. 3] where after about a quarter of an hour his oppressed soul departed his terribly beaten body at the age of but thirty years.<sup>56</sup>

In fact, Fabritius was nearly thirty-three at the time of his death: he had been baptized in Midden-Beemster, near Hoorn, north of Amsterdam, on February 27, 1622. His father, Pieter Carelsz, was a teacher, sexton, and "official painter" of the town. Three of his sons became painters: Carel, Barent (1624–1673), and the minor still-life painter, Johannes. When Carel and Barent joined their local church's congregation in 1641 they were both called "Timmerman," suggesting that the teenagers were working as carpenters or builders. At the time, Midden-Beemster was expanding, in part with the construction of country houses owned by wealthy citizens of Amsterdam.<sup>57</sup>

Shortly after his marriage in October 1641 Fabritius moved to Amsterdam, where his young wife died in April 1643. During that period the artist studied under Rembrandt, who completed *The Night Watch* in 1642. The influence of that canvas (which Van Hoogstraten celebrated for its illusionism) is clear in Fabritius's earliest known work, *The Raising of Lazarus* of about 1643 (Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw). Over the next few years he painted other Rembrandtesque pictures, such as the *Mercury and Argus* in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the *Hermes and Aglauros* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.<sup>58</sup>

Between the spring of 1643 and 1650, when he remarried, Fabritius worked mainly in Midden-Beemster. This hardly isolated him from the art world of Amsterdam, to judge from the paintings he produced in those years. In my view they include *The Beheading of John*

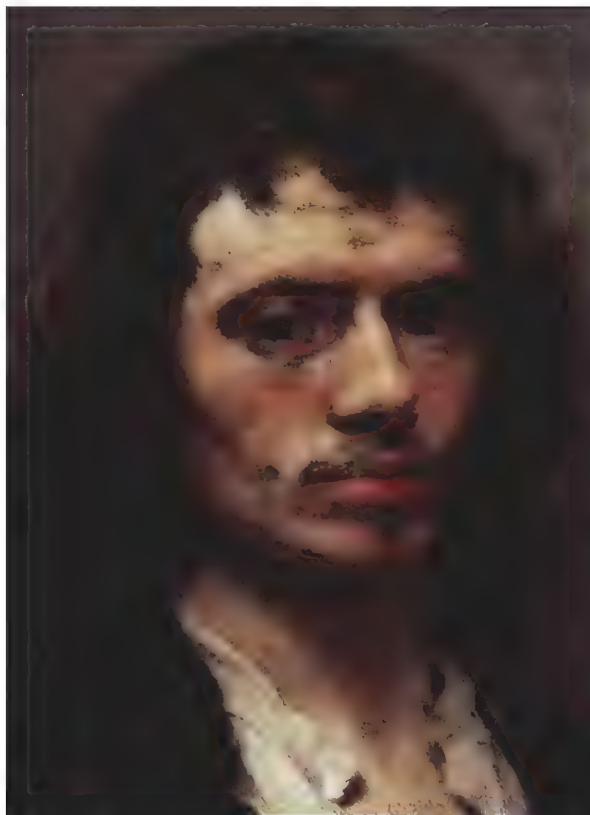


Fig. 124. Detail, Carel Fabritius, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1648–50 (cat. no. 17)

*the Baptist* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and the *Self-Portrait* in Rotterdam (cat. no. 17), both of which must date from the second half of the 1640s.<sup>59</sup>

A more formal portrait, that of the Amsterdam silk merchant Abraham de Potter (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), is dated 1648 or 1649. The sitter owned land in the Beemster and had been a friend of the Fabritius family for some time. (In 1636 he and his wife acted as godparents at the baptism of Carel's younger brother, Johannes, and their son, Jasper de Potter, lent Carel 620 guilders in 1647.)<sup>60</sup> De Potter had business dealings with the Deutz brothers, Jean, Jeronimus, and Joseph, who were also in the silk trade and were important collectors in Amsterdam of Italian paintings, antique sculpture, and Dutch art. Their brother, Balthasar (1626–1661), was living in the family's country house in the Beemster when Fabritius was paid 25 guilders for a portrait of him on July 11, 1650. "Carel Pietersse Schilder" was also paid 78 guilders and 10 stuivers for a painting (subject unknown) by the Deutz family on October 22, 1649. In the same period, 1648 to 1650, the Deutz brothers patronized Michiel Sweerts, both as a

painter and as their art-purchasing agent in Rome. This is an interesting coincidence, since both artists, Fabritius and Sweerts, have been seen as inspirations to Vermeer (see p. 13 on Sweerts and his colleague Luigi Gentile). But one should not look for some connection between Sweerts and Vermeer through Fabritius (who died before the Fleming returned to northern Europe). The recently published information simply demonstrates that the different art centers of the day were much more closely interconnected than is often assumed.<sup>61</sup>

Fabritius's second wife, Agatha van Pruyssen, was a widow living in Amsterdam whose family came from Delft. Her father, Lambert, died in Delft on January 10, 1653. At the time, her sister Maria, aged twenty-five and said to be a portraitist, was "lying sick of mind in the Saint Joris Hospital." The forthcoming marriage was registered in Midden-Beemster on August 14, 1650, when the couple were said to be "living together in Delft"; and at the Oude Kerk, Delft, on August 22, 1650, when their address was given as "on the Oude Delft." They were married three weeks later in Midden-Beemster.<sup>62</sup>

These documents suggest that Fabritius did not move to Delft until sometime in 1650. Of course, he could have been living there when he was paid for Balthasar Deutz's portrait, which may have been delivered well after the sitting. However, the fact that there is no record of Fabritius in or near Delft before the summer of 1650 and that he did not join the painters' guild there until October 29, 1652, is consistent with the documents recording payments in his hometown in October 1649 and July 1650. His widow's claim that Fabritius was "in his lifetime painter to his Highness the Prince of Orange" does not contradict this information, since Fabritius could have sold a work to Willem II (who died on November 6, 1650) or, for that matter, to Frederick Hendrick (died March 14, 1647) before moving to Delft. In his monograph on the artist, Christopher Brown notes that "an unfinished piece by Fabritius," the only one of forty paintings assigned an artist's name, was in the 1664 auction of movable goods owned by Catherina Hooft, widow of Johan Hilersig, counselor and secretary to the Prince of Orange.<sup>63</sup> It is even possible that the delay in Fabritius's registration in the guild, which at two months and two years "appears to be the longest of those we have on record and the best established,"<sup>64</sup> was due to some commitment at the court. On the other hand, there is also evidence suggesting that Fabritius could not afford to pay the entrance dues of 12 guilders to the guild, of which he appears to have paid only half before he died.<sup>65</sup>

The Rotterdam *Self-Portrait* (cat. no. 17; fig. 124), which Brown dates convincingly to about 1648–50, is arbitrarily included in this exhibition (following Van Bleysswijck's way with rules) because of its great interest for naturalistic painting in Delft. (This is all the more evident after the picture's recent cleaning.) Like the man on the left in Vermeer's *Procuress* (cat. no. 66), which is probably a self-portrait, the panel in Rotterdam vividly resembles an image seen in a mirror, not only with regard to the subject, pose, and glance but also in its

fugitive effects of light. To call this picture the *Juan de Pareja* of the Netherlands would not be idle praise because the comparison points out how much of the moment Fabritius's painting was when it was painted (Velázquez's canvas in the Metropolitan Museum was exhibited in Rome in March 1650). The pictures have in common optical effects achieved through complexly layered touches (Van Bleyswijck's remark about Fabritius's lively execution comes to mind), which may be partly explained by the fact that both Velázquez and Rembrandt, whose influence is still strongly felt here, had studied Titian's technique.<sup>66</sup>

The blurred contours, textures, and intense light of Fabritius's *Self-Portrait* contrast with the typical qualities of figure painting in Delft before 1650, although there is some similarity to the dispassionate regard of the sitter found in earlier Delft portraits (see fig. 47). What Fabritius brought to Delft, to judge from the Rotterdam painting and approximately contemporary works,<sup>67</sup> was an emphasis upon visual experience and to some extent a technique that are similar to the approaches of Potter and De Witte in other genres. What Fabritius left behind, and had been inclined to minimize after the early *Raising of Lazarus*, was a Rembrandt-like concern for narrative and expression.<sup>68</sup> It is impossible, indeed misguided, to say whether these tendencies can be credited to Delft, to the artist, or to his generation. There are moments in history when the right person appears to have been in the right place at the right time.

The works by Fabritius in this exhibition demonstrate that his manner of painting evolved in Delft, although its purpose remained essentially the same. From the first his technique was painterly, emphasizing impressionistic effects of light and shadow. Following Rembrandt's lead, Fabritius used fairly dense, grainy strokes of paint, which he applied so that one layer revealed another (scumbling the paint), as in the face and especially the shirt in the Rotterdam *Self-Portrait*. Comparison with the London *Self-Portrait* of four or five years later (cat. no. 19) shows how the artist developed a thinner technique and, of course, a lighter palette. His touch is more delicate and more precisely descriptive (compare, for example, the definition of the brow, eyes, and nose) without becoming linear. Even those strokes one might call impasto, like the highlights on the cuirass, are not "pasty," as in works by Rembrandt of the early 1640s, but are more fluidly applied. The result is a shift of emphasis from tactile to visual qualities, as if forms were perceived at a greater distance, or by a landscape painter rather than a still-life specialist. The sense of volume and of texture is diminished in favor of more generalized effects of light and space.

Perhaps the painters most similar to Fabritius in Delft during the early 1650s were Potter and De Witte. Vermeer's work went through a similar transformation later on, between about 1656 and 1660, or so it appears if one compares the modeling and textures in *The Procuress* (cat. no. 66) with the smooth, careful application of paint in

works such as the *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* (cat. no. 71). There is also a comparable change in palette, from the darker and more contrasting tones of *The Procuress* and *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67) to the primaries, whites, and other bright colors of *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68) and some works of the 1660s. However, a closer look at Vermeer's oeuvre in the 1650s reveals a more complicated evolution, which was informed by a wide-ranging knowledge of current styles.

Brown's brief chapter "Fabritius and the 'Delft School'" offers a cogent and unusually sober assessment of how Rembrandt's former pupil fits in. He acknowledges that the artist's use of perspective and his observations of the immediate environment have often been compared with those aspects of architectural and genre painting in Delft. But in the end Brown considers "a common language of colour, light, and disposition of space" to have resulted in similarities that, "although hard to define, are not fortuitous." After dismissing as an exaggeration the notion that Fabritius was "an essential catalyst in the development of Delft painting" and cautioning against a "revisionist" view of him as an isolated figure, a brilliant, experimental artist" who happened to settle in Delft, where his work had no direct influence, Brown recommends a moderate view: "A common interest in daylight effects and in the expressive possibilities of the use of space may seem a vague, even evasive, way in which to define Fabritius' relationship with his contemporaries, but the relationship was a real one and it was in these essentially technical matters that it resided."<sup>69</sup>

These lines contrast refreshingly with the customary search for causal relationships between Fabritius and other artists, especially De Hooch and Vermeer. In many accounts of the "Delft School" a painter arrives in town (Potter, Fabritius, De Hooch, or even Steen), another employs perspective, and a third (or the same painter) sets a figure against a light rather than a dark wall, and suddenly a program is set in progress, as if Courbet or Monet had made his debut, and as if artistic traditions and patronage had little to do with Dutch painting in the seventeenth century. To judge from the limited evidence, Fabritius was one of a few exceptionally talented artists in Delft during the 1650s who painted in a similar manner, treating various subjects drawn "from life." In this context—that of a small place where the artists were well acquainted—there were certainly cases in which one painter's innovation (such as Houckgeest's in cat. no. 37) inspired others to "tread his path" (as Arnold Bon would say). But this kind of influence was usually quite specific, involving a particular motif or compositional scheme. To credit Potter more broadly with bringing daylight into Delft pictures, or to say that "Fabritius used perspective to extend the limits of genre painting,"<sup>70</sup> or to imagine that any individual's arrival in the city had much of an impact (unless it was a patron with pots of money and lots of taste) is to apply a nineteenth-century notion of artistic progress (which goes well



Fig. 125. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Perspective Box with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House* (on a later pedestal), ca. 1658–60. Oil on wood panels (interior dimensions), height 21½ in., width 31½ in., depth 20¾ in. (54.5 x 80 x 53 cm). The National Gallery, London

beyond Vasari's) to the superficially similar naturalism of a very different place and period.

The virtues of Fabritius's few surviving Delft pictures and their relationship to works by other artists are topics best left to the entries in this catalogue. Much has been made of what is now missing from Fabritius's oeuvre: works hypothetically lost in his demolished studio; murals for which there is no visual evidence; and the "perspective," a couple of "cases," and an "optical piece" that are attributed to Fabritius in old inventories (see below). Documents also indicate that Fabritius was fairly active as a portraitist between the late 1640s and (as Van Bleyswijck informs us) the very moment of his death.<sup>71</sup>

The most intriguing records of lost paintings by Fabritius are those that apparently refer to illusionistic works of art.<sup>72</sup> These documents support the now generally accepted opinion that *A View in Delft* (cat. no. 18) was originally mounted in a perspective box, a Dutch specialty best known from Van Hoogstraten's example in the National Gallery, London (fig. 125). In his book on the art of painting

(1678) Van Hoogstraten mentions "the wonderful perspective box" right after describing illusionistic murals by Giulio Romano in Mantua and by Fabritius in Delft (see below). "A small case by Fabritius" was listed in the estate of a Leiden collector, Aernout Eelbrecht (1683), along with no fewer than eight *tronies* (paintings of "heads" or "faces"; see the discussion under cat. no. 74) by Fabritius, and "a piece by Fabritius, in which Van Aelst painted the sword [or dagger]."<sup>73</sup> As with the reference to a "piece by Fabritius being a case [or box]" in the will of Gerrit Jansz Treurniet (recorded in Delft on May 2, 1661),<sup>74</sup> it is not clear whether the item was a perspective box or a picture frame with doors, which was a special form of presentation used occasionally by Dou, in one known instance by De Witte (for the painting reproduced as fig. 120), and possibly by Vermeer.<sup>75</sup>

Another ambiguous reference is the mention of "a large optical piece standing on a pedestal made by a distinguished Master Fabricio of Delft" in the 1690 inventory of the Danish royal collection. The item in question may be the *View of a Voorhuis*, a Dutch perspective box of about 1670 in the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, or another work. The attribution, which is completely implausible in the case of the "Voorhuis" (sitting room) composition, may reflect some circumstances of acquisition, confusion on the part of the compiler of the inventory, or Fabritius's reputation as a maker of perspective boxes.<sup>76</sup> Any reference to a work by Fabritius in a princely collection is of interest because of his wife's claim that he was painter to the Prince of Orange.<sup>77</sup>

In 1669 "a perspective of the Court of Holland made by the late Fabritius" was in the possession of Catharina Tachoen, widow of Salomon van Delmanhorst, on the occasion of her second marriage.<sup>78</sup> Evidently an artist (listed in the Leiden guild from 1648 until the 1660s), Van Delmanhorst was the son of Hendrick van Delmanhorst, a Leiden poet and professor of medicine. The term "perspective" was often employed for architectural paintings but could also refer to a townscape (or "prospect"). It seems very likely that the



Fig. 126. Attributed to Claes Jansz Visscher, *The Court of Holland*, 1636. Engraved vignette for the border of Visscher's Illustrated Map of the Netherlands. Gemeentearchief, The Hague



painting in question was a conventional townscape rather than an illusionistic work meant to be seen under special viewing conditions. The “Court of Holland” refers to the court buildings in The Hague, which as discussed above had been a popular subject since the 1580s.<sup>79</sup> Hondius’s view of the Hofvijver from the Buitenhof (Outer Court), engraved by Simon Frisius in 1621 (fig. 123), inspired a considerable number of paintings and prints dating from the 1620s through the 1650s.<sup>80</sup> There is some resemblance between Hondius’s composition (especially the central and right-hand areas) and *A View in Delft* (cat. no. 18), which makes one wonder whether Fabritius’s view in The Hague was similar to that recorded some thirty years earlier. Several artists in the intervening period used part of Hondius’s view as a model, in effect moving the view in closer. An example that looks forward to Fabritius’s *View in Delft*, and possibly to his “perspective of the Court of Holland,” is a small engraving made in 1636 (fig. 126) as one of the vignettes around the border of Claes Jansz Visscher’s Illustrated Map of the Netherlands (which appears in the background of Vermeer’s *Art of Painting*; cat. no. 76).<sup>81</sup> Could it be that Fabritius’s own “Hoff van Hollandt” was likewise a view of the Stadholder’s Quarters and perhaps the picture that earned him the title (according to his widow, at least) of “painter to his Highness the Prince of Orange”?

Only two records of mural paintings by Fabritius are known. In 1660 the widowed owner of a brewery (and residence?) called “The World Upside Down” made it a condition of the building’s sale that she be allowed to remove “the painting by Carel Fabritius” which was “nail-fast” to a wall. The mural must have been painted on canvas, like the works that decorated the princely palaces at Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk (see pp. 10, 12) and like murals painted by Bramer in Delft.<sup>82</sup> The second record, a passage in Van Hoogstraten’s book of 1678, cites another patron and indicates that Fabritius painted illusionistic murals which demonstrated his expertise in perspective. The passage deserves quotation at length:

I shall skip over discussing the methods by which one can give anamorphically distorted shapes their upright [proper] form in spherical, angular and cylindrical mirrors, for these are more artifices than necessary science. But nevertheless a master should understand the principles [“roots”] of these amusements in order not to be confused in the event that an obliquely angled, round or other unusually shaped building or vault is to be painted: for however angular the vaults or walls may be, one can always break them down by means of this art [as demonstrated in contemporary treatises; see fig. 127] so that they seem to have an entirely different form, and one can paint the corners and foreshortened walls [to appear] as if they were not there; and even if one adds in figures or histories it will all be surprisingly upright, although it is anything but a readily comprehensible image. With this

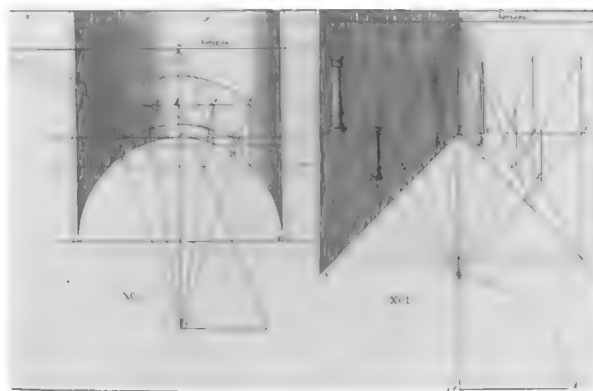


Fig. 127. Samuel Marolois, *Perspective . . .*, Amsterdam, 1628. Figs. XC–XCI demonstrate anamorphic projections onto curved and angled surfaces. Engraving, 7½ x 12¼ in. (19.1 x 31.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951

knowledge one can also make a little room seem very large: *Giulio Romano* showed this at Mantua, in the Palazzo del Tè, where he beautifully depicted the Battle of the Gods and Giants, in a vaulted chamber, in which, by receding perspectives, the building, which was only fifteen feet wide, was transformed into an extensive field. *Fabritius* has also made such wonders here, as is still to be seen at Delft in the house of the art-loving late *Dr Valentius* and elsewhere; but it is regrettable that his works were never placed in a large royal building or church: for this kind of painting depends enormously on the place in which it is applied. What another [artist, namely Van Hoogstraten himself] has likewise achieved with this art for the Emperor in Vienna, and also in England, is not for me to mention. Through the knowledge of this science one also makes the wonderful perspective box which, if it is painted with understanding, shows a finger-sized figure as [if it were] lifesize.<sup>83</sup>

In the page of text that follows, Van Hoogstraten describes nudes reflected in mirrors as examples of perspective expertise in the oeuvres of Giorgione and Hendrick Goltzius. Murals by Hans Vredeman de Vries, with their “open doors and receding rooms,” are cited as works from the previous century which demonstrate that “perspective and perspective views, because of their pleasing deceitfulness, have always and everywhere been held in high regard.” Ancient and Renaissance masters are then brought into the account, which ends with recommended reading, namely, perspective treatises by Dürer, Guidobaldo, Vredeman de Vries, Samuel Marolois, and “Desargues” (meaning Abraham Bosse’s *Manière universelle de Mr. Desargues*, published in Paris in 1648).

Fabritius’s patron “Dr Valentius” is surely Dr. Theodorus Vallensis (1612–1673), dean of the surgeons’ guild in Delft during Fabritius’s



Fig. 128. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Perspective of a Man Reading in a Courtyard*, ca. 1662. Oil on canvas, 104 x 109 in. (264.2 x 276.8 cm). Dyrham Park, The Blathway Collection (The National Trust)

residence there.<sup>84</sup> His father, Jacob van Dalen, called “Vallensis” (*dal* means “valley”), was mentioned in the previous chapter as the personal physician of the princes Maurits and Frederick Hendrick and as one of the sitters in Michiel and Pieter van Miereveld’s *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Willem van der Meer* (cat. no. 45). The younger Vallensis graduated from the University of Leiden as doctor of medicine in 1634. His marriage to a burgomaster’s daughter, Agatha van Beresteyn (1625–1702), brought him into the regent class of Delft, where he himself served as burgomaster and held other civic offices. He lived on the Oude Delft (as did Fabritius), but the house has not been identified.<sup>85</sup> No work by Fabritius is mentioned in Vallensis’s estate, but a mural would probably not have been listed among movable goods. His son, Jacob Vallensis (d. 1725), counselor at the Court of Holland, owned two *tronies* by Fabritius.<sup>86</sup>

### *Lost Mural Paintings by Bramer and Fabritius*

One of the most welcome discoveries for the study of the Delft school would be a drawing or description of an illusionistic mural by Fabritius, such as the one he made for Dr. Vallensis or the one that evidently was removed in 1660 from the brewery called “The World Upside Down.” The passage in which Van Hoogstraten mentions Fabritius’s murals (see the preceding section) describes the use of perspective in anamorphic works of art, that is, images which appear distorted (“morphed,” one might say) until they are seen from exactly the right vantage point (a peephole, the doorway of a painted

room or corridor, or a certain spot on the floor beneath an illusionistic ceiling or vault). From that location the depicted motifs take on their proper form and, in many works of this kind, appear three-dimensional. As in most illusionistic images, an essential feature of an anamorphic painting is that the viewer’s perception of its actual surface is minimized. But awareness of the work’s true form is never completely eliminated, so that the pleasure of viewing an illusion is complemented by admiration for the artist, and for art itself.<sup>87</sup>

Fabritius’s *View in Delft* is such a sophisticated example of illusionism and perspective expertise that one is tempted to imagine his murals as similar, as large-scale versions of that small marvel, or as close antecedents of Van Hoogstraten’s trompe-l’oeil architectural views dating from the 1660s (fig. 128). There is some circumstantial evidence to suggest that architecture and linear perspective did play important parts in Fabritius’s wall paintings. The first thing that Van Bleyswijck (1667–80) says about the “very excellent and outstanding painter” is that he was “so quick and sure in matters of perspective.” Van Hoogstraten more specifically cites murals made in Delft by Fabritius as examples of how perspective can be used to make illusionistic wall and ceiling paintings (as well as perspective boxes), and on another page he drops Fabritius’s name when describing how the Renaissance muralist Baldassare Peruzzi and others used light and shadow to make painted architectural elements appear to be real.<sup>88</sup>

A few surviving drawings by Bramer could illustrate Van Hoogstraten’s text, since they show strongly foreshortened architectural motifs meant to be employed in illusionistic murals or ceilings. One of the most striking examples is a sketch made in preparation for the small painted ceiling of a staircase (fig. 129).<sup>89</sup> In this case the design corresponds closely to a plate in Vredeman de Vries’s *Perspective of 1604–5*, except that Bramer has added figures reminiscent of those in Van Honthorst’s *Musical Ceiling* of 1622 (fig. 130).<sup>90</sup> The man reaching

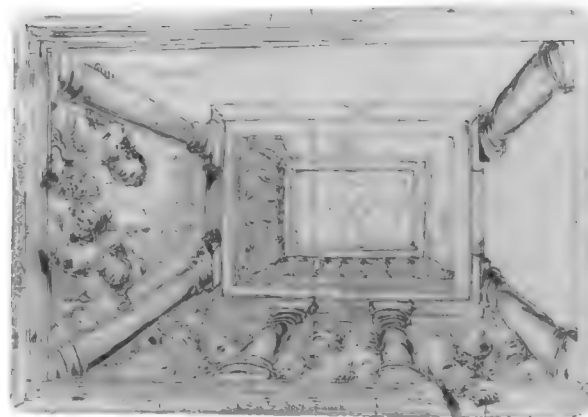


Fig. 129. Leonaert Bramer, *Figures along a Colonnade*, ca. 1660. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, red chalk, 8 x 11½ in. (20.4 x 29.5 cm). Private collection, the Netherlands



Fig. 130. Gerard van Honthorst, *Musical Ceiling*, 1622. Oil on wood, 120½ x 85 in. (308 x 216 cm). J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

down into the viewer's space (lower right) has a counterpart on the wall to the right in Bramer's murals in the Prinsenhof (fig. 136).

These comparisons do not exclude the possibility that Fabritius's murals were mostly figural, or depicted wide-open spaces with few architectural features. A drawing by Bramer in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 80) appears to be a design for a mural (or a tapestry?) showing couples on a terrace and strolling in a garden. Only the most basic command of one-point perspective was required to draw the arcade and furniture. The same could be said for the majority of Bramer's designs for or possibly connected with mural paintings (see figs. 133, 136), to which we will return momentarily.

One is still left with the strong intuition that Fabritius's murals were illusionistic works making skillful use of perspective, not only because of the evidence cited above but also considering the years in which they were made, about 1651–54. As we have seen, architectural painting flourished in Delft precisely in this period. Houckgeest, Van Vliet, and even De Witte drew fairly complex architectural motifs in perspective, and in some pictures dating from about

1651–52 placed particular emphasis upon the illusion of three-dimensional space. Examples of the latter include Houckgeest's wide-angle view of the ambulatory in the Nieuwe Kerk dated 1651 (cat. no. 39), a composition which bears a surprising resemblance to that of Fabritius's townscape dating from the following year (cat. no. 18), and also Houckgeest's view of the Oude Kerk's pulpit, which probably dates from 1651 as well (cat. no. 40). Also worth recalling in this context are De Witte's Oude Kerk view in Ottawa (cat. no. 92) and the Wallace Collection panel of 1651 (fig. 120), which was originally presented in a substantial ebony frame with doors.<sup>91</sup> Van Vliet's earliest dated church interiors also feature strong recessions, and tactile forms in the foreground (figs. 121, 122).

Finally, we might consider the only known architectural picture by Louys Elsevier (1618–1675), who moved from Leiden to Delft in about 1646 (see cat. no. 16). The classical archway with the arms of Delft is painted on wood, the threshold in front of the checker-board floor is actually rounded, and the tip of the bone lying on it is slightly raised. The arrangement brings to mind the fictive frames



Fig. 131. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Perspective with a Woman Reading a Letter*, 1660s. Oil on canvas, 95¼ x 70½ in. (241.5 x 179 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague



Fig. 132. Leonaert Bramer, *Design for the "Painted Room" in the Civic-Guard Quarters of Delft*, ca. 1660. Exterior of *modello* in triptych form (see fig. 133). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

painted by Houckgeest and De Witte (see cat. nos. 37, 40, 92), the latter's frame forming a cabinet or illusionistic doorway, and Early Netherlandish paintings with illusionistically painted frames (imitating stone, bearing a carved signature, or featuring a fly). Van Hoogstraten's *Head of a Bearded Man at a Window* (fig. 246), which shows a deep stone window and a glass bottle on the sill, is painted on canvas and dates from the same year, 1653.<sup>92</sup>

The view of the Oude Kerk itself in Elsevier's picture is painted on canvas glued to wood. The composition and style generally recall Houckgeest,<sup>93</sup> although the shadowy foreground and the sun flooding in at an angle were probably inspired by Van Vliet. More importantly, the whole ensemble anticipates Van Hoogstraten's large illusionistic canvases of the next decade (see fig. 131).<sup>94</sup> It is not hard to imagine Fabritius's illusionistic murals as works in a similar vein,

but with some of the descriptive qualities and luminosity found in his works of 1652–54 (see cat. nos. 18–21).

As for Bramer, he was an artist of another generation and temperament, a figure painter who had direct knowledge of Italian wall and ceiling decorations, as well as canvas murals made for the Dutch court. There is little sign of enthusiasm for perspective in Bramer's work before the 1650s. The first certain reference to a mural painting by Bramer in Delft dates from February 1653, when he agreed to decorate in fresco the walls of a passageway which ran between his own house and that of Anthonie van Bronckhorst, and also two doors in the same space.<sup>95</sup> In 1657 Bramer was paid a very modest sum, evidently a total of 52 guilders, for a fresco in a garden house behind the Communal Land House (see fig. 22).<sup>96</sup> In neither case is the subject known, although the drawing of couples on a terrace mentioned above (fig. 80) could have been made in preparation for a commission like the one for a garden house.<sup>97</sup>

In 1660 Bramer received his first payment for work on a much more ambitious decorating project, the Painted Room in the new civic-guard headquarters (Nieuwe Doelen). Van Bleyswijck records that the room was "most attractive, having all the walls painted in the Italian manner in fresco or damp plaster by the famous Leonard Bramer, all befitting and suiting the purpose of the place."<sup>98</sup>

What appears to be Bramer's oil sketch for the Painted Room (which evidently required repairs as early as 1663 and 1667) is found on a small wood model in the form of a triptych (figs. 132, 133).<sup>99</sup> When closed, the triptych represents a fireplace with, above the mantel, an eager drummer and assorted trophies. Officers and soldiers (a captain in red) descend steps to either side of the fireplace; putti support the arms of Holland on the left and of Delft on the right. One of the main duties of drummers was to turn out for the annual procession of civic-guard companies during a grand fair in June. This



Fig. 133. Leonaert Bramer, *Design for the "Painted Room" in the Civic-Guard Quarters of Delft*, ca. 1660. Interior of *modello* in triptych form. Oil on wood, central panel: 11<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 18<sup>7</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (30 x 48 cm); wings: 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 9 in. (29 x 23 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

civic celebration is represented on all three panels, or walls, of the triptych's interior, forming a sort of expanded "Night Watch" (Rembrandt's march also takes place during the day). The central panel shows a market square defined by Bramer's customary blend of Dutch and Italianate buildings. A typical militia company occupies the foreground: from right to left, a captain, officers with shields, and two rows of musketeers. A standard-bearer and other members of the company are assembled on a platform in the background. On all three panels people gather on the ground near walls, while other spectators hang out of windows or occupy balconies. The covered balustrades to the left and right recall Pieter de Grebber's Surrounding Gallery at Honselaarsdijk and a number of paintings by Van Couwenbergh and others (see figs. 12, 66, 134). (Could the setting in Vermeer's *Procuress*, cat. no. 66, be meant as such a balcony?) On the left, an officer emerges from a doorway (presumably a tavern's) to hoist a glass to his comrades; the potentate above him may be the winner of a "parrot shoot," or perhaps one of the theatrical performers who were usually present during fairs.<sup>100</sup>

Bramer's plan lacks two practical features, windows and doors. Light falls mostly from the outer edges of the two side panels, suggesting that windows would have been opposite the main scene. The drinker on the left could not have been painted on an actual door, given the extent of foreground (enough for a fistfight). Perhaps a plan of the lost building, which is not readily available, will clarify Bramer's intentions.

The crowning achievement of Bramer's career as decorator was the set of canvas murals he painted in 1667–69 for the large meeting room called the Grote Zaal (Great Hall) in the Prinsenhof (see figs. 135, 136). To judge from Augustinus Terwesten's later drawing of the room, the main scene appears to have been, once again, a festival set in a city square, namely, the Roman games to which the Sabines were invited.<sup>101</sup> During the late 1650s or early 1660s Bramer made a series of fifty drawings illustrating Livy's *History of Rome* (see cat. nos. 106, 107), in which *The Rape of the Sabines* is included.<sup>102</sup> On the long (north) wall Bramer represented imaginary Roman architecture and what appears to be a running narrative, with a meeting of mounted and standing figures on the left, the Roman surprise in the center, and two or three armored horsemen carrying off women to the right. Why this subject would have been considered suitable for a public meeting and (presumably) banqueting room requires further clarification. That the story involves the founding of a republic does not seem explanation enough.

Over the mantels on the end walls are classical or biblical banquet scenes; the one on the east wall (to the right) has been identified tentatively as *The Marriage at Cana*.<sup>103</sup> To the upper right musicians perform on an illusionistic ledge; below them, two servants carry a basket (perhaps of peat; compare the servant in cat. no. 42) and wood, obviously for the fireplace. Whether the figures in the doorway of the



Fig. 134. Jan van Bronchorst, *Merry Company with a Lute Player*, ca. 1645. Oil on canvas, 55½ x 81 in. (141 x 205.7 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick

east wall were actually painted on the door or are Terwesten's staffage is not clear. (As mentioned above, Bramer painted doors in his neighbor's passageway but the subjects, if any, are unknown.) Portraits hang on the walls that illusionistically recede to either side of the eastern fireplace. On the western wall, illusionistic porticoes also recede to either side of the fireplace and may have seemed to continue its architecture. Servants advance next to the open doorway. The canvas mural to the upper left, with figures at a balcony and receding archways in the background, is the section most reminiscent of illusionistic decorations by Van Honthorst, De Grebber, and Van Couwenbergh (see figs. 130, 12, 66), and it also strongly recalls sixteenth-century Italian precedents such as Veronese's decorations in the Villa Barbaro at Maser.<sup>104</sup> The scenes in the far corners are indecipherable. What Justice and Charity on the near sides of the chimney walls, and Christ ascending amid music-making angels in the flat areas of the wooden ceiling, have to do with the program is difficult to say.<sup>105</sup> Perhaps the whole ensemble was simply given over to scenes of entertainment in which a few morsels of edification might be found.

Bramer's only surviving canvas mural (cat. no. 11) has recently been connected with the commission for the Painted Room in the civic-guard building.<sup>106</sup> The walls were frescoed, but a painting on canvas was installed over the fireplace. However, the exterior of Bramer's sketchy triptych (fig. 132) shows a different and more suitable design for the mantelpiece. Both in subject and scale the mural can be more closely associated with the Prinsenhof project, but it does not appear to have been installed in that space (see the discussion under cat. no. 11).

While much had changed in the art world of Delft since the earlier decades of the century, Bramer's murals are an example of strong continuity between the 1630s and 1660s. We might imagine, for a





Fig. 135. The Great Hall, Prinsenhof, Delft

moment, the impression John Evelyn or another of our seventeenth-century visitors would have gained if he was taken around Delft by a supporter of Bramer's or by Bramer himself. If Pieter Teding van Berkhout (see p. 15) had not visited Vermeer in May 1669, but had gone to see the seventy-three-year-old Bramer finishing his murals in the Prinsenhof, and then to see the Painted Room in the civic-guard building and perhaps some other murals in Delft, he might well have concluded that the grand tradition of decorating palaces, which had been brought from Italy to The Hague and its environs by the late Prince Frederick Hendrick, was still flourishing in Delft. And presumably, if the same gentleman was taken to see Fabritius's mural in the house of Dr. Vallensis, or a similar specimen, he would have

written something in his diary very like what he wrote of Vermeer, that "the most extraordinary and the most curious aspect of [the artist's work] consists in the perspective."<sup>107</sup> But then, the visitor might have said that about Pieter van Bronckhorst's *Judgment of Solomon* (1622; fig. 94) in the town hall, or about a painting by Houckgeest dating from anytime between the 1630s and the 1650s. And, to put it plainly, what else could Teding van Berkhout have said about the *View of Delft through an Imaginary Loggia* that Daniel Vosmaer painted in 1663 (fig. 111)?

### More Curious Perspectives

Jean François Nicéron, the author of a treatise with the catchy title *La Perspective curieuse* (Paris, 1652; 1st ed., 1638), was (according to Martin Kemp) the French theorist who "showed the most up-to-date awareness of the ideas of Galileo, Kepler and Descartes" on optical questions. For instance, the fact that a lens (the cornea) focuses an inverted image on the surface of the retina is demonstrated by illustrating a camera obscura: a "dark room" with a small aperture admitting sunlight and a white sheet serving as a projection screen (see fig. 137, top). That this is reproduced together with examples of how geometric figures appear on a picture plane might be described as symbolic, considering that in Nicéron's treatise "there is no suggestion that Cartesian optics should provide the basis for a new system of pictorial representation." Rather, "the revised conception of the eye is simply used to show that the existing formulas for the perspectival ratios of size and distance are valid." For Kemp, Nicéron's publication serves as a case study pointing to "a broader

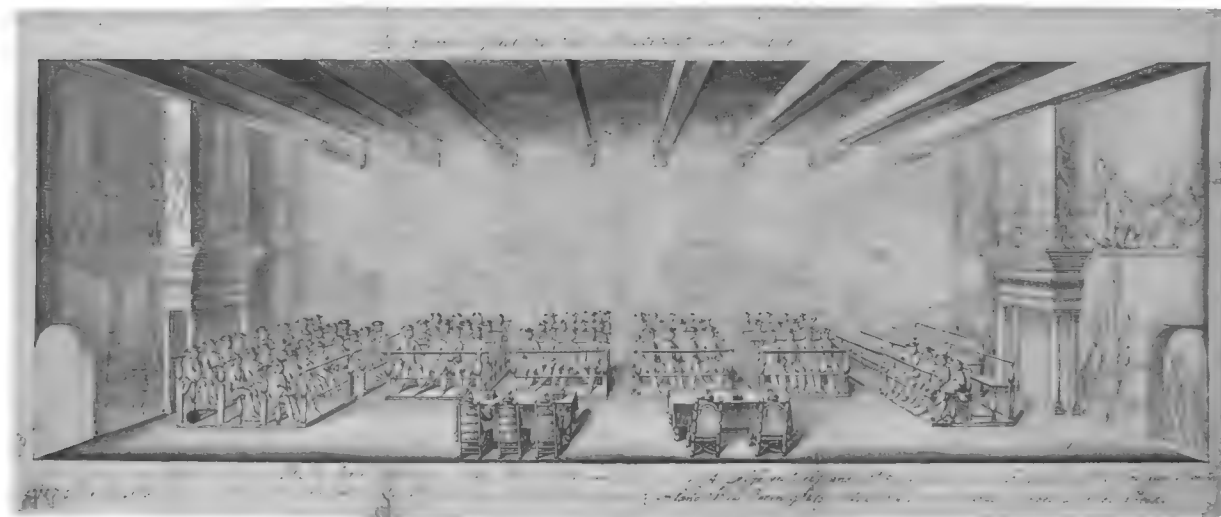


Fig. 136. Augustinus Terwesten, *The Grote Zaal (Great Hall) in the Prinsenhof, Delft*, 1742. Brush and gray ink,  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 20\frac{3}{4}$  in. (11.7 x 51.9 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft. The drawing gives an approximate idea of the canvas murals Leonaert Bramer painted in 1667–69 (see background)

truth—that the most advanced thought of the Scientific Revolution was moving to philosophical and technical positions in the mathematical and physical sciences which took them increasingly beyond the range of ready applicability to the needs of art.<sup>108</sup>

This is more interesting for Delft painters of the 1650s and 1660s than it may at first appear (depending upon one's perspective). For example, in an entry on the Delft school in a recently published encyclopedia of Dutch art, one learns of "optical concerns" in the oeuvres not only of Fabritius and Houckgeest but also of Bramer. Even more surprisingly, "the use of the *camera obscura*" is attributed to Fabritius in *A View in Delft* as well as to Vermeer.<sup>109</sup> Another author concludes that "a typical feature of the Delft school is the use of a camera obscura in order to create the most realistic scene possible."<sup>110</sup>

These remarkable claims, for which there is virtually no evidence, are inspired in part by studies suggesting that Fabritius recorded his townscape while looking through some kind of lens and that Vermeer used a portable camera obscura (if one existed at the time)

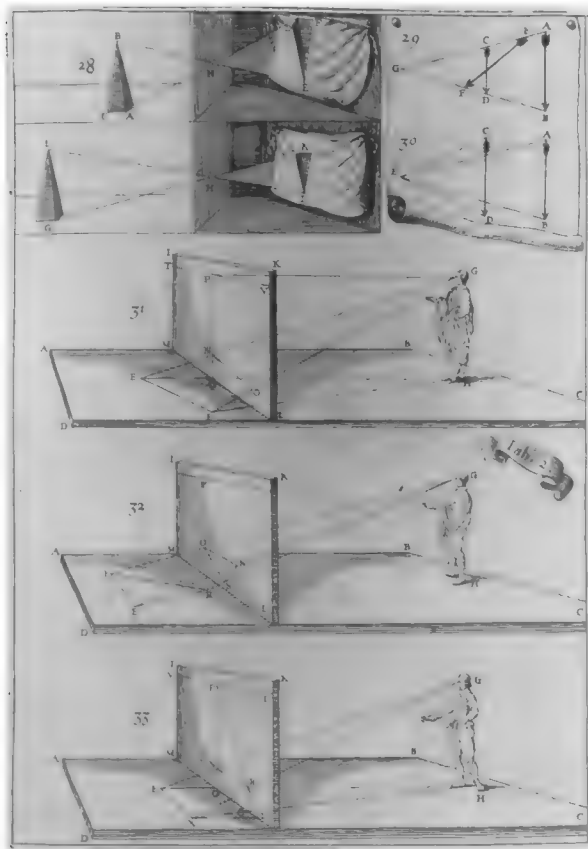


Fig. 137. The camera obscura as an analogy for the human eye and demonstrations of the picture plane. From Jean François Nicéron's treatise on optics, *La Perspective curieuse*, Paris, 1652. Private collection

to arrive at optical effects of light and color in a number of works. According to these hypotheses, the distortions found in *A View in Delft* (if it was mounted on a flat surface) "offered a fascinating alternative to man's normal perception of the visible world," while "Vermeer's interest in the camera obscura seems to have been for its philosophical as well as for its artistic application."<sup>111</sup>

The basic premise of these remarks, that artists like Houckgeest, Fabritius, and Vermeer were interested in the nature of human vision, has much to recommend it. For example, any analysis of the spatial effects in *A View in Delft* will lead one to the conclusion that Fabritius was making an artistic analogy to the wide-angle or "roving" view of normal sight. Similarly, Houckgeest's unusual painting of the ambulatory in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft (cat. no. 39), records a panorama nearly 105 degrees wide, that is, 15 degrees more than the difference between looking directly to the west (toward the extreme left in this picture) and looking directly northward (toward the column on the right). Even more than a landscapist, a draftsman who attempted to record such a sweeping view in an actual church interior would have been keenly aware that normal vision did not conform to the assumptions of an orthodox perspective scheme (namely, a fixed view in one direction). Saenredam addressed the problem in many of his drawings and made the wide-angle distortions in the corresponding paintings a graceful component of his style.<sup>112</sup>

Vermeer's interest in optical effects has often been discussed and will be considered occasionally in this catalogue. His close points of view result in sudden shifts in space and steep perspectives, as seen in pictures as various as *The Procureess* (cat. no. 66), *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67), the *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165, where the apparent change in figure scale has been compared with similar effects in photographs), and *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168). Changes in focus (sometimes described as "depth of field"), unusual tonalities, and extraordinary effects of light (all of which are found in *Girl with a Red Hat*, cat. no. 74) also testify to Vermeer's fascination with how things actually appear.

However, to suggest that these enthusiasms reflect some sort of philosophy or reveal an interest in optics comparable with Descartes's is to drop a lot of baggage at doorsteps in Delft. The "optical" effects in the pictures just cited may have implied a little learning but were intended mainly as virtuoso displays of artifice, a way of amusing the mind while deceiving the eye. Even scientific instruments were appreciated by amateurs in a similar light, as sources of "intellectual delight" and as "intellectual toys suitable for a royal *wunderkammer* or *cabinet* of curiosities."<sup>113</sup>

One of our visitors to Delft, Samuel Pepys, expressed wonder at the void between scientific knowledge and the understanding of hobbyists like himself. In 1666 he had two prominent makers of optical instruments, Richard Reeve and John Sprong, to his house for a meal and then "to our business of my Microscope . . . and then down to my



Fig. 138. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *View down a Corridor*, 1662. Oil on canvas, 103 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 53 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (264 x 136.5 cm). Dyrham Park, The Blathwayt Collection (The National Trust)

office to look in a dark room with my glasses and Tube, and most excellently things appeared indeed, beyond imagination." After another visit from Reeve, during which Jupiter was studied with Pepys's "12-foot glass," the diarist lamented that he had learned nothing from his guest about the principles of optics, because the latter, although lens maker to the king, himself understood "the acting part but not one bit the theory . . . which is a strange dullness methinks."<sup>114</sup>

Actually, it was a fairly common dullness, to judge from the remarks of contemporary specialists and of amateurs such as Huygens.<sup>115</sup> Indeed, Huygens himself considered Kepler's *Dioptrice* to consist of "vague speculations," and he found "little satisfaction" in the writings of Guidobaldo and Galileo, who (he unwisely informed Descartes) envelop themselves in "obscure superfluities."<sup>116</sup> In other words, the pioneering essays on optics went over Huygens's head, or were too much in conflict with his acceptance, in several areas of science, of traditional authority.

Pepys's frustration with Mr. Reeve reflects the fact that he had been dabbling in curiosities for some time. Earlier in 1666 he was delighted with the dinner conversation of William Brouncker, the first president of the Royal Society, who told him of the "art of drawing pictures by Prince Roberts [Prince Rupert, first cousin of Charles II] rule and machine, and another of Dr. [Sir Christopher] Wren's; but he says nothing doth like Squares [the perspective frame], or, which is the best in the world, like a darke roome—which pleased me mightily."<sup>117</sup>

Pepys had purchased a microscope and his "Tube" (which came with various lenses) from Reeve in August 1664. For the microscope Pepys paid "5/ 10s., a great price; but a most curious bauble it is." The other instrument, a "Scotoscope," Reeve threw in for free, but Pepys considered it "of value; and a curious curiosity it is to [see] objects in a dark room with. Mightily pleased with this."<sup>118</sup>

Pepys's interest in optics ran more or less parallel to his enthusiasm for trompe-l'oeil works of art. He mentions a "letter rack" still life with "several things painted on a deal Board" (which turned out to be "only the picture of a board" on canvas); the drops of dew in a flower picture by Simon Verelst ("I was forced again and again to put my finger to it to feel whether my eyes were deceived or no"); and, among all the "incomparable pictures" in the king's cabinet, "a book upon a deske which I durst have sworn was a reall book."<sup>119</sup> Similarly, on January 19, 1663, when Pepys went to dinner at the house of Thomas Povey (the duke of York's treasurer), the pair proceeded "from room to room, so beset with delicate pictures, and above all, a piece of per[s]pective in his closet in his low parlor." A week later (January 26), Pepys again dined at Povey's, and "above all things, I do the most admire his piece of perspective especially, he opening me the closet door and there I saw that there is nothing but only a plain picture hung upon the wall." As is well known, the "perspective" owned by Povey was the *View down a Corridor* that Van Hoogstraten painted in London in 1662 (fig. 138).<sup>120</sup>

A very different view down a corridor was painted by Nicéron in 1642 when this Minim monk was residing at the convent of Santissima Trinità dei Monti in Rome (fig. 139). As one walked along the hundred-foot gallery on an upper floor there would have been no sign that the peculiar painting on the wall was anything but an ill-conceived landscape. But upon entering or turning back at the door

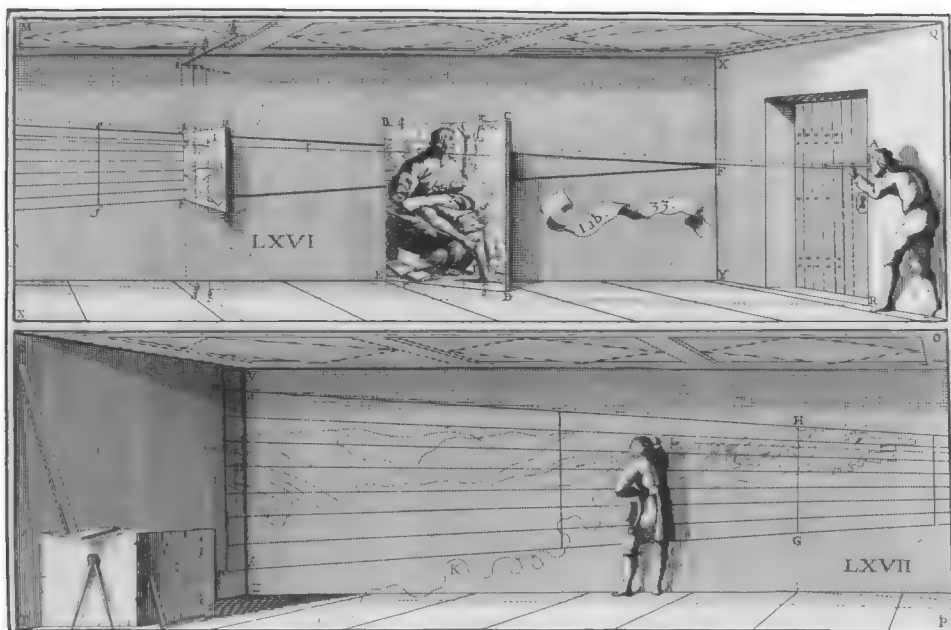


Fig. 139. Demonstration of the method used by Nicéron for his anamorphic wall painting of *Saint John the Evangelist* (1642) in the convent of Santissima Trinità dei Monti, Rome. From Jean François Nicéron's treatise on optics, *La Perspective curieuse*, Paris, 1652. Private collection

one saw a vision, a kind of revelation of Saint John the Evangelist, floating in space and, given its scale, obscuring most of the wall. There is no evidence that Fabritius and Bramer ever painted anamorphic murals like this one, as opposed to scenes in conventional perspective. But they would have admired the many examples of anamorphic images that were published in the second part of Nicéron's book (*Thaumaturgus Opticus*, 1646; translated as *La Perspective curieuse*), and they would have understood that (as Van Hoogstraten explained) "through the knowledge of this science one also makes the wonderful perspective box." We could say in summary that Nicéron and Pepys define the approximate limits of an international development, with serious scholars (and theologians) at one extreme, and "curious" gentlemen at the other.<sup>121</sup> Just where in the middle the different Delft painters can be placed will continue to be debated, but it is clear that their patrons were people like Povey and Pepys.

Fabritius was probably not the only Delft painter who made perspective boxes, although he and especially Van Hoogstraten are the only artists to whom they have been convincingly attributed. Included in this catalogue is an entertaining drawing by Bramer that most likely was intended as a study for the exterior of some kind of peepshow or perspective box (cat. no. 108). It seems much less certain, but plausible, that the two sides of a sheet in Amsterdam (cat. no. 109) are alternative ideas for the inside of a perspective box, probably of rectangular design like Van Hoogstraten's in London (fig. 125). As in that interior, furniture and other forms are arranged around the walls (where a chair or viol could be projected on two

or three surfaces), except for objects like the lute which—like the viola da gamba in *A View in Delft* (cat. no. 18; fig. 238)—might have been projected anamorphically on the floor.

Both the Düsseldorf and the Amsterdam designs (cat. nos. 108, 109) are on pieced-together supports, suggesting that they are some kind of preparatory material, which the present writer would date to about 1660.<sup>122</sup> It has also been suggested that the Amsterdam drawings might be designs for a mural in a private house.<sup>123</sup> In any case, the two sides are more closely related than might at first appear: each drawing includes a receding wall and chair on the left; a central musician and foreshortened instruments on the table; a woman at a virginal to one side, in each case with a male figure looking on; a musical motif (a lute, or songbooks on a stool) in the right foreground; and a barking dog, dashing hopes of harmony. Curiously, from the perch of the parrot on the back of a chair (on the recto), one would have a view toward the woman at the virginal similar to that in *The Music Lesson* by Vermeer (fig. 168). Of course, one has to make certain allowances: an out-of-scale musician in the middle of the view; a wall to the right, not left; the viol moved to another position; and a little menagerie, including a chained monkey instead of the imprisoned Cimon, suggesting the bonds of love.

A surviving perspective box that may have come from Delft, or rather a pair of them, are the pendant examples representing Protestant and Catholic churches, in the Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen (figs. 140, 141). The architecture in the Protestant box bears a resemblance to that of the Oude Kerk in Delft, where this kind of



Fig. 140. Circle of Hendrick van Vliet, *Exterior of a Perspective Box Representing a Protestant Church Interior*, probably 1660s. Oil on wood, height 46 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (119 cm). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen

centralized composition was painted in the early 1660s. Accordingly, the present writer once attributed the two church interiors to Van Vliet, but now this seems far from certain.<sup>124</sup> Another candidate might be Louys Elsevier, who some years earlier painted the *Oude Kerk* in another kind of *perspective curieuse* (see cat. no. 16).

From the present vantage point there appear to have been two periods in Delft when "perspectives" of various kinds were especially popular, about 1650–54 and in the early 1660s. This may be a false impression, but it is consistent with the facts that Houckgeest and De Witte departed the city by 1652 and that Fabritius died in 1654. This left only Hendrick van Vliet as a specialist in perspective, although by the late 1650s or early 1660s De Hooch (as in cat. no. 29), Vermeer (cat. no. 70; fig. 168), Bramer (fig. 133), Coesermans (fig. 142; cat. no. 13), and Daniel Vosmaer (fig. 111) could be considered enthusiasts (Pieter Teding van Berkhout might have declared the work of any one of them "most curious" for the perspective).

A few documents concerning the ownership of a picture suggest that Daniel Vosmaer's interest in artificial perspective may have gone back to the years in which Fabritius worked in Delft. In about 1652, evidently, Fabritius contributed some sketching in chalk and re-touching to a "large" painting by Daniel Vosmaer and his brother Nicolaes (chalk could have been used for corrective as well as preparatory work).<sup>125</sup> The same picture appears to have been hanging in the town hall of Delft at the time of a deposition dated February 7, 1653, that had to do with Fabritius's promising to pay his debt to Jasper de Potter.<sup>126</sup> In 1666 the picture was in the Prinsenhof and was



Fig. 141. Circle of Hendrick van Vliet, *Perspective Box Representing a Protestant Church Interior*, probably 1660s. Oil on two wood panels, each 46 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 29 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (119 x 75 cm). Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen





Fig. 142. Johannes Coesermans, *An Ideal Townscape in Dutch Classicist Style*, 1664. Pen painting in grisaille on wood, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 7 in. (20 x 17.7 cm). Private collection, the Netherlands

described as a “landscape” to which Nicolaes Vosmaer had contributed “the sea and ships” and Fabritius the “drawing and retouching.” The seeming non sequitur of a landscape with a “sea and ships” (the terms are those of a notary who did not have the painting in front of him) might be resolved by assuming that the painting depicted one of Daniel Vosmaer’s usual subjects, namely, a view of a city from outside the walls, with water and boats in the foreground, as in his *Harbor at Delft* in Puerto Rico (cat. no. 86). That canvas itself reveals *pentimenti*, although it seems doubtful that it could date from the early 1650s. However, the subject is certainly appropriate

for a picture that is said to have hung for about a decade in the town hall of Delft.<sup>127</sup>

A number of Delft paintings dating from about 1662–64 feature forced perspectives, as in Van Vlier’s views in the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk from the western doors (see cat. no. 84), the few known architectural pictures by Coesermans (see cat. no. 13; fig. 142), and *The Music Lesson* by Vermeer (fig. 168). Van Hoogstraten’s *View down a Corridor* (fig. 138) dates from 1662, and many other examples could be cited to suggest that this was a trend at the time, not only in Delft but also in Rotterdam, Dordrecht, Middelburg, and Antwerp. This may partly explain why Daniel Vosmaer, whose understanding of perspective practice was very limited, made such a show of it in his *View of Delft through an Imaginary Loggia*, dated 1663 (figs. III, 342). For all we know, some lost work by Fabritius or another artist may have inspired the picture’s peculiar composition. It was recently observed that the “loggia,” with its simple columns, arches, and black and white tiles, comes rather close in design to a gallery in the town hall where the tribunal was housed.<sup>128</sup> The vaults are different but might have been derived from Houckgeest’s view of the Nieuwe Kerk’s ambulatory (see cat. no. 39, upper left) or from the church itself. What has never been suggested, apparently, is that this is not a view of Delft through a loggia at all, but a *modello* for a room with a view of Delft painted on the walls. The scheme would have drastic drawbacks, which would be obvious as one moved about the room, but it is not clear that Vosmaer (whose floor tiles are out of control) was prepared to anticipate them. Another glance at the 100-foot hallway painted by Nicéron (fig. 139, which, by the way, faced a similar anamorphic painting by Emmanuel Maignan)<sup>129</sup> and a peep into Fabritius’s perspective box (figs. 240, 241), suggest that such a mural by Vosmaer would have been extremely ill-advised and possible at the time. Of course it never happened, as is known from Van Bleyswijck’s tour of the town hall and from other sources (or the lack of them). In the meantime, Bramer was painting a large room in the civic-guard headquarters with floor-to-ceiling murals done in the true fresco technique (see fig. 133). One cannot say that Delft artists never took risks.



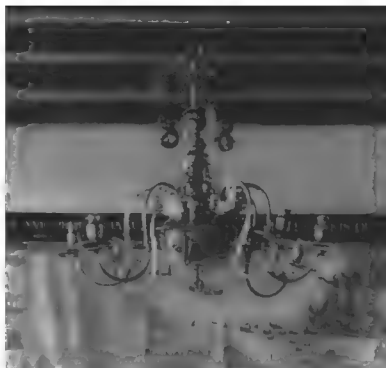
## 5. Genre Painting in Delft after 1650: *De Hooch and Vermeer*

WALTER LIEDTKE

IF ONE HAD TO NAME a single category of subject matter that best represented the Delft school in the third quarter of the century, it would not be townscape or architectural painting (especially after 1652), and certainly not landscape, still life, or portraiture, but of course genre painting, "scenes of everyday life."<sup>1</sup> One might even say this is true solely on the strength of pictures by De Hooch and Vermeer. However, the broad category also includes peasant scenes by Van der Poel (see cat. no. 52), who moved to Rotterdam in 1655; Palamedesz's guardroom and domestic interiors of the 1650s and 1660s; Hendrick van der Burch's tavern scenes of the early 1650s;<sup>2</sup> Cornelis de Man's genre paintings, which date from about 1660 onward (see cat. no. 42); and Johannes Verkolje's pictures of elegant couples, which date from the year he joined the Delft guild, 1673, and later (see cat. no. 63).

Some readers, especially those with clear memories of the exhibition "Delft Masters" at the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft, in 1996, will probably miss from this roster several painters who were well represented on that occasion.<sup>3</sup> But none of the artists who have been placed in the so-called School of Pieter de Hooch—for example, Cornelis Bisschop, Esaias Boursse, Pieter Janssens Elinga, Ludolf de Jongh, Jacob Ochtervelt, Jacobus Vrel, Van der Burch, and De Man—is known to have studied with that master, and only the last two were from Delft or the immediate area.<sup>4</sup> Of course, the comparison of genre painters who actually worked in the city with those who practiced elsewhere helps to place the Delft school in a broader context. But that goal is better realized in an essay than in an exhibition space.

Even De Hooch's probable brother-in-law, Van der Burch, is a marginal case, although he grew up near Delft, lived there throughout



Detail, *The Art of Painting* (cat. no. 76)

his teenage years, joined the painters' guild in 1649 at the age of twenty-one, and worked in the city until 1655. He settled in Leiden before De Hooch joined the guild in Delft (September 20, 1655) and moved on to Amsterdam in 1659. Van der Burch was again recorded in Leiden in 1661 and 1662, and paid dues to that city's guild in 1663. His last known child was baptized in Leiden in 1666, after which no further biographical details (including the date and place of his death) are known. Thus, all of the paintings by Van der Burch that remind one of De Hooch (after the De Jongh-style tavern scenes of

the early 1650s) were painted either in Leiden or in Amsterdam, and simply reflect the influence of De Hooch (as in cat. no. 12), De Jongh, Metsu, and others.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to these qualifications, two others might be borne in mind when discussing the genre painters of Delft. First, there is the question of who purchased pictures of contemporary life. In his sampling of Delft inventories Montias found that genre paintings of all kinds comprised the following percentages of all pictures per decade: 4.6 percent in the 1620s; 4.6 percent in the 1630s; 3.7 percent in the 1640s; 4.9 percent in the 1650s; 4.8 percent in the 1660s; and 7.4 percent in the 1670s.<sup>6</sup> This was before Montias discovered Vermeer's patron Van Ruijven, whose collection would have added perhaps 2 percent to the figures for the 1660s and 1670s. It should also be noted that these percentages include genre paintings from all over, not just those by local artists. Nonetheless, with everything taken into account, it is remarkable that the percentages do not increase at all (allowing for statistical error) between 1620 and 1670. Of course, a genre painting of the 1620s, by Van Couwenbergh, Van Vliet, Van Honthorst, or whomever, might be listed in later decades, and in general there must be some lag in time (about a decade?) between when a certain kind of picture was painted or purchased and when it turned up in an inventory (often an estate). This still leaves one with

Opposite: Fig. 143. Detail, Johannes Vermeer, *The Art of Painting*, ca. 1666–68 (cat. no. 76)

the impression that the number of newly made genre pictures actually dropped significantly in the 1650s and 1660s. In the same period the percentage of still lifes in Delft collections went up, from 10–12 percent between 1620 and 1650 to 13.7 percent, 15.4 percent, and 16.7 percent in the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s, respectively. Landscapes also increased, from an average of about 26 percent in the period 1620–50, to 33.9 percent, 38.6 percent, and 40.9 percent between 1650 and 1679. As might be expected, religious pictures became less common in Delft inventories, dropping from nearly one-third of a household's pictures in the first third of the century to about one-fifth in the 1640s and one-sixth between 1650 and 1670. The figures for portraits are quite uneven, rising from 13.7 percent in the period 1620–40 to 21.8 percent in the 1640s, and then declining to only 12.2 percent in the 1660s.

These figures are difficult to interpret and must be compared with trends throughout the northern Netherlands.<sup>7</sup> However, one need not sample scores of inventories to know that genre scenes in general, and especially “conversation pieces” of the kind painted by Ter Borch, Metsu, Van Mieris, and (from the late 1650s onward) De Hooch and Vermeer, became more popular in the third quarter of the century. Thus it would appear that many of the genre paintings that were produced in Delft during the 1650s and 1660s went to collectors in other cities. Montias himself observes that in Delft inventories “society pieces (*geselschapjes*), brothels, and card players make up less than 10 percent of all genre pieces from the 1610s to the 1640s. In the 1650s they reach a share of nearly 30 percent [of all kinds of genre scenes], dropping again to 24 percent in the 1660s and 21 percent in the 1670s” (which does not take into account Vermeer).<sup>8</sup> This supports the commonsensical conclusion that pictures of modern society traveled well, which is also suggested by a review of artists' careers in this period: the known sales and movements of painters such as Ter Borch, Jacob Duck, Van Hoogstraten, Metsu, Van Mieris, Netscher, Steen, and so on. Finally, we need only remind ourselves, in this context, of the “School of Pieter de Hooch,” that is, a group of painters whose subjects and styles have reminded later critics of that “typical” painter of Delft but who worked for the most part in other places: Van der Burch in Leiden and Amsterdam; De Jongh and Ochtervelt in Rotterdam; Boursse and Janssens Elinga in Amsterdam; De Hooch himself in Amsterdam, after his five years (approximately) as a member of the Delft painters' guild; and Vrel (although his similarity to De Hooch seems debatable), whose place of work is unknown but not likely to have been near Delft.<sup>9</sup>

We arrive, then, at our second qualification or question, which concerns the supply side of the art market rather than demand. Can we consider the genre scenes that were painted in Delft during the third quarter of the century typical of the Delft school in any meaningful way, given that many of them not only appealed to purchasers in other cities but also shared many characteristics with genre paintings

produced elsewhere? The artists who have been grouped together as the “School of De Hooch” include some who, like Van der Burch, were certainly influenced by him, but also others like De Jongh, who influenced De Hooch or shared ideas with him. On the basis of these comparisons it could be argued that De Hooch was, in the 1650s, a painter whose subjects and style represent a regional not a local development, and that whatever distinguished him from an artist like De Jongh was largely personal (quite as Houckgeest differed from De Witte in the same years). There is no simple answer to these questions, nor should there be, because this complex material, which weaves together local and regional traditions, social and economic factors, individual contributions, and sheer chance, can never be reduced to a historical outline. Logic gets in the way of intuition, which suggests that De Hooch was in some ways typical of Delft, in others not really; and that Vermeer, whose mature paintings cannot be categorized, would not have become the same artist had he worked in another time or place.

### *Pieter de Hooch in Delft*

De Hooch was the son of a master bricklayer and a midwife in Rotterdam, where the future painter was baptized on December 20, 1629. According to Arnold Houbraken, De Hooch and Ochtervelt were co-pupils of the Italianate landscapist Nicolaes Berchem, who worked in his native Haarlem. De Hooch was first mentioned as a resident of Delft in August 1652, when he signed a document with the slightly older painter Hendrick van der Burch (1627–after 1666). In May 1653 the sheriff of The Hague ruled that the possessions of a runaway servant would be sold at auction, except for a coat and two shirts, which were to replace the stolen coat of another “servant” (*dienaar*), called “de Hooch, painter.” This does not imply that the artist worked as a household servant, but probably means that he exchanged paintings for room and board, or for a modest income. His patron, Justus de la Grange (also known as Justinius de la Oranje), was a linen merchant who had residences in Leiden, Delft, and around The Hague. An inventory of his collection dated August 28, 1655, lists sixty-six paintings, including four by Lievens and eleven by De Hooch. By 1655–56 De la Grange was a ruined man. In the 1660s he went to America, leaving his family in poverty.<sup>10</sup>

De Hooch was living in Rotterdam (probably in his father's house) when, in April 1654, he posted the banns of his marriage to Jannetje (Anna) van der Burch of Delft. She was undoubtedly the daughter of the candlemaker Rochus van der Burch and the sister or stepsister of Hendrick van der Burch.<sup>11</sup> When De Hooch joined the Delft painters' guild on September 20, 1655, he paid 3 of the 12 guilders due from an outsider. He made partial payments to the guild in 1656 and 1657 but otherwise is documented in Delft almost solely by pictures including Delft motifs (as in cat. nos. 27, 30, 31).





Fig. 144. Pieter de Hooch, *The Empty Glass*, ca. 1653–54. Oil on wood, 17¼ x 13¼ in. (44 x 35 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam





Fig. 145. Hendrick Sorgh, *Barn Interior with Amorous Couple*, ca. 1642. Oil on wood, 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (46.5 x 68 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

A daughter of the De Hoochs was baptized on November 14, 1656, in the Oude Kerk, Delft. The baptism of another daughter, on April 15, 1661, took place in the Westerkerk, Amsterdam. It has been suggested plausibly that the family was living in Amsterdam by April 4, 1660, when De Hooch's wife witnessed the baptism of her brother's son in the Westerkerk.<sup>12</sup>

De Hooch's earliest known paintings probably date from about 1653–54, when he was working for De la Grange and (in 1654) living in Rotterdam. Inn scenes such as the *Trictrac Players* in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, and *The Empty Glass* in Rotterdam (fig. 144) have been compared with a wide range of tavern interiors, including approximately contemporary works by Ter Borch and Van den Eeckhout.<sup>13</sup> De Hooch's tonal palette of browns and yellows and to some extent his chiaroscuro effects remind one of Pieter Codde, Jan Miense Molenaer, and other artists working in Haarlem or Amsterdam. But his subjects and excitable figure types, with limbs lunging, heads turning, eyes staring, and glasses held high (see cat. nos. 23, 24), have been more closely associated with painters in Rotterdam such as Pieter de Bloot, Cornelis Saftleven, Hendrick Sorgh (see fig. 145), and Ludolf de Jongh.<sup>14</sup> Pictures by De Jongh like *The Reprimand* (fig. 146) were certainly De Hooch's most immediate models, in both date and style. In that skillfully arranged composition, the strong recession conspires with the lighting scheme to draw attention to the pretty maid, who smilingly scolds the most innocent person in the place.<sup>15</sup>

According to Houbraken, De Jongh (1616–1679) studied with Saftleven in Rotterdam as well as with Anthonie Palamedesz in Delft



Fig. 146. Ludolf de Jongh, *The Reprimand*, ca. 1650. Oil on wood, 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (50.5 x 43.5 cm). Location unknown (photo courtesy Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague)

and Jan van Bijlert in Utrecht. He spent seven years in France, from 1635 until about 1642, and then returned to Rotterdam. In the summer of 1652, when the city was looking for “an able and qualified person who commands respect” to serve as major of the civic guard, De Jongh was named to the post. He and his wife had just purchased a house on the Hoogstraat, one of the best addresses in town, with 5,600 guilders advanced by a burgomaster and two other prominent citizens. De Jongh painted fashionable portraits as well as genre scenes, pastoral landscapes (a few with Diana and her companions), and, according to Gerard van Spaan (1698), wall decorations.<sup>16</sup> It is not surprising that De Hooch borrowed ideas from such a successful artist as De Jongh, who was thirteen years his senior. Furthermore, notwithstanding Palamedesz’s prominence in Delft, there was a much stronger tradition of genre painting in Rotterdam, going back to Willem Buytewech (1591/92–1624) and continuing from the 1630s onward with De Bloot, Cornelis and Herman Saftleven, Sorgh, De Jongh, Ochtervelt, and others. Roland Fleischer reasonably wondered whether De Hooch and Ochtervelt “served an apprenticeship with de Jongh or merely found his work worthy of emulation.”<sup>17</sup>

Cornelis Saftleven (ca. 1607–1681) also appears to have influenced De Hooch in works of the early 1650s, such as *A Soldier Smoking* (Philadelphia Museum of Art) and the possible self-portrait in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>18</sup> De Hooch’s one known attempt at history painting, a *Liberation of Saint Peter* of about 1653 (fig. 74), is composed and illuminated like Saftleven’s hell scenes and “animal allegories” of twenty years earlier.<sup>19</sup> When he published the picture for the first time, Sutton observed that “the additive appearance of the composition seems to reflect the thinking of a young artist working from multiple and only partially absorbed sources,” which he detected in Van Honthorst, Ter Brugghen, Bramer, and (less convincingly) Barent and Carel Fabritius.<sup>20</sup> What is most interesting about the work’s style, which is close to that of De Hooch’s darker tavern interiors of the early 1650s, is that it follows the regional tradition of Caravaggesque and related night scenes, as seen in paintings by Van Couwenbergh and Willem van Vliet (figs. 55, 56, 65); by Bramer, Hendrick van Vliet, and De Witte (figs. 69, 70, 73); and by Rotterdam artists such as Crijn Volmarijn (fig. 57), Saftleven, and De Jongh.

A panel in the Hermitage, *A Man Offering a Glass of Wine to a Woman* (cat. no. 24), is one of several works by De Hooch that raise the question of what is typical of Delft, as opposed to the southern part of Holland or for that matter all of the province in the 1650s. Similar inn scenes, with figures and space arranged approximately as in this example, were painted by De Hooch and Van der Burch during the early to mid-1650s. In a survey of the Delft school alone, one might observe how the two painters shared ideas, and how De Hooch in particular modified them, so that this type of picture evolved into his early domestic interiors, like *The Visit* of about 1657 (cat. no. 25).



Fig. 147. Hendrick van der Burch, *An Officer and a Standing Woman*, ca. 1665. Oil on canvas, 22 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (57.8 x 64.1 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, The William L. Elkins Collection

In Van der Burch’s *Officer and a Standing Woman* of the 1660s (fig. 147), one discovers a very different environment, described in a more meticulous and colorful style, which nonetheless employs a compositional design similar (except for the wall on the right) to the one De Hooch used in the Hermitage picture of a decade earlier (cat. no. 24). Closer precedents for the arrangement of Van der Burch’s fancy room are found in paintings by De Hooch dating from the early 1660s, such as the interior with figures in the Lehman Collection (fig. 160).

All this could be seen as the gradual formation of a “Delft type” of genre interior,<sup>21</sup> and as one of De Hooch’s contributions to the local school. Indeed, scholars have done so, in some instances to explain what Vermeer, in a few paintings of about 1658–60 (for example, cat. no. 70), appears to have learned from De Hooch. The latter’s paintings of about 1657–58, like the canvas in London with a “merry company” and a maid (cat. no. 29), have been called the “external impulse” that enabled the slightly younger Vermeer to arrive at his “perfect synthesis of illusionism and ‘classical’ composition.” Supposedly, “we do not know to what extent De Hooch had adopted the new Delft manner [from whom?] in the years before his earliest dated works, 1658,” but to judge from his known works dating from about 1655 to 1657, “his artistic career seems to have been a long, arduous trek to a peak.”<sup>22</sup>

If this hypothesis sounds plausible to the reader, then he or she will be prepared to “imagine what a sensation one of De Hooch’s early masterpieces of around 1658 must have caused!”<sup>23</sup> But is it likely that De Hooch emerged from the studio with a work that amazed



Fig. 148. Pieter de Hooch, *A Soldier with Dead Birds and Other Figures in a Stable*, ca. 1656. Oil on wood, 21 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (53.5 x 49.7 cm). The National Gallery, London

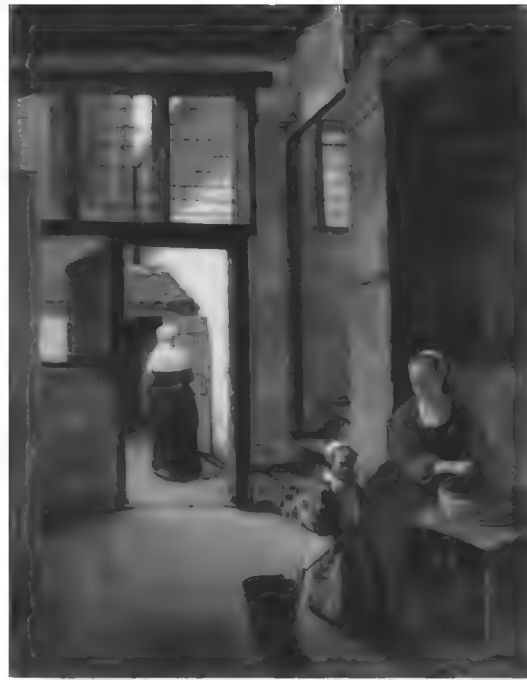


Fig. 149. Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman Preparing Vegetables with a Child*, ca. 1657. Oil on wood, 23 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (60 x 49 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

his fellow guild members, considering that he was painting pictures for the open market and that artists in nearby cities, such as Quiringh van Brekelenkam and Isaack Koedijck in Leiden, had employed this type of composition five or ten years earlier? The textbook perspective projection creates a cubicle of space that is actually less accessible and naturalistic than interiors already painted by Van Brekelenkam, Ter Borch, Duck, Maes, and a number of other artists, some of whom also surpassed De Hooch (at least in the London picture) in their descriptions of daylight and atmosphere.<sup>24</sup>

In the early 1900s *The Empty Glass* in Rotterdam (fig. 144) and *A Man Offering a Glass of Wine to a Woman* (cat. no. 24) were considered works by Metsu during his Leiden years (about 1652–57); the latter picture was included in a monograph on Metsu as recently as 1974.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps the Hermitage panel went unrecognized as a De Hooch because it was directly modeled upon De Jongh, whose similar genre scenes were little known until the 1980s. Not only the composition but also the lighting, the strong modeling, and even the facial types recall De Jongh's work of about the same time or slightly earlier (see fig. 250). There is no question about De Hooch's authorship, but other paintings that were long considered typical of his early period have only recently been assigned to their actual maker, De Jongh.<sup>26</sup>

De Hooch's work during his Delft period, 1655–60, is well represented in this exhibition, and much of what he achieved is best left

for consideration in the catalogue entries. However, some discussion of how he represents the Delft school is appropriate here.

Despite the criticism offered above, there is some truth to the image of De Hooch's "long, arduous trek" toward his masterworks



Fig. 150. Anonymous after Adriaen van de Venne, *Man Entering a Painter's Workshop*. Engraving, 4 x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (10.2 x 13.4 cm). From Jacob Cats, *Houwelyck. Dat is de gansche gelegentheit des echten staets*, Middelburg, 1625. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acquired through a fund provided by Jane E. Andrews in memory of her husband William Loring Andrews

of the late 1650s (for example, cat. nos. 28–34). Like De Witte to some extent (see cat. nos. 91, 92), De Hooch had a certain native ability, a sensitivity to qualities of light and space and their suggestion of mood, but he was not quick to see the value of formal ideas. In this he was almost the opposite of Vermeer, who could adopt pictorial conventions so effortlessly that they look like products of his own imagination or independent observations of the environment. De Hooch required patterns like those he discovered in De Jongh to guide him in adopting current conventions, rather as De Witte needed Houckgeest's example when he first turned to the representation of church interiors.

What one most admires in De Hooch are qualities that seem intangible, intuitive, even inarticulate. Like the mother and the child with a puppy in one of De Hooch's classic pictures of 1658 (cat. no. 28), the interior itself seems to promise comfort and protection, while the light stroking (as if feeling) different surfaces suggests pleasure in the beauty of ordinary things. De Hooch did not borrow these expressive qualities from anyone, but he did gradually learn to convey them effectively. Slightly earlier domestic scenes by Nicolaes Maes (see fig. 281) would have helped De Hooch to appreciate the importance of the figures' scale and placement in the room (they could be huddled in a manger); of their nearness to the viewer, whose attention is focused by the perspective scheme; and of dividing the space into small rectangular units, which enhances the sense of order and intimacy. De Hooch had a natural gift for certain kinds of visual language—light, space, proportion—which needed only some lessons in grammar, and a little experience, to grow eloquent on its own.

The refinement of this sensibility may be followed in works like the stable scene in the National Gallery, London (fig. 148), and the kitchen interior in the Louvre (fig. 149), which date from about 1656 and about 1657, respectively.<sup>27</sup> De Jongh's demonstrative figures were not the best models for an artist of De Hooch's temperament. He found more suitable sources in domestic interiors by Van Brekelenkam (who worked in Leiden), Maes (in Dordrecht; see fig. 281), and Sorgh (in Rotterdam; see fig. 145).<sup>28</sup> Of course, these artists would have been of interest to De Hooch not only for compositional ideas but also (and in some cases primarily) for their subject matter, their homages to wives and mothers, diligent maids, honest craftsmen (like Van Brekelenkam's tailors), and well-behaved children. These themes were increasingly popular in the 1650s, presumably because the generally strong economy allowed middle-class patrons to purchase works expressing their own values. To some extent this explains De Hooch's apparent interest in Adriaen van de Venne, the painter and engraver who depicted court society in The Hague (see fig. 150). The many illustrations of middle-class life that Van de Venne made to accompany Jacob Cats's edifying social tracts sometimes anticipate compositions by De Hooch, and they even developed stylistically along similar lines (for the most part in earlier decades).<sup>29</sup>



Fig. 151. Attributed to Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger, *The Lute Player*, ca. 1615. Oil on wood, 25 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (65 x 64 cm). Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

In a broad survey of these various artists, and others who painted similar compositions (like Duck and Koedijck), it becomes clear that the "Delft type" of interior which scholars once assumed to be De Hooch's invention (perhaps with a little help from Maes, Fabritius, or even Vermeer) was a variation of a regional type: a tradition of depicting contemporary life that flourished in the area of Rotterdam, Dordrecht, The Hague, Delft, and Leiden. As in other specialties such as portraiture, landscape, still life, and architectural views, genre paintings produced in the South Holland area (to employ, for convenience, the name of the future province as a geographic term) had strong roots in Antwerp. This is evident not only in the aristocratic interiors represented by Van Bassen, Van Delen, Van Steenwyck, and others (see figs. 92, 93, 151; cat. no. 7) but also in what Wolfgang Schulz describes as "South Holland peasant scenes."<sup>30</sup> The term refers to the same Rotterdam artists—De Bloot, the Saftlevens, and Sorgh—whom an earlier scholar called a "Dutch Teniers group," because their orderly peasants and boxy interiors bring to mind that famous Antwerp master (and others as well, such as Joos van Craesbeeck, Willem van Herp, and David Rijckaert III).<sup>31</sup> Figures and settings of a more patrician kind were depicted by Flemish painters such as Erasmus Quellinus and especially Gonzales Coques (see fig. 152), as well as by a number of Antwerp printmakers. In the case of Coques there may be a direct connection to Delft, considering that he worked for Frederick Hendrick and Amalia van Solms in about 1645–48 (he received a gold chain from the stadholder in 1647), and he also acted as an agent for the Antwerp art dealer Matthijs Musson, who did



Fig. 152. Gonzales Coques, *The Duet*, ca. 1640. Oil on wood, 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. (39 x 57 cm). Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels

business with a dealer in Delft (Abraham de Cooge; see p. 9).<sup>32</sup> But it hardly matters whether De Hooch or Vermeer was familiar with Coques's elegant drawing rooms, since even the most similar compositions dating from the 1630s to the 1660s are best understood as samples selected almost at random from a long tradition of representing everyday life in the Netherlands, or, more precisely, in South Holland, Zeeland (Van Delen's Middelburg), Flanders, and Brabant (and France, in the case of Abraham Bosse, whose engravings of fashionable society follow Flemish models).

As most readers of this essay will know, the mature Delft interior views of De Hooch and Vermeer are often described as "classical" compositions, which is meant to suggest that their orderly and usually rectilinear designs somehow express a *Zeitgeist*, a period of prosperity, calm, and perhaps even reason in the Golden Age.<sup>33</sup> (Of course, the period was no such thing, except for the flow—interrupted by alarming ebbs—of disposable income.) Seymour Slive compares Rembrandt's *Faust*, an etching of the early 1650s, with *The Geographer* by Vermeer (fig. 112), and observes that in the latter "the design lacks any dynamic element. Reason dominates the emotion and keeps the vision under sober control." (The same lines were quoted in chapter 4, where they were associated with Van Miereveld and other artists active in Delft during the first half of the century.) The differences between Vermeer and Rembrandt were, of course, profoundly personal, but also generational. Slive continues, "By the time [*The Geographer*] was painted, the Baroque impulses of the preceding generations cooled, not only in Holland, but throughout the continent. Vermeer's picture dates from the period when Poussin was acknowledged as a leading figure of European painting."<sup>34</sup>

All this is fine in the proper context, but Poussin was not around when Van Miereveld, the Van Vliets, Van Couwenbergh in his calmer moments, Van Velsen, Van Bassen, Houckgeest, Potter, De Witte, Fabritius, and other Delft artists allowed reason to control emotion and visual observation, in part by employing designs that lack "any dynamic element." There were very few Baroque qualities that needed cooling off in the generations of Delft painters who preceded Vermeer, apart from those imported by Bramer (which dissipated during the 1640s). A preference for understatement, for rationality and reserve, and for sober realism (in more than one sense of the term) had always been characteristic of Delft society, and often was reflected in the finer works of art that were made with local patrons in mind. De Hooch became a more typical Delft painter as he adopted these values. Vermeer never departed from them, not even in the early works which, in response to Antwerp and Utrecht examples, allowed "Baroque impulses" to agitate drapery (as in cat. no. 65) or to emerge in smiles (as in cat. no. 66). His later intimations of "measure and harmony," of "timeless beauty and elegance," of restrained emotion and contemplation had nothing to do with Poussin or "Neoplatonic concepts," but were, more simply, consistent with the local artistic tradition and the character of Delft.<sup>35</sup>

The relationship between taste and society is obvious in De Hooch's portrait of a family in a courtyard of Delft, with the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk serving as a focal point in the background (fig. 153; cat. no. 27). The conservative but expensive dress of the figures, their formal demeanor, and the setting indicate old money and good breeding; the latter is actually symbolized by the two women who "bear fruit." The upright character of these individuals is stressed by





Fig. 153. Pieter de Hooch, *Portrait of a Family in a Courtyard in Delft*, ca. 1658–60 (cat. no. 27)

the framework of architecture, which abuts the city wall and sets off the senior couple like regents on a royal dais.

There is some resemblance between the composition as a whole and more-fashionable pictures of families on terraces and in gardens, by artists like Jan Mijtens, Coques, Van Couwenbergh (see fig. 53), Palamedesz, and De Jongh.<sup>36</sup> But the aristocratic ease conveyed in many of those paintings is avoided here, where a stone balustrade or



Fig. 154. Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Perspective*, The Hague and Leiden, 1604–5, part II, plate IX. Engraving, 7¼ x 11¼ in. (18.4 x 28.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951



Fig. 155. Claes Jansz Visscher, *The Widely Famed Family of Orange-Nassau*, ca. 1628. Engraving, 11½ x 13¼ in. (29.3 x 33.3 cm). Stichting Atlas van Stolk, Rotterdam

fancy fountain would look out of place. In posture and expression these figures bring to mind the Van der Dussen family portrait of about twenty years earlier (cat. no. 80) and Van Miereveld's single and pair portraits of an even older generation in Delft.

De Hooch's deep recession to distant buildings, with a portico-like structure to the side, could be described as a "real life" version of the palace courtyard and terrace views found in Vredeman de Vries's *Perspective* of 1604–5 (fig. 154) and in later compositions painted by Van Bassen and Hendrick van Steenwyck in The Hague and by Van Delen in Middelburg (the latter's terrace views date from as late as 1649).<sup>37</sup> None of those images could be cited as a precise prototype for De Hooch's composition. But the Court Style of architectural painting, as seen also in Houckgeest's paintings of the 1630s and 1640s (for example, cat. no. 36), was part of the artistic tradition that influenced De Hooch in Delft. A revealing parallel is found in Van Delen's portrait of a family next to William the Silent's tomb (fig. 114), of which the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk served as a local reminder (in addition to suggesting religious devotion and civic pride). Whether consciously or not, De Hooch derived his receding pavement and the man in the background from a "perspective" like Van Delen's.

De Hooch's family portrait also brings to mind dynastic images such as *The Widely Famed Family of Orange-Nassau* (fig. 155), an engraving of the 1620s in which Frederick Hendrick and Amalia van



Fig. 156. Pieter de Hooch, *The Bearer of Ill Tidings*, ca. 1657. Oil on wood, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 in. (68 x 56 cm). Museo Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Cambó Collection, Barcelona

Solms (with their first two children, the future Willem II and Louisa Henrietta) face their forebears William the Silent and his wife Louise de Coligny, seated before Maurits (in the tall hat) and Philips Willem. In the center background the family's expensive relatives parade past a plaque reading "Frederick and Elizabeth King and Queen of Bohemia with their Children." Armorial shields hang on the wall (where the clinging vine, as usual, suggests wifely fidelity) and from the orange tree. The distant tower of the Grote Kerk is labeled "Den Hage," although everyone who read the language would have known that at a glance.

A red carpet was not good enough for the Bohemian houseguests, to judge from the checkerboard tiles laid down on the Korte Vijverberg. An even more impressive pattern was employed on the terrace, which of course is imaginary. In Van Bassen's and Houckgeest's paintings of princely figures dining in great halls (see fig. 92), and in Van Delen's *Musical Company* of about the same date (see fig. 85), floor tiles contribute to the impression of exceptional luxury. It seems likely that the similar floor in De Hooch's London picture of about 1658 (cat. no. 29) was also meant to look fashionable, like the marble columns of the fireplace. But there is an unmistakable air of social climbing in the interior, as if the room itself, like the seated figures, had not seen much of polite society.

Contemporary documents suggest that stone and especially marble floors were unusual even in the finest Dutch homes of the seventeenth century, and then were normally reserved for the entrance hall or the *roorhuis* (the front room used mainly for receiving visitors).<sup>38</sup> The tiled floors seen frequently in genre interiors of the period, including otherwise unpretentious rooms, must have been favored largely for their perspective effect, as in Houckgeest's real and imaginary church interiors (there is no evidence that Dutch churches were ever embellished with checkerboard tiles, as in cat. nos. 37, 39). Tiled floors and wood floors varied greatly in quality (marble laid down in more complex patterns, as seen in cat. no. 76, was very rare). This should be taken into account when the room as a whole appears to reflect upon the character of the figures. The red and gray tiles in De Hooch's more intimate interiors of about the same date as the London picture simply contribute to the impression of a comfortable house (see cat. no. 28).

De Hooch's talent for arranging a room in order to accent the behavior or mood of his figures is evident from early on. In the Hermitage picture (cat. no. 24), the couple's mutual attraction is emphasized by converging lines of recession. The soldiers' focus upon femininity in the picture in the Koetser Foundation (cat. no. 23) is similarly assisted by an architectural framework, which also underscores their instability. The value of these design ideas could have been learned in Rotterdam from Sorgh or De Jongh (see figs. 146, 250). The latter tended to overdo them; De Hooch's different temperament is evident in the understatement with which he adopted patterns from De Jongh.

In De Hooch's first interiors with floor tiles, by contrast, he appears to be exploring ground covered earlier in Delft and The Hague (see cat. nos. 28, 29). However, he did not simply borrow compositions from painters like Van Bassen, Houckgeest, and Anthonie Palamedesz (who occasionally used floor tiles, as in fig. 195), but adapted their emphasis upon perspective to the upright format and configuration of his early tavern scenes. Thus, in his painting in Barcelona (fig. 156) the tilting floor, raking ceiling beams, and open door in the background recall Sorgh and De Jongh (see figs. 145, 146), but the figures have retired to a more private and presentable interior. The subject was probably inspired by Ter Borch's *Unwelcome News* of 1653 (Mauritshuis, The Hague), where an officer in a similar situation is called to duty (compare Verkolje's later interpretation, cat. no. 63). As if to hasten his exit, the floor recedes impetuously, as in paintings by Van Bassen and Van Delen and in many of Van de Venne's illustrations for Cats's publications (see fig. 150). A happy marriage of sources has not yet been arranged in the Barcelona picture. But in subject and style De Hooch can be said to have crossed a threshold leading to his interior views of the next few years (see cat. nos. 25, 29).

As much as it mattered to amateurs like Pieter Teding van Berkhout, De Hooch's more precise use of perspective in the late 1650s was not "the most curious aspect" of his style. Van Brekelenkam, Dou, Van

Steen's street scene (cat. no. 58) is also exceptional in this regard: he found a standard type of composition useful for what remains a vivid record of actual experience (as much so as in Houckgeest's first view in the Nieuwe Kerk; cat. no. 37). Van Bleyswijck (1667–80) made the same point about Van Vliet, whose church interiors "are very well foreshortened and illusionistic, as well as colored naturally." In other words, the painter achieved realistic light and space, qualities that De Hooch's work shares not only with Van Vliet's but also with Potter's, De Witte's, Daniel Vosmaer's (in cat. nos. 86, 87), and Fabritius's. (*The Sentry*, cat. no. 20, is perhaps the most naturalistic corner of space to date from before De Hooch's views of courtyards in Delft.) Even De Hooch's family portrait (cat. no. 27), discussed above with regard to its conservative tone and traditional composition, is after all most impressive for its immediacy. The viewer feels as if he had walked past Steen's house, or out of De Witte's church, and turned into a passageway off the Oude Delft. Although old-fashioned in some ways, the picture was entirely modern in its setting. Of course, De Hooch was depicting typical Delft courtyards in his contemporary genre scenes (compare cat. no. 33), but those familiar spaces were far less expected in the realm of formal portraiture.

And yet, De Hooch's paintings of courtyards with women (usually maids) and visiting gentlemen are among his most remarkable innovations. Compared with the early tavern scenes, paintings like *A Dutch Courtyard* (cat. no. 33) and the canvas dated 1658 in a private collection (cat. no. 32) look like inns run by Jacob Cats. The transition recalls (although it does not resemble) the evolution of Adriaen van Ostade's drinking establishments from barnlike dives to tidy cottages.<sup>44</sup> But unlike Van Ostade, De Hooch arrived at his more polite Merry Companies (whether in courtyards or indoors) by coming from two directions, the other being a long tradition of elegant parties set on aristocratic terraces or in palatial interiors. Esaias van de Velde's early examples were mentioned above (see fig. 157); he also collaborated with Van Bassen (cat. no. 7) and influenced Palamedesz. As has often been observed, Van den Eeckhout and Van Loo had already modernized the garden and terrace party scene in the early 1650s (see fig. 158).<sup>45</sup> But those pictures of fashionable couples, painted by artists who were fashionable themselves, remain much more obviously rooted in the elegant conversation pieces of the past than are De Hooch's quiet encounters behind middle-class houses.

Of course, the artist did not simply blend low- and high-class subjects to arrive at his own. His various kinds of middle-class imagery are essentially new inventions, which corresponded to changes in the art market. The paintings draw upon many sources, the most unpredictable of which was the immediate environment: private homes and courtyards in Delft. And here one can only imagine that the example of other Delft artists made a strong impression on De Hooch: street scenes and architectural paintings by Fabritius, De Witte, Van Vliet, Steen, and — significantly — comparatively minor artists like Van Asch

(see fig. 100), Van der Poel, and Vosmaer (see cat. nos. 50, 87). One thinks of townscapes and church interiors as representing environments on a very different scale from that of De Hooch's intimate enclosures, but in many views by, for example, Van Vliet and De Witte, figures in the foreground relate to well-defined zones of space in ways that are not at all far from the genre painter's.

The same Delft artists, and Potter, Houckgeest, and Vermeer, also anticipated or shared De Hooch's increasing interest in naturalistic effects, especially the description of light and textures. And some of them were joined by De Hooch when he began describing walls, floors, and so on far more meticulously than almost any motif in his early works (except for some "still-life" details). One could refer again to floor tiles, but they are mere cartoons compared with passages such as the brickwork in *A Dutch Courtyard* (cat. no. 33), where the wall with a door is an end in itself, a motif that contemporary artists might describe as *schilderachtig* (painterlike), something found "in nature" that begs for careful description and admiration. De Hooch may indeed have studied such a wall "from life," to judge from its similarity to the one on the right in the courtyard scene in the National Gallery, London (cat. no. 30). What he achieves in the right half of the picture in Washington seems like a simultaneous tribute to Jan van der Heyden and to Carel Fabritius (compare the weathered walls in cat. nos. 18, 20, 21), and yet like all instances of close observation it really resembles no one else's work.

It appears as if De Hooch made a conscious decision to raise his own standard in about 1658, so much finer and unprecedented in his oeuvre is the level of quality one finds in his best works of that year and the next several. His early genre scenes treat entertaining situations in a modern style. In the late 1650s, by contrast, De Hooch put thought and feeling into the art of painting itself, achieving fine effects of light and color, coherent and evocative descriptions of space, and original, sensitive interpretations of various themes. In the interior with a mother and baby and a little girl mothering a puppy (cat. no. 28), the touching subject is almost underplayed, while the study of light is addressed to connoisseurs. They might notice that the man's portrait in the background is painted on a panel composed of vertical boards (oak, not the lighter wood of the open door) and that the shape of the window and something red (which may be a roof outside) are reflected in the glazed paint surface. The closed window shutter reveals small cracks of light, and the three other openings each represent a different challenge to the artist's descriptive abilities (transparency, translucency, and blinding light).

De Hooch must have received or expected greater compensation for this kind of work. A higher level of patronage is suggested also by De Hooch's quiet "merry companies," such as the foursome in the *Card Players* of 1658 (fig. 159). However, here again the main subject seems to be the artist's mastery of light effects. A surprising number of De Hooch's interiors dating from the late 1650s and early 1660s



Fig. 157. Esaias van de Velde, *Party on a Garden Terrace*, ca. 1618–19. Oil on canvas, 17 x 30 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (43 x 77 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin

den Eckhout, Koedijck, Maes, and Sorgh had already painted similar compositions.<sup>39</sup> Even Steen in his view of figures on the Oude Delft (cat. no. 58) created a corner of space comparable with that in De Hooch's painting in London (cat. no. 29): housefronts recede abruptly on the left and are met perpendicularly by a wall of trees, the church, and a bridge (compare De Hooch's fireplace). Essentially the same arrangement is found in interiors dating from the mid-1640s

onward, such as Koedijck's *Empty Glass* of 1648 (private collection)<sup>40</sup> and Maes's so-called *Virtuous Woman* of about 1655 (fig. 271).<sup>41</sup> Floor tiles are featured occasionally, for example, in some of the rooms depicted by Sorgh and Maes,<sup>42</sup> and in Jacob van Loo's *Musical Party on a Terrace* (Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Madrid).<sup>43</sup>

The most remarkable quality of De Hooch's mature style is that it looks so naturalistic, despite its incorporation of common conventions.

Fig. 158. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Party on a Terrace*, ca. 1652. Oil on canvas, 20 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (51.4 x 62.2 cm). Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts





Fig. 159. Pieter de Hooch, *Card Players in a Sunlit Room*, 1658. Oil on canvas, 30 x 26 in. (76.2 x 66.1 cm). Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, London





Fig. 160. Pieter de Hooch, *Interior with Figures*, ca. 1663–65. Oil on canvas, 23 x 27 in. (58.4 x 68.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975

are lit mostly or solely from the rear (see cat. nos. 28, 32), although none surpass the comparatively early example in the Royal Collection, London. The highlights, colors (for example, the purplish sheen on the floor), and silhouetting effects between the doorway and the littered tiles to the lower right, and the subtheme of oranges and reds (the shutter outside the window seems less solid than the curtain's folds) — subtleties such as these bear comparison with those found in contemporary works by Vermeer (see cat. no. 70).

De Hooch and Vermeer must have inspired each other in the late 1650s. Some specific examples are considered in the catalogue entries (see nos. 26, 69, 70). It appears that De Hooch (as in cat. no. 29) was Vermeer's main point of departure for the types of subject and composition found in *The Glass of Wine* (cat. no. 70) and one or two other works. However, Vermeer must have encouraged De Hooch in his more extraordinary effects of light and shadow, especially in the interior views (see cat. nos. 32, 34). A special case is the slightly younger artist's canvas *The Little Street* (cat. no. 69), which if not quite like any known composition by De Hooch was almost certainly painted with his courtyard views in mind (they date from about 1657 onward).

It is not difficult to see how De Hooch's work in Delft came to represent a number of the school's most traditional qualities. In the years he worked there, between 1655 and 1660, he increasingly emphasized close observation, fine craftsmanship, and orderly composition. The Baroque qualities of his early work largely disappear. A brighter palette and more careful construction of space bring to mind Delft painters of the 1630s onward, including Palamedesz, Houckgeest, Potter, Van der Poel (see cat. no. 52), and others. In subjects ranging from slight inebriation to devoted motherhood De Hooch's tone became more reserved, which suited his new emphasis upon pictorial refinements, and his genuine, even poetic affection for domestic life.

What the artist owed to painters in other cities never quite adds up to an explanation of what he achieved. This would be true for any accomplished master, but perhaps it was more so for De Hooch because Delft never had its own distinctive tradition of genre painting until the 1650s. There were earlier genre painters, to be sure, but they adhered to precedents in Utrecht, Antwerp, and (in the case of Palamedesz) Haarlem. Artists who actually worked in those places, and in Rotterdam, Leiden, and Amsterdam, generally employed a local style even as they turned to subjects drawn "from life." Thus, most

genre scenes from Leiden bear the stamp of Gerard Dou or in some way exemplify "fine painting" (for example, Koedijck's dry linearity and distracting detail). Maes, for all his modernity, never emerged from the light and shadow of his teacher, Rembrandt. Similarly, Van den Eckhout and Van Loo were eclectic artists who absorbed ideas from Leiden and elsewhere into their own tradition in Amsterdam. There is really little connection between Van den Eckhout and De Hooch (whose early fondness for shadows was revived during the 1660s in Amsterdam), compared with that between Van den Eckhout and Ter Borch in Deventer. The latter's style also reveals a background in Amsterdam, mainly in genre scenes by Codde and Duyster. Even when Ter Borch dwelled upon the details of a finely appointed room he remained firstly a painter of figure groups, with luxurious effects of light and shadow and less interest in space for its own sake than in the tactile sensation of surfaces.

The testing of artistic conventions against experience was a consistent feature of Delft painting during the 1650s, at least within a small circle of younger artists. They shared a vision, whether consciously or not, that emphasized direct observation to an unusual degree. It must have been to their advantage that modern subjects, while generally in demand, were largely new to Delft: actual views of the city and its churches, and scenes that really resembled "everyday life" rather than other paintings.

During the early 1660s in Amsterdam De Hooch painted some pictures that continue the best qualities of his later Delft works: for example, *A Woman with a Young Boy Preparing for School* (Getty Museum, Los Angeles) and *A Seated Couple with a Standing Woman in a Garden* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). The latter is one of the very few pictures (and the last) that recall the courtyard scenes, and even here the tone has shifted. The setting is beautiful but has little to do with the Ter Borch-like figures, who could just as well be sitting in a luxurious room or on the terrace of a country house. On the whole, De Hooch's work was increasingly devoted to images of wealth and fashion; his town-house interiors with marble floors are filled with velvety shadows and shimmering reflections (see fig. 160). The daylight that once lingered on brick and plaster walls now skims over satin skirts and gilt leather walls. De Hooch was not a sophisticated man, and it is not surprising that his Amsterdam paintings look impersonal and unfelt, like dress rehearsals for social comedies he did not quite understand. In his Delft works, the awkwardness of his figures, with their limited range of expressions and wooden gestures, lent them authenticity.

De Hooch, though not a native, was most at home in Delft. In 1670 the city had about 25,000 people, about half the population of Rotterdam and one-ninth that of Amsterdam. In Delft, which had changed little in size, many families had been in the city, on the same streets, for generations. In Amsterdam the population was seven times what it had been a century before and the best streets were new. De Hooch, like De Witte and other Delft artists, had little choice but to seek his

fortune in Amsterdam, and to paint pictures that were fashionable, that embodied different ideals. He did not have family resources, or sufficient clientele, which would have allowed him to remain in Delft, and in that he differed from the city's most idealistic artist.

### *Johannes Vermeer*

If the main goal of the present exhibition is a new view of the Delft school, then its secondary purpose is to consider the city's most celebrated painter, Vermeer, in the proper context. Revealing comparisons of his paintings with those by contemporary and earlier artists (whether from Delft or not) have been made for about fifty years, effectively beginning with Lawrence Gowing's monograph of 1952.<sup>46</sup> The book is perhaps better known for its subjective observations, which are now somewhat out of fashion, as is the slow, reflective mode of reading required to appreciate them. However, few scholars have come close to Gowing in revealing what Vermeer shared with other Dutch artists of the period. Quite as in the case of Rembrandt, this approach is necessary to understand not only how the artist represents a certain time and place but also how he is extraordinary.

Vermeer's early paintings in particular must be seen in relation to his cultural milieu. Pieter Swillens (1950), by contrast, viewed them askance from a vantage point in front of the mature genre scenes. He considered *The Procureess* (cat. no. 66), although signed and dated, doubtful as a work by Vermeer and the early history pictures (see cat. nos. 64, 65) even less plausible attributions to the master, no matter at what moment of his career. *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* "coincides in no single respect with the authentic works." The signature and especially the palette of *The Procureess* compelled Swillens to concede that if the picture must be admitted into the painter's oeuvre then "we shall also have to accept the fact, that the inner development of Vermeer proceeded otherwise than has been usually thought, viz. that he did not suddenly appear as a fully mature artist, but seeking and groping has found his way."<sup>47</sup> Two years later, Gowing described that gradual artistic development and observed of the same work, "wherever Vermeer's sources can be traced beyond doubt it is clear that they were common knowledge among the artists of his school."<sup>48</sup>

Studies of other painters in Delft tend to support Gowing's conclusion.<sup>49</sup> As noted in chapter 1, the subject and to some extent the style of *Diana and Her Companions* are very much what one would expect from a young artist in Delft who envied the success of colleagues such as Bramer and Van Couwenbergh. Similarly, *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* attempts to synthesize qualities adopted from Utrecht and Antwerp, the two schools that for decades had been highly regarded in Delft and at the Dutch court. As for *The Procureess*, this type of Caravaggesque genre scene was to be found not only in the collections of local connoisseurs but also in the house of Vermeer's own mother-in-law, Maria Thins.<sup>50</sup>

As a painter himself, Gowing saw Vermeer's ability to absorb formal ideas as coinciding naturally with the Dutch interest in direct observation. Vermeer's tendency to minimize narrative likewise worked to his advantage. "The lack of facility in dealing with human issues, which emerges side by side with the elemental clarity of vision which is its counterpart, is the fundamental factor in the formation of his style."<sup>51</sup> Here, however, the critic might have added that other painters of the period, including artists as different as Fabritius, Ter Borch, and De Hooch, could be said to have played down action and expression in favor of evocative qualities—a remarkable development in the case of De Hooch (compare cat. no. 32 or 33 with an early work, such as fig. 144). Similarly, Gowing's perception in pictures by Vermeer of a "passivity characteristic of his thought" (cat. no. 70 is mentioned) may bring to mind painters and patrons in Delft who seem to have shared the same disposition, or rather, a reserve that might be mistaken for passivity (see cat. nos. 60, 80, 85). Gowing himself made the same point when he distinguished *The Procureess* from its sources by observing that "the bravo of Utrecht is here exchanged for the humane and domestic characters who people the painting of the school of Delft."<sup>52</sup>

Vermeer's standing as a representative of the Delft school will be discussed further in the catalogue entries and may be examined in the exhibition space. The question would not have been comprehended by his colleagues in Delft but deserves consideration here because modern enthusiasts, laymen and specialists alike, still labor under assumptions about Vermeer and other great artists that were formed in the Romantic period. For example, in the introductory pages of *Johannes Vermeer*, the catalogue of the 1995–96 exhibition, it is announced that we know almost nothing about the artist as an individual: "the name of his master(s), the nature of his training, the period of his apprenticeship . . . and even the city or cities in which he apprenticed remain mysteries."<sup>53</sup> This news would have gratified Théophile Thoré ("Thoré-Bürger," 1807–1869), who "discovered" the artist in the 1860s and ("denying Vermeer a history," as Christiane Hertel observes) dubbed him "the Sphinx of Delft." Thoré had little use for background information or comparisons with contemporary artists like De Hooch (whom the critic occasionally confused with Vermeer). One hardly needs to know the town or teacher of a painter who, Thoré assures us, was the "ancestor of artists in love with nature, of those who understand and express nature in the sincerity of her appeal."<sup>54</sup>

The invocation "Vermeer of Delft" whispered from the time of Thoré to at least that of André Malraux was of course not meant to clarify anything, other than the conviction that genius can emerge from almost anywhere: Borgo San Sepolcro, Vinci, Ornans, Pont-Aven, Delft (which, like Delphi, has an Oracle or Sphinx). In recent decades, the image of Vermeer as a student of nature, not of any master or academy, has supported the credo that he owed a great deal to the camera obscura.<sup>55</sup> The same notion dissuades scholars from imagining

that such a "serious and innovative" artist would have shared qualities with the older painters of his city: "It is understandable that he found little inspiration in Delft, for during his formative years the city's artistic community was not particularly dynamic."<sup>56</sup> Nor would a genius who speaks to viewers across spans of time have been understood by his own contemporaries, at least not to the point that an astute collector might have hoarded about half the artist's oeuvre in a house in Delft. An abundance of direct and circumstantial evidence suggests that this actually happened in the case of Vermeer, but the revelation has not been universally well received.<sup>57</sup>

The bare facts of the painter's life are well known. Johannes Vermeer, the second child and only son of Reynier Jansz Vermeer (ca. 1591–1652) and Digna Baltens (ca. 1595–1670), was christened in the Nieuwe Kerk on October 31, 1632. The future artist was named for his paternal grandfather, the tailor Jan Reyersz (d. 1597), who lived on the Beestenmarkt, a block south of the Nieuwe Kerk, with his wife Neeltge Goris (ca. 1567–1627). Jan's death left his widow with three young children, and she remarried in the same year, 1597. Her second husband, the tavern keeper Claes Corstiaensz (ca. 1548–1618), had also been previously married and had a teenage son. In about 1599 a fifth child, Adriaentge (d. 1672), was born into the Protestant household.

Claesz Corstiaensz, the son of a barber and singer who arrived in Delft sometime before 1553 (probably from Flanders), was himself a musician, at least in his later years. His son Dirck, a master felt worker, evidently inherited his father's instruments: the inventory of his estate in 1657 lists two viols, a lute, a trombone, a cornet, a shawm, and two paintings (in a collection of five) representing musicians.<sup>58</sup>

Vermeer's family background would be described today as lower middle-class. His grandparents were illiterate and so was his mother; his father and his uncles had learned to read and write. In 1611 Reynier Jansz, who was then about twenty years old, went to Amsterdam to train as a cappa worker, or weaver of fine silk and satin fabrics (see cat. nos. 131, 132, for Delft's prints on this material). Patterns were often woven into the lustrous cloth (now usually known as damask), which was made into household linen of heirloom quality. At the end of his apprenticeship in 1615 Reynier was betrothed in Amsterdam to Vermeer's mother, "Digna Balthazars" (her father, who was present, was Balthazar Geerarszoon, commonly called Balten Gerrits). A famous Calvinist preacher, Jacobus Triglandius, married the young couple on July 19, and they settled in Delft shortly thereafter.<sup>59</sup>

Vermeer's father was evidently a hardworking man who lived and invested conservatively. In 1623, when most of his and his wife's movable goods were appraised, they owned two good beds, a fair amount of linen, tinware, "porcelain" (from China or Delft), and some moderately expensive clothing (a few of Digna's garments were valued at more than 30 guilders, a craftsman's monthly income). Seven percent (53 guilders) of the total value placed on the couple's possessions (693 guilders) was assigned to paintings, which

included four princely portraits (of Maurits, Frederick Hendrick, and the latter's wife), a few pictures of Old Testament subjects, a brothel scene ("bordeeltje"), and a painting of "an Italian piper." Montias's suggestion that the latter was by an artist from Utrecht is plausible, considering that the work would date from 1623 or earlier.<sup>60</sup>

Between 1629 and 1631 Reynier Jansz often witnessed documents for the art-collecting notary Willem de Langue (fig. 215) and in these acts he is described as an innkeeper. His establishment near the Oudemanhuis (Old Men's Home) on the Voldersgracht was called "De Vliegende Vos" ("The Flying Fox"). Evidently, the name came from the surname Vos that Vermeer's father had adopted in the mid-1620s.<sup>61</sup> De Langue was acquainted with artists such as Hans Jordaens, Willem van Vliet, Jacob Delff, Leonaert Bramer, and Balthasar van der Ast.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps his association with this circle led Reynier Vos to join the Delft painters' guild as an art dealer on October 13, 1631. He was called a "master caffè worker" as late as 1645, but his accounts after 1630 suggest that he had left the profession in favor of innkeeping. Art dealing and innkeeping often went together, as in the case of Adam Pick (who was mentioned in chapters 3 and 4 in connection with Adam Pynacker and Emanuel de Witte).

Vermeer was born one year after his father joined the guild. His Christian name Johannes (or Joannis or Johannis) was favored over the prosaic "Jan" by Catholics and upper-class Protestants. Although several books are devoted to "Jan" Vermeer, the Delft painter never used that name.<sup>63</sup> His uncle Anthony had already adopted the surname Vermeer (a contraction of Van der Meer, "from the sea") by 1625; the first record of "Reynier Jansz Vermeer" dates from September 6, 1640. On that day the art-dealing innkeeper made a testament on behalf of Jan Baptist van Fornenburgh (1585/95?–1648/49), whose son had died in service to the Delft chamber of the East India Company (VOC). The still-life painter had come over from The Hague to collect his son's back pay. The artists Pieter Groenewegen and Balthasar van der Ast witnessed Reynier Jansz's deposition. On the following day Van Fornenburgh received the money, and the still-life painter Pieter Steenwyck and "Reynier Jansz. Vermeer alias Vos" acted as witnesses.<sup>64</sup>

At the time, Reynier Vos knew he was leaving "The Flying Fox," which had been sold to another landlord in May 1640. In the spring of 1641 the innkeeper and his family moved into the "Mechelen," a house and inn right on the Markt (see fig. 346). The former Vos, now Vermeer, bought the building with 200 guilders in cash and two mortgages, one from a Haarlem brewer for 2,100 guilders and another for 400 guilders from De Langue's brother-in-law. Payments on the mortgages were still being made when his widow, Digna Baltens, tried to sell the "Mechelen" at auction in 1669.<sup>65</sup>

Michael Montias has suggested that Johannes Vermeer might have trained in Utrecht, since no record of an apprenticeship in Delft is known, and a citizen of Gouda, Jan Geensz Thins, was the cousin of Vermeer's future mother-in-law and a nephew of the famous Utrecht

master Abraham Bloemaert.<sup>66</sup> This fragile hypothesis is linked to another, namely, that Vermeer's "last four years of apprenticeship" in another city, an expense nearly as great as the "Mechelen" mortgages, "may help to explain why the innkeeper had trouble paying all his debts after he bought the inn on the Great Market Square."<sup>67</sup> But the incomplete evidence may also be read in another way, for example, by supposing that Vermeer's financially cautious father, having assumed large debts, would not have compounded them by sending his son for expensive training in Utrecht (or Amsterdam, which has also been proposed). In June 1652, Reynier Jansz's debt to a single wine merchant stood at 250 guilders, and when he died in October of the same year no money was given (as was the custom) to the Camer van Charitate (Chamber of Charity).<sup>68</sup> It would be more than fourteen months before Johannes joined the painter's guild, and presumably the twenty-year-old was needed by his mother and older sister to help run the inn. The question of Vermeer's apprenticeship is too complicated to consider fully in this chapter.<sup>69</sup> However, it appears likely that he had only a brief period of training, perhaps with one of his father's artist friends in Delft (the innkeeper could have offered goods and services rather than monetary payment). In any case, the discovery of his teacher's name would probably not be very helpful in clarifying Vermeer's development.

Perhaps a more important factor for his career was Vermeer's marriage into a family more socially prominent than his own. As is now well known, the painter Leonaert Bramer and a Captain Bartholomeus Melling testified on April 5, 1653, that on the previous day Vermeer's prospective mother-in-law, Maria Thins (ca. 1593–1680), said that she would neither sign an act of consent for the registration of the marriage banns of her daughter, Catharina Bolnes (ca. 1631–1688), nor would she oppose their publication. The deposition was witnessed by Willem de Langue in front of another notary. As emphasized by Wheelock, the proper interpretation of this document is probably that Maria Thins was in favor of her daughter's marriage to Vermeer, pending his formal conversion to Catholicism.<sup>70</sup> This must have taken place before the marriage was consecrated on Sunday, April 20, 1653, in the village of Schipluy (now Schipluiden), an hour's walk south of Delft. The village was something of a Catholic enclave, and (Montias reports) the Jesuits of Delft and Schipluy were closely connected. Maria Thins's house on the Oude Langendijk was a couple of doors away from the Jesuit "hidden church" (fig. 14), and she had already been involved with the order in her native Gouda.<sup>71</sup> It is worth recalling that the Jesuits strongly encouraged converts.

Maria Thins must have closely considered her daughter's marriage with Vermeer, since her own marriage had been miserable. She came from a wealthy Catholic family in Gouda and was well connected with patrician families in other Dutch cities, most of them also Catholic. Her father, Willem Thin, died in 1601; her mother, Catharina van Hensbeeck (d. 1633), remarried in 1605 with Gerrit Camerling



Fig. 161. Johannes Vermeer, *The Concert*, ca. 1665–67. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (72.5 x 64.7 cm). Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston



(d. 1627), a prominent citizen of Delft. None of Maria's four siblings from her mother's first marriage entered into wedlock themselves. As a result, she gradually came into a sizable inheritance.

In 1622 the future heiress married Reynier Bolnes (d. 1673), who at the time was a prosperous brickmaker. Vermeer's wife, Catharina Bolnes, was the youngest of three children. By the time she was eight, her mother and father were collecting depositions from their neighbors to use against each other. According to various accounts, Bolnes often beat his wife and occasionally his daughters. Maria Thins twice applied for a formal separation in 1640, which she finally achieved in November 1641. Her daughters, Catharina and Cornelia (d. 1643), were placed in her custody, her son Willem (d. 1676) in his father's. Shortly thereafter Maria and the girls moved to Delft, where in April 1641 her cousin Jan Geensz Thins (ca. 1580–1647) had purchased a house on the Oude Langendijk. This is probably the same house into which Maria Thins moved, as did Vermeer at some time after his marriage.<sup>72</sup>

The division of property held in common by Maria Thins and Reynier Bolnes required an accounting on November 27, 1641. From this document it is known that Maria Thins owned two or three paintings in the style of the Utrecht Caravaggists, one of which was either Van Baburen's *Procuress* of 1622 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) or a version of it.<sup>73</sup> The composition appears in the backgrounds of two paintings by Vermeer, *The Concert* (fig. 161) and *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal* (cat. no. 79). "A painting of one who sucks the breast" cited in the list of 1641 was apparently used by Vermeer for the picture of Roman Charity partially visible in *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168).<sup>74</sup> Other works owned by Maria Thins and her husband represented typical Utrecht subjects, in particular "A Man Being Flayed" (Apollo and Marsyas).<sup>75</sup>

In 1649, after a great deal of legal maneuvering, Maria Thins finally collected all the assets she was awarded under the terms of her separation. Their value was assessed at 15,606 guilders. She evidently lived on this capital and its modest interest until 1651, when her brother, Jan Willemsz, died, leaving his inheritance to Maria and her surviving sister, Cornelia Thins (d. 1661).<sup>76</sup> In the 1660s Maria Thins's various sources of income brought her an annual income of at least 1,500 guilders, "enough for a patrician standard of living."<sup>77</sup>

On December 27, 1660, a child of "Johannes Vermeer on the Oude Langendijk" was buried in the Oude Kerk.<sup>78</sup> At the time, the household included Vermeer, his wife, his mother-in-law, and three or four surviving children, probably all girls. When Vermeer died (in 1675) he left his wife with eleven children: seven girls (Maria, Elisabeth, Cornelia, Aleydis, Beatrix, Gertruyd, and Catharina); three boys (Johannes, Franciscus, and Ignatius, born about 1663, about 1664, and in 1672, respectively); and another child (1674–1678). The boys were named for their father and for the two great saints of the Jesuit order, Francis Xavier and Ignatius of Loyola.<sup>79</sup>

The burial of Vermeer's child in 1660 (one of a few lost in twenty-two years of marriage) is the earliest known record of the artist's residence in Maria Thins's house. It has been suggested that Vermeer, because he was comparatively poor and from the wrong (Protestant) side of the Markt, was not "a fully accepted member of the Thins household" for the first few years after his marriage to Catharina in April 1653. "The young couple perhaps rented rooms somewhere."<sup>80</sup> But this seems improbable, considering that Vermeer was able to pay only 1.5 guilders of his 6-guilder fee when he joined the painters' guild in December 1653; the balance was not paid until July 1656.<sup>81</sup> As for living in the "Mechelen," Maria Thins would not have approved, and the respectable but Protestant inn needed its few rooms for paying guests. Furthermore, until she had her abusive son Willem confined to a house of correction in the 1660s (at a cost of 310 guilders a year) Maria Thins was remarkably tolerant of her son's hostile behavior.<sup>82</sup> This suggests that she would not have punished her only other surviving child, Catharina, by keeping her and her new husband out of the large house on the Oude Langendijk. On the contrary, Maria Thins must have been cautiously supportive of the decent young man, about whom not a single negative remark is recorded apart from debts. Vermeer evidently loved his slightly older wife, enough to give up his family religion (which was asking for trouble from some quarters in Delft). In my view Vermeer and his wife probably moved into Maria Thins's house right after or not long after their marriage. Their numerous children were raised there, and Vermeer probably painted all his known pictures in the separate studio he had on an upper floor, to judge from the household inventory compiled in February 1676.<sup>83</sup> The latter lists in the "great hall"—in addition to two "tronien" (heads) by Fabritius (by whom there was also "a painting" in the *voorbuis*, or "front room"), a painting of a peasant barn (perhaps by Van der Poel; see cat. no. 52), and "another painting"—"two portraits of Sr. Vermeer's late father and mother" and "a drawn coat-of-arms of the aforementioned Sr. Vermeer with a black frame."<sup>84</sup> One would not conclude from this display that Maria Thins took a dim view of the artist's family.

A certain gentility is suggested by the inventory made shortly after Vermeer's death: twenty-five books and five folio volumes; green silk curtains "in front of the bedstead" and matching material for the mantelpiece; silk and satin garments, including "a yellow satin mantle with white fur trimming" (see fig. 170; cat. no. 72); lots of linen and clothing, including "28 bonnets, 11 children's small collars . . . ten men's ruffs, thirteen pairs of fancy cuffs"; a fair amount of furniture, accessories such as candlesticks and fire screens, and "about seven ells of gold-tooled leather on the wall" (see cat. no. 77); paintings in several rooms, including landscapes and still lifes by unnamed masters, two "tronies" by Van Hoogstraten and two others "in Turkish fashion" (see cat. no. 74), "a painting representing a woman wearing a necklace," a picture of "cupid" (see cat. no. 78), and "a large painting

representing Christ on the Cross" (see cat. no. 77). In the front room on the upper floor, "two Spanish chairs, a cane with an ivory knob on it, two painter's easels, three palettes, six panels, ten painter's canvases, three bundles with all sorts of prints, a desk, [and] here and there some rummage not worthy of being itemized separately."<sup>85</sup>

Also in the house were "ten portraits of the lineage" of Maria Thins, a painting of "the Mother of Christ" and one of "the Three Kings," a "Veronica" (Christ's face on Veronica's veil), a second, presumably small "Christ on the Cross," and "an ebony wood crucifix" (see cat. no. 77).<sup>86</sup> Two of Vermeer's early paintings would not have been out of place in this collection: the religious picture in Edinburgh (cat. no. 65) and "The Visit to the Tomb" by "Van der Meer" recorded in the 1657 estate of the Amsterdam and Delft art dealer Johannes de Renialme. The prevalence of women in Vermeer's earliest pictures, and of women named Mary (Maria) in these two works (the "Three Marys" visit Christ's tomb), is noteworthy. Another lost and presumably early painting by Vermeer was cited in the 1761 estate auction of Willem van Berckel's collection of paintings in Delft, which had been formed by his father, Gerard. The subject is said to be "Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury," perhaps a misunderstanding of Jupiter, Mercury, and Psyche (or Virtue).<sup>87</sup>

Two other early paintings by Vermeer may reflect his personal life to some degree: the popular theme of Diana and her nymphs was given a new twist to focus upon feminine virtue (cat. no. 64); and the surprising bordello scene in Dresden (cat. no. 66) was perhaps partly inspired by the Van Baburen owned by Maria Thins (see the discussion under cat. nos. 66 and 78–79). But the pictures that date from the artist's early years also reveal how attuned he was to the traditional orientations of the Delft school and to what was currently fashionable. With his entry into the fold of Diana's admirers Vermeer allied himself with court taste and artists such as François Spiering, Rubens, Bramer, Van Couwenbergh, Van Loo, and Van Honthorst (whose *Diana and Her Nymphs* of 1650 was painted for the king of Denmark).<sup>88</sup> *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (cat. no. 65), in its gravity and scale, recalls Van Couwenbergh's attempt to treat the subject (see fig. 59), but also works by Ter Brugghen (see fig. 277), whose strong modeling, description of light, and handling of drapery appear to have influenced Vermeer.

Ter Brugghen has rightly been regarded as the Utrecht painter most comparable to Vermeer, because of the importance of observation in the older artist's work and his contemplative nature. The theatrics, smiles, gestures, and standardized figure types of Van Honthorst were not suited to Vermeer's temperament. And yet that very factor of personality (which one might cite against the notion of a "Delft School" that includes Vermeer) predisposed the Delft painter to absorb a wide range of impressions as well as to respond more strongly to certain artists. In the Edinburgh canvas he achieves a stylistic synthesis of two very different painters, Van Dyck and Ter

Brugghen, who offered him models of movement and stillness, of emotionalism and tranquillity. The unstable mixture seems held together by little more than sincerity, but then the schools of Antwerp and Utrecht were like a second nature to artists in Delft. In the end, it was the more native aspect of the city's artistic heritage that enabled Vermeer to express himself. If one sets *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* next to Willem van Vlier's *Philosopher and Pupils* (cat. no. 65; fig. 56), it is more than the similarities of subject, modeling, illumination, intimate space, individualized features, and still-life details that make the comparison interesting. The combination of candor and reserve in both pictures is characteristic of Delft.

Vermeer's progress through his first four surviving pictures (cat. nos. 64–67), and until about 1660, when he arrived at his mature style, is an extraordinary example of a great artist teaching himself, of surveying stylistic alternatives in a way that no apprenticeship would have permitted. Rembrandt in Leiden is comparable to the early Vermeer in the balance he achieved between willfully learning from other artists and from direct observation. However, Vermeer concentrated upon a narrower range of subjects and expressive qualities. His fascination with light is hardly unprecedented, but few painters focused so exclusively upon its properties for their own sake rather than for their usefulness to dramatic effect.

The main element in Vermeer's program of self-instruction could be described as the refinement of an effective approach to compositional design. We have seen something like the same process in the oeuvres of Delft artists such as De Witte and De Hooch. Compared with them (as opposed to Rembrandt) Vermeer seems wide-ranging in his experiments with color, surface rhythms, lighting effects, and spatial constructions. Similarly, the range of expression in his early figure groups—from Diana's companions to Christ's and the smiling whore's (in cat. nos. 64–66)—is nearly as remarkable for its variety as for its peculiar consistencies. One has the impression of a distinctive personality exploring different roles.

Vermeer's early paintings seem indispensable to his later work when they are considered as exercises in composition, in painting techniques, and in one other essential aspect of his development: he was one of the finest figure painters in Delft. The point is doubly underscored by the facts that a fair number of Delft artists made figure painting their specialty and that no other Delft painter of interiors, whether of churches, inns, or private homes, was particularly talented in this area. The most comparable genre painter, De Hooch, is often noted for his wooden articulation of drapery and the human form.

The number of works by Vermeer in this exhibition allow one to trace his entire development over the course of twenty years. That task may be left to the viewer, to books on the artist, and to essays published in 2000.<sup>89</sup> But a few points deserve emphasis here because of their relevance to the Delft school as a whole. At the beginning of this chapter it was suggested that during the 1650s artists in Delft

started to survey broader horizons, to look to cities such as Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Leiden where the rise of naturalistic styles had been more conspicuous than in Vermeer's hometown. The local painters with whom he had the most in common, Potter, Fabritius, and De Hooch, had trained in northern Holland. Especially important, as discussed above, was the flourishing art market in Amsterdam, where pictures were sent and a number of Delft artists moved. The frequent annotation in the guild book, *vertrokken* (departed), must have seemed to some members like writing on the wall.

If it had not been for very strong personal reasons, "Vermeer of Delft" would probably have become Vermeer of Amsterdam, like Potter, De Witte, Van Aelst, and De Hooch. He must have traveled there occasionally, to judge from his apparent knowledge of works by Jacob van Loo (see fig. 275), Jan van Bronckhorst (ca. 1630–1661; see fig. 134), and other artists active in Amsterdam during the 1650s.<sup>90</sup> It will be recalled that a "Visit to the Tomb" by Vermeer (which was valued at 20 guilders) and a "perspectieff" by Hendrick van Vliet (190 guilders!) were listed in the Amsterdam estate of the art dealer Johannes de Renialme in 1657.<sup>91</sup>

Montias estimates that Vermeer painted only two or three pictures a year and earned an annual income of about 600 guilders.<sup>92</sup> Shortly after the artist's death Maria Thins testified that she regularly gave and sometimes lent money to her daughter and son-in-law.<sup>93</sup> The couple also had a small income from the legacies of Jan and Cornelia Thins (the siblings of Maria), and Vermeer evidently made a modest amount of money selling paintings by other artists. But it could not have been much, especially in the mid-1650s. The beginning of Vermeer's career coincided with the Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–54, which caused a drastic slump in the Dutch economy.<sup>94</sup> In Delft the decline of court patronage and especially the explosion of the powder magazine in October 1654 (see cat. nos. 51, 124) must also have weakened the market for paintings.

Altogether, Montias concludes, Vermeer's income would have ranged from about 850 to 1,500 guilders a year, counting Maria Thins's subsidies but not the rent-free accommodations she provided for his ever-growing family. (He probably never made any money from the "Mechelen," which with its mortgages became Vermeer's when his mother and sister both died in 1670.) From these calculations it appears that the artist could not have supported his wife and children by himself. Moving out of Maria Thins's house, never mind to Amsterdam, probably would have been a financial disaster. There is also no reason to think that Vermeer was so inclined. He appears to have been devoted to his wife and children, to have earned his mother-in-law's trust, and to have been well regarded in the Catholic community and in the painters' guild. He was elected a headman in 1662, at the age of thirty, becoming the youngest artist to serve as an officer since the guild's reorganization in 1611.<sup>95</sup> Vermeer remained active in the guild until at least 1671–73, when he again served as headman.

In November 1657 Vermeer and his wife were lent 200 guilders by the Delft collector Pieter Claesz van Ruijven.<sup>96</sup> So far as is known, the wealthy brewer's son, who owned houses on the Oude Delft and the Voorstraat, had no earlier connection with Vermeer (who was only twenty-six at the time, and the collector almost thirty-three). Montias suggests that Van Ruijven may have lent the artist money as an advance toward the purchase of one or more paintings. In any case, Van Ruijven evidently acquired the great majority (and possibly all) of the twenty-one Vermeers that were inherited by his daughter Magdalena and her husband Jacob Dissius, and sold from the latter's estate in Amsterdam on May 16, 1696.<sup>97</sup>

Among the earliest works by Vermeer in the sale were two pictures dating from about 1657, *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67), *Cavalier and Young Woman* in the Frick Collection (fig. 165), and *The Milkmaid* of about 1657–58 (cat. no. 68).<sup>98</sup> The famous auction also included "The Town of Delft in perspective, as seen from the south side" (fig. 23); "A young lady weighing gold, in a box by J. van der Meer" (cat. no. 73); "A young lady playing the clavier in a room, with a listening gentleman by the same" (fig. 168); and several other identifiable paintings by Vermeer, including "A young lady playing the guitar" and "A young lady doing needlework." The last two pictures—*The Guitar Player* (Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood) and *The Lacemaker* (fig. 173)—date from about 1669–70, which suggests that Van Ruijven was Vermeer's patron for at least thirteen years. Circumstantial support for their continued relationship is found in a testament of 1665 made by Van Ruijven's wife, Maria de Knuijt, who willed 500 guilders to Vermeer (excluding his wife and children if he predeceased them). He was the only person not belonging to the Van Ruijven or De Knuijt families to be left a special bequest in either of their wills. The fact that she left a third of her estate to the "Preachers of the True Reformed Religion in Delft" may explain the exclusion of Vermeer's wife and children but also makes the bequest to the artist appear all the more exceptional.<sup>99</sup>

Pieter van Ruijven evidently purchased about half of Vermeer's production during the best years of the artist's career. In chapter 1 we raised the "provocative question" whether Van Ruijven can be credited with directing Vermeer toward the subjects and style for which he is most admired. The answer, to put it simply, is a qualified "no." It must have been very important for Vermeer to have a sophisticated client on his side. But in the 1650s there was a strong market for scenes of modern manners and pictures of stylish young women alone or with their maids. Gerard ter Borch, with whom Vermeer became acquainted in 1653 (if not earlier), and Leiden artists such as Dou, Van Mieris, and Metsu, were painting expensive and exquisite pictures that in some cases served as models—or, more accurately, points of departure—for Vermeer (see figs. 17, 18). Even in his early history pictures (cat. nos. 64, 65) Vermeer had sensitively considered the behavior and emotions of young women. He must have moved



Fig. 162. Anthonie de Lorme, *Interior of the Lauwenskerk in Rotterdam*, 1655. Oil on canvas, 53½ x 44¾ in. (136 x 114 cm). Historisch Museum, Rotterdam

on to the latest kind of genre painting quite on his own, probably beginning with *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67).

In this comparatively large canvas Vermeer depicted a domestic interior for the first time, unless one counts the background of the painting in Edinburgh (cat. no. 65). The composition recalls that of *The Procureess* (cat. no. 66), where a smiling young woman with lowered eyelids sits behind a carpet-covered table with a wineglass in her hand (a smaller glass stands in front of the “drunken sleeping maid at a table,” as the lady in red was described in the Dissius sale). Vermeer’s means of creating space in the foreground is surprisingly similar in the two pictures: a table seen from above, a carpet near the picture plane, and a diagonal element cutting the lower right corner. The seated figure or figures occupy a narrow gap between the table and wall, which in each case steps back from the section behind the figure on the left. The brown coat with gold buttons in the foreground of *The Procureess* seems to have come from the same shop as the brown pillow with gold trim on the chair in *A Maid Asleep*. In that canvas, the view to a second room, past a door opened toward the viewer, vaguely recalls the arrangement of Mary and Martha’s house, and for all we know that of Maria Thins’s house as well.

As most admirers of Dutch genre painting will know, Vermeer’s domestic interiors were modeled upon those depicted by other artists, not (or not primarily) on his own environment. When one scholar observes that *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* “is set in a modest

interior, more like the hall of an inn [meaning the “Mechelen”] than the marble-floored house of Maria Thins,” he assigns to the widow a luxury found in later pictures by Vermeer (see fig. 161), who in turn borrowed his marble floors from a long line of painters including Van Bassen and De Hooch (see cat. nos. 7, 29).<sup>100</sup> The interior in *A Maid Asleep* is plausible, perhaps even partly studied from life (as its wonderful light effects would suggest). But in its frontal, rectilinear organization the setting appears to have been derived from works by Nicolaes Maes (1634–1693; see fig. 281). Not only the composition but also the coloring, the use of shadows, and to some extent the painting technique of Vermeer’s first “genre interior” suggest that he was familiar with a few of the young Dordrecht painter’s most recent pictures.<sup>101</sup>

The counterpoise of axial elements that Vermeer introduced in *A Maid Asleep* and refined in the late 1650s was a fashion shared with Maes, De Hooch, and other genre painters, with architectural painters such as Saenredam and De Lorme (see fig. 162), and with architects, too. Vermeer arrived at his version of the classic design with careful deliberation, as is evident from a survey of pictures dating about 1657–65, and from radiographs of works painted early in that period. The composition (not to mention the meaning) of *A Maid Asleep* was considerably refined when Vermeer painted out a dog in the doorway and a man in the back room; added the chair in the foreground and the mirror in the distance; and trimmed the composition on all sides (see the discussion under cat. no. 67; fig. 280). In *The Letter Reader* in Dresden (fig. 163), by contrast, the design became less rectilinear but again more focused on the young woman alone when Vermeer removed a large version of the painting of Cupid from the rear wall.<sup>102</sup> The table, the open window, its shadow on the bare wall, and the green curtain (which more than replaced a large *roemer* [rummer] standing in the foreground to the lower right) achieve a balanced design and let other qualities come to the fore, such as superb effects of light and texture, and a heightened degree of verisimilitude. Among the latter’s several sources of inspiration, to judge from the curtain and other aspects of the composition, were church interiors painted in the early 1650s by Houckgeest and De Witte (see cat. nos. 40, 92). They are also of interest for Vermeer’s increasing interest in light.

Originally the letter reader turned her head somewhat toward the window. Thus our view of the woman, like her type, pose, attire, and absorbed expression, would have resembled that often found in paintings by Ter Borch.<sup>103</sup> As Gowing observed, this painting marks a moment in Vermeer’s career when he discovered a specialty that was well suited to his artistic interests and temperament. However fashionable the themes, “Vermeer’s own vein of genre is a very personal one.”<sup>104</sup> Women, without children, preoccupy Vermeer’s comparatively few male figures (apart from the geographer and the astronomer in figs. 174, 175) and his male viewers, who were firstly the painter himself and secondly Van Ruijven or a similar patron. Even when the



Fig. 163. Johannes Vermeer, *The Letter Reader (Young Woman Reading a Letter)*, ca. 1657. Oil on canvas,  $32\frac{3}{4} \times 25\frac{1}{4}$  in. (83 x 64.5 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden



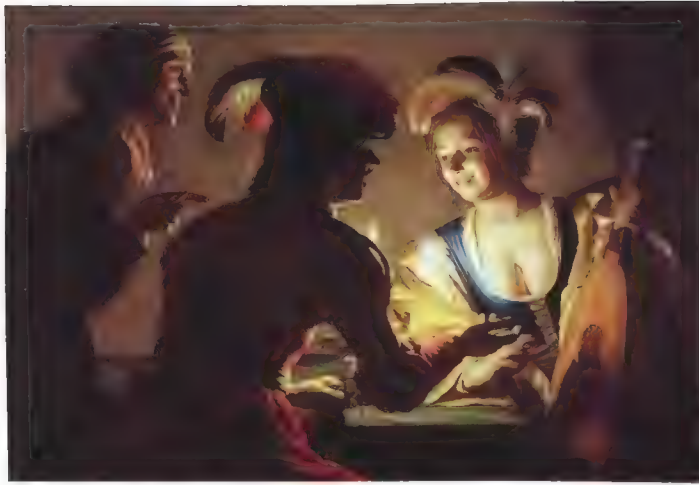


Fig. 164. Gerard van Honthorst, *The Procuress*, 1625.  
Oil on wood, 28 x 41 in. (71 x 104 cm). Centraal  
Museum, Utrecht



Fig. 165. Johannes Vermeer,  
*Cavalier and Young Woman*,  
ca. 1657. Oil on canvas, 19  $\frac{1}{4}$  x  
18  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (50.5 x 46 cm). Frick  
Collection, New York

subject is essentially domestic, the woman seems admired for her beauty and character, not as a cog in the wheel of family life. Her absorption in a particular task is appreciated for the focus outside of herself, rather than as a duty performed. Pouring milk, lifting a water pitcher, making lace, making music, reading a letter are in Vermeer's "own vein of genre" similar acts of concentration, signs of a particular disposition. When preoccupied with pearls, a love letter, or a male companion, the woman may appear more concerned with her own interests, but there is still a sense of self-effacement, of desire or surrender. Vermeer's women do not assume roles in the manner of Maes's mistresses and maids, or of De Hooch's young mothers, serving girls, and coquettes. In similar situations Vermeer's young women look uncomfortable: the stiff pose in *The Glass of Wine* (cat. no. 70), the embarrassed grin in *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167).

When Vermeer first focused on female figures in isolation his survey of artistic prototypes focused, too. His earlier approximations of interior space had not prepared him for the task of reconstructing domestic environments, which soon developed into one of the artist's main interests, comparable to his more intuitive attention to light. The dependence upon a Maes-like system of overlapping and diminishing rectangles in *A Maid Asleep* (there is no perspective scheme to speak of) and the rather awkward insertion of a window into *The Letter Reader* (fig. 163) reveal how new these devices were to Vermeer at the time. The window in the latter picture seems too close to the viewer; without the figure, it would appear to extend no deeper in space than the table. Vermeer compensated for the window's ambiguous placement and perspective (the panes do not properly converge) by draping the red curtain over it. The chair in the corner helps to define the uncertain space between the table and the rear wall (the fourth such in the painter's oeuvre: compare cat. nos. 65–67).<sup>105</sup>

As Vermeer modified his early genre interiors, changing compositions and cutting motifs, he was for the most part transforming borrowed ideas into his own. Every Dutch painter of even moderate talent adopted conventions skillfully, and Vermeer was a master of the game. The extraordinary aspect of his approach is how he would reevaluate artistic notions in the light of actual experience. A common pictorial strategy, such as placing a silhouetted figure in the foreground (Van Honthorst's familiar device; see fig. 164), will be so altered by Vermeer's fascination with how things truly appear that his sources become invisible (as in fig. 165). Similarly, Vermeer reassessed conventions of meaning—the usual interpretation of a subject or motif—in terms of real emotional and intellectual experience: what people felt in certain situations and how knowledgeable viewers responded to works of art. Other painters of the period, such as Rembrandt and Ter Borch, and some writers reveal a similar approach. Nonetheless, the process was personal to Vermeer. Although hardly a philosopher, he was clearly a serious, sensitive, contemplative man, and very fortunate to have had, for a brief

period, practical circumstances that allowed him to work with unusual deliberation.

Vermeer was also experimenting with painting techniques in the 1650s and early 1660s. In *The Letter Reader* he describes forms more illusionistically than before, in a manner broadly similar to genre painters in Leiden, such as Frans van Mieris. But the actual application of paint is more reminiscent of Fabritius (see cat. nos. 19–21). Impressionistic renderings of detail in the figure of the letter reader may be compared with passages in Fabritius's *Self-Portrait* of 1654 (cat. no. 19; the curls of hair, the blurred contours of face and torso), while the textured treatment of light on the face and dress resembles certain surfaces in *The Sentry* and *The Goldfinch* (cat. nos. 20, 21). The "crumbs of crystallized light that form the textures of stone, wood, glass, porcelain, fabric, fruit, hair and skin" in *The Letter Reader* have been considered convincingly as Vermeer's elaboration of "a technique he first used in *The Procuress* for accenting the textures of materials" (for example, in the whore's lace-bordered head scarf).<sup>106</sup> In the earlier of the two pictures in Dresden one also finds thick, beaded highlights on the gold piping of the client's red jacket, and thin, blurred dots of light on the silky ribbon of the same man's hat. Other small highlights, which look like those in later paintings less surely described, are seen in the glass and especially on the neck and lid of the jug. The beaded rendering of the moldings around the foot, body, and neck of the vessel forecasts the optical carpentry of the boats in *A View of Delft* (fig. 23).

While Vermeer independently developed these highly efficient, shorthand notations of visual incident, other artists of the time occasionally employed similar schemes. Willem van Aelst stippled little fields and streams of light on the gold silk borders and fringes of his luxurious tablecloths in still lifes dating from as early as about 1650 (for example, cat. no. 2; compare the fringe on the curtain in *The Letter Reader*). The famous bread in *The Milkmaid* resembles the skin of a lemon or orange by Willem Kalf somewhat magnified. His soft-focus rendering of table carpets, porcelain, and fruit and of reflections in silver and glassware deserve comparison with Vermeer's description of similar objects, which is not to say that they look quite the same. Kalf's optical effects have no exact equivalents, either. Vermeer developed his own precise techniques, his personal conventions, and in some passages pushed them farther than most painters of the time.

That these effects are found in an early stage of development in the two paintings in Dresden (fig. 163; cat. no. 66) is relevant to the hypothesis that Vermeer made use of the camera obscura. The so-called "discs of confusion," beaded ribbons of light, and similar effects defining various surfaces—for example, in the *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165), the tabletop, the diamond-shaped decoration of the chair, the woman's arm and forehead, and minute parts of the map—are found in embryo in *The Procuress* (which no one has associated with an optical device) and gradually become more pronounced in

*The Letter Reader* and the smaller works that follow. Similar origins may be traced for other qualities that have been connected with the camera obscura, such as blurred contours, the halation of highlights, sudden shifts in scale, and intensified relationships of tone and color. It is quite possible that Vermeer noticed a few of these effects in some form of camera obscura, especially the broader qualities of color and light. (The raised forearm in the *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*, cat. no. 71, for example, is strikingly like what one occasionally sees in a photograph.) But less extreme forms of these “optical” effects are found in earlier paintings, and Vermeer appears to have refined them from picture to picture. In some passages he employed them in a remarkably arbitrary manner. For example, in *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68), the highlights sprayed like cream on every piece of bread and the handle of the basket are artistic analogies to texture and to the brilliance of sunlight at the same time. It is not a photographic, not even a naturalistic, effect but an illusionistic device that works splendidly in that small, intensely colored picture. Similarly, in rendering blurred highlights on the lion-head finial of a chair (as in cat. no. 74), Vermeer achieved an effect similar to that seen in a camera obscura (or in photographic reconstructions of how they work), but he was also enhancing effects of light that had been described by Dutch artists a few decades earlier (for example, by Frans Hals).<sup>107</sup>

*The Cavalier and Young Woman*, which is less than half the size (area) of *The Letter Reader* and more concentrated in composition, represents the first time Vermeer employed a perspective scheme to determine the arrangement of forms in space.<sup>108</sup> The main motifs of the composition lock together like sections of stained glass. As in *A Maid Asleep*, the woman in the Frick painting is framed on three sides by rectangular elements; the man and his chair (again cutting a corner in the foreground) assume the visual weight of the angled carpet, the chair, and (with the help of the open window) the open door and view to another space. As in *The Procureess* (cat. no. 66), a smiling woman holds a glass in one hand and extends the other hand above the tabletop.<sup>109</sup> However, a closer sibling is found in the *The Letter Reader*, where a woman in the same dress forms the focus of attention. She reads a letter from an absent lover; in the *Cavalier and Young Woman* he has arrived but remains the male viewer’s surrogate. He is also, of course, a repoussoir, serving like the green curtain to establish physical and psychological space. Other elements—the open window, the same chair—reappear in the smaller picture, almost literally in the case of the map, since it recalls (as a formal element) the painting once placed behind the woman in *The Letter Reader*.

There are countless such relationships between paintings by Vermeer, who clearly had an acute recollection of his own motifs and designs and could have revisited many of them in Van Ruijven’s house, his own, or elsewhere in Delft. This, too, bears on the question of the camera obscura. In particular, the claim that “Vermeer probably used the camera obscura as a compositional aid” is insupportable,

given the many sources of his designs in works by other artists, and the intricate formal connections between Vermeer’s own pictures.<sup>110</sup>

As for Vermeer’s most distinctive qualities of color and light, it seems possible, even likely, that he discovered some of them in a form of camera obscura. But he probably would have treated these effects as he did realistic passages in pictures by other painters: as fragments of visual experience or memory, which the artist would recreate arbitrarily in his own work. In *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165), the flare of white daylight on the back of the dense red coat is unusual and perhaps derived from an optical device. But Vermeer also studied the fall of sunlight on red drapery in *The Letter Reader*, with somewhat similar results (fig. 163). In a sense it does not matter whether the artist first saw an “optical effect” in a painting, by means of a camera obscura, or with the naked eye. He was interested in optical effects, period: for their own sake and, not least, as motifs suited to the display of artistry. De Hooch understood this when he placed a red jacket against a window in *The Visit* (cat. no. 25) and showed the woman’s reflection in the glass. In the same painting, a somewhat overbearing man faces a woman in a yellow jacket across the corner of the sun-stroked tabletop (compare fig. 165). And in another work (cat. no. 26), De Hooch adopted the composition that Vermeer had employed in *Cavalier and Young Woman* (not to mention similar light effects). Or vice versa, since it is not certain which painting came first.<sup>111</sup> What is clear is that Vermeer and De Hooch served each other as “compositional aids.”

As discussed in connection with De Hooch, neither he nor Vermeer introduced the Delft type of genre interior that they both began to depict in about 1657–58. Rather, they refined a regional type, lending it more realistic qualities of space, light, and atmosphere. De Hooch’s use of perspective and the left-corner scheme was more consistent and conventional (cat. no. 29 is one of the classic examples), which is why he appears to have anticipated Vermeer. When that artist did follow De Hooch’s example, as in the *The Glass of Wine* of about 1658–59 (cat. no. 70), his approach is more sophisticated in that the vantage point is closer, the space more complex, and the view more effectively focused upon the figures. An even more naturalistic version of the standard scheme is found in *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68), which in this regard marks a considerable advance beyond *The Letter Reader* and the *Cavalier and Young Woman*. In the kitchen scene, the space is so convincingly described that one hardly comprehends it as an artistic invention.

The simplicity of the setting serves to emphasize the figure, which could be described as Vermeer’s last example of an Antwerp or Utrecht figure type. Leiden models are noted in the catalogue entries (see no. 68); the subject and the meticulous description of forms in the picture recall Van Mieris and Dou. The connection with Leiden is more obvious in front of the painting, which is much smaller than most first-time viewers expect it to be. The firm modeling of the



Fig. 166. Johannes Vermeer, *Young Woman Interrupted at Music*, ca. 1659–60. Oil on canvas, 15½ x 17½ in. (39.3 x 44.4 cm). Frick Collection, New York

figure, which with the table forms a partial pyramid seen from a low point of view (compare the arrangement in cat. no. 65),<sup>112</sup> lends the image its surprising monumentality. But the sculptural quality is also found in Vermeer's sources, namely all the kitchen maids of the Aertsen-Beuckelaer-Snyders type, which were painted in Utrecht by Joachim and Peter Wtewael and by the Delft artists Pieter van Rijck, Cornelis Delff, and Willem van Odekercken (see the latter's undated *Woman Scouring a Vessel* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). This background accounts for the resemblance between Vermeer's milkmaid and Willem van Vliet's robust temptress painted thirty years earlier in *An Allegory* (cat. no. 85). It seems typical of Delft that these figures have been assigned such gravity, in both senses of the term. "The kitchen maid conveys a physical and moral presence unequaled by any other figure in Dutch art," according to one scholar, who considers *The Milkmaid* an emblem of virtue and modesty.<sup>113</sup>

*A Maid Asleep*, *Cavalier and Young Woman*, *The Milkmaid*, and mostly likely *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167) were owned by Pieter van Ruijven, according to Montias's interpretation of the documents. It is an intriguing prospect to contemplate that Vermeer and his patron could have conversed about his "conversation pieces,"

considering their themes, their subtleties, possibly even their precedents (from which *The Milkmaid*, in its reticence, slyly departs). A collector who owned several of the artist's pictures of attractive young women — he later acquired *Woman with a Balance* (cat. no. 73) and *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* (fig. 18) — must have savored their allusiveness and their discretion in restating established themes. In one way Vermeer's paintings were the polar opposites of the "drolleries" John Evelyn saw at the Rotterdam fair and bought from Van Couwenbergh, which were popular works done for the open market.<sup>114</sup> And yet, Vermeer's paintings were made for gentlemen, well-educated, socially experienced patrons like Evelyn, Huygens, and (it would appear) Van Ruijven. How they might smile at the modern reading of the milkmaid as a companion to one of Cuyp's heroic cows and as an ancestor of the noble farm girls painted by Jozef Israëls (1824–1911) and Jean-François Millet (1814–1875).

Vermeer turned to a new type of composition in the late 1650s, in *Young Woman Interrupted at Music* (fig. 166), *Young Woman with a Wineglass*, and *The Glass of Wine*. In his earlier interior views he suggested three-dimensional space mostly by building back in depth with objects and figures (as in *The Milkmaid*). In the slightly later pictures,

by contrast, figures and furniture are placed in the middle ground of a deep space which, with its tiled floor and complex arrangement of windows and other elements, has become self-sufficient. It would not be unreasonable to compare *The Glass of Wine* with a detail (for example, the lower left corner) of Van Bassen's imaginary church interior of 1620 (cat. no. 6), although Houckgeest's paintings of the early 1650s and De Hooch's interior and courtyard views of 1658–59 are more immediately relevant. Vermeer soon became adept in employing orthodox perspective schemes, which like the other conventions he adopted were modified subjectively. The locations of the vanishing point, and thus the horizon, and of the distance points (which control the viewer's apparent distance from the scene) were selected by Vermeer with an eye to their expressive qualities, such as an impression of intimacy or isolation. The lady's intent glance in the *Cavalier and Young Woman* (where the vanishing point is in front of the man's nose), the poise of the right hand in *The Milkmaid* (where the entire composition balances), and the painter's study (and ours) of the model in *The Art of Painting* (cat. no. 76) were enhanced by Vermeer's judicious perspective schemes.<sup>115</sup>

Vermeer's use of perspective in the 1660s developed together with his study of light and shadow. Already in *The Glass of Wine*, the handling of light is more harmonious and consistent than ever before; one is less inclined to describe its "behavior" (as in *The Milkmaid*) than its effect throughout the space. There are noteworthy incidents, to be sure; John Nash describes the simple back of the chair as "an object of lyric beauty, angled as it is both to catch and reflect the light bestowed on it by the open window and to rhyme with and respond to the silhouette of the window-frame itself."<sup>116</sup> But about 1660 Vermeer's light and shadows begin to work less hard at describing objects for what they are: a map or window casement (as in fig. 165), a wicker basket or a brass pail (as in cat. no. 68). Light is now less deferential to details and textured surfaces, and more of a common denominator. In *The Glass of Wine*, the green cloak, the orange dress, and the woman's forearms are generalized and subjected to quite arbitrary transitions from intense brightness to deep shadow (hence the man's odd detachment from the space behind him). Modeling has given way to modulation, and the massing of objects in space to its graduated measure by light.

In general, one could say that in the late 1650s and early 1660s Vermeer came to represent his environment more broadly in terms of space and light, which required a sublimation of tactile and sculptural qualities (*Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*, cat. no. 71, may be compared with *The Milkmaid* in this respect). The evolution is analogous to that found in Delft architectural paintings, which developed from the precisely articulated church interiors of Houckgeest and Van Vliet (Hans Jantzen described their approach as "haptic") to the optical manner found in mature works by De Witte.<sup>117</sup> The contrast underscores the importance of personal experience, and ultimately of

personality, for visual perception and its transcription into art. Signs of Vermeer's interest in optical qualities are evident in his earliest works. But transforming this predisposition into a coherent style of painting, with its formal reductions and syntheses, required considerable experience, both as an artist adopting conventions and techniques and as an individual responding to the visual environment. Vermeer became a mature artist as his ways of seeing and of painting came into accord.

The Delft painter's exquisite sense of design served him well in this process. The kind of surface patterns that were described above, Vermeer's unobtrusive but pervasive geometry, became extended into the third dimension as he pursued his interest in perspective. In *The Glass of Wine*, the strong recession is tempered by obliquely aligned elements such as the floor tiles, the window, and the chair supporting a cittern, to which the man and woman form a parallel. The same motifs set in motion a more gradual recession to the right; before the canvas itself the naturalistic impression of expanding space (compare cat. no. 37) is enhanced by some sense of recession through the window to the outside. In the center of the composition the objects recede abruptly: the landscape is placed beyond the table like a choir at the end of a nave. Relationships of this kind reveal a great deal of pictorial learning, from perspective treatises perhaps, but especially from other painters, such as Houckgeest and De Hooch.

Three paintings by Vermeer bring De Hooch to mind more than any others: *The Little Street* (see the discussion under cat. no. 69) and, of more immediate interest here, *The Glass of Wine* and the *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167). The comparatively conventional type of composition that Vermeer shared with De Hooch, with its emphasis upon perspective, allowed him to place figures and objects at a certain distance from the viewer and thus to describe them more summarily as components in a visual field. The approach is similar to De Witte's synthesis of architectural elements in the middle ground (as in cat. no. 92) and his tendency to present elevations frontally, so that near and far motifs combine in a uniform, softly focused pattern. The greater role of architectural and other geometric elements in Vermeer's work from about 1658 onward, their frequent frontality, his simplification of contours in figures and figure groups (for example, the conical shapes in the *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*, cat. no. 71, and the *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, fig. 169), and his attention to "negative" shapes within the composition (sections of bare wall advance visually, like De Witte's windows) suggest that the artist appreciated the value of these formal ideas wherever he encountered them.

While an interest in artificial perspective was characteristic of the entire century in Europe, it was also a fashion at certain times and places. *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168) is one of the most striking instances of the trend in Delft. It probably dates close to pictures that feature similarly strong recessions, by artists such as Van Hoogstraten





Fig. 167. Johannes Vermeer, *Young Woman with a Wineglass*, ca. 1659–60. Oil on canvas, 30½ x 26¼ in. (77.5 x 66.7 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich–Museum, Brunswick



Fig. 168. Johannes Vermeer, *The Music Lesson* (*A Woman at the Virginal with a Gentleman*), ca. 1662–63. Oil on canvas, 29 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (74 x 64.5 cm). Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, London

(see fig. 138), Hendrick van Vliet (see cat. no. 84), and Coesermans (see cat. no. 13). A dating of Vermeer's canvas to about 1662–63 is also suggested by its comparatively light and local coloring and by the textured treatment of passages such as the highlighted edge of the table-carpet.

The queue of forms on the right, extending from the table to the chair and viol, the woman, the virginal, and the forms reflected in the mirror, may be compared with the sequence of figures, four altogether, in *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167). In both pictures, a white pitcher draws attention to secondary figures: in the latter a dozing man, who indicates that idleness leads to temptation; and, in *The Music Lesson* a painting of Roman Charity, where Cimon's bound arms and dependence upon Pero suggest the gentleman caller's captivity. He is bound by bars of music, which he evidently sings as well as hears, and by beauty and desire. From his point of view the young

woman appears in profile, looking slightly downward, rather as the figure in *The Letter Reader* (fig. 163) appears to the viewer. In each picture a reflection tempts one further, to succumb to the exquisite, frustrating pleasures of sight.

Like other paintings by Vermeer, not least those owned by Van Ruijven (as this one apparently was), *The Music Lesson* plays with the notion of voyeurism: art (mirror of nature) and sight itself seduce the artist, the lover, the viewer, the connoisseur.<sup>118</sup> The glimpse of an easel in the mirror reveals that the whole image is an artifice,<sup>119</sup> depicting what we desire but cannot embrace, like the woman's reflection. As has often been observed, Vermeer sets up tables and other barriers in the foregrounds of his early works to hold the viewer at a distance. Here perspective performs the same function, as it does in Macs's paintings of eavesdroppers spying on lovers.<sup>120</sup> (Perspective and lovers are also implied in Bramer's drawing with a

Fig. 169. Johannes Vermeer, *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, ca. 1663–64. Oil on canvas, 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (46.6 x 39.1 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



peephole, cat. no. 108.) Vermeer is capable of humor, as is seen in *The Procuress* and the Van Mieris-like subject of *Young Woman with a Wineglass*.<sup>121</sup> But *The Music Lesson* is about the lure of the senses, about love and reverie. Of course, the short title is erroneous: in his present state of mind the suitor with a fancy baldric and silver-hilted sword (not the attributes of a music master) would not be capable of teaching or learning anything.

A small number of pictures by Vermeer that appear to date from the same period, about 1662–64, were grouped together by Gowing as the “pearl pictures,” named in honor of the *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* in Berlin (fig. 18). The similar compositions include *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (fig. 169), *Woman with a Balance* (cat. no. 73), and *Woman with a Lute* (cat. no. 72). These works are, remarkably enough, more noteworthy for their naturalistic qualities than the paintings of the late 1650s, in large part because even their most striking

passages of observation are subordinated to the impression made by the whole. The “pearl pictures” are also less obviously composed than their immediate predecessors; Gowing dared describe them as less “primitive” in this respect than the *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* (cat. no. 71). That painting’s interlocking shapes and primary colors, together with the figure’s frozen pose, do create a somewhat sacerdotal impression, as if forming the framework of an altar devoted to light. By contrast, the pregnant spaces and large, blending areas of light and shadow in paintings like *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* and *Woman with a Balance* suggest progress into depth without visible effort. The figures seem immobile for the moment rather than for all time.

The subject of a woman absorbed in the pleasant task of self-adornment was well suited to Vermeer’s temperament. Like Ter Borch (see fig. 17), he was a perceptive invader of privacy, finding in unguarded moments the most appealing aspects of feminine charm.



Fig. 170. Johannes Vermeer, *A Lady Writing*, ca. 1665–67. Oil on canvas, 17¼ x 15¼ in. (45 x 39.9 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Gift of Harry Waldron Havemeyer and Horace Havemeyer, Jr., in memory of their father, Horace Havemeyer

However, the distinctive sensibilities that the two painters brought to bear upon the theme should not obscure the fact that it was fairly commonplace in contemporary Dutch, Flemish, French, and English art. Also popular, significantly, were the theoretically more elevated subjects of Venus at her toilette, Diana bathing, and Bathsheba responding to David's call.<sup>122</sup> In these history pictures we also have the pleasure of discovering young women in unguarded moments, performing ablutions or occupied in other personal pursuits. Of course, the parallel continued in eighteenth-century France, where a bedroom scene might feature a dashing young gentleman and an incautious ingenue, or Venus in the embrace of Mars. A telling moment of synthesis between the two types of genre and history painting was reached in a celebrated picture by Jan Steen, where the fair Bathsheba, looking like a lady on loan from Ter Borch, displays the letter inscribed with King David's invitation. She almost seems to be asking the male viewer, "Is this really from you?"<sup>123</sup>

In four paintings of the early to mid-1660s, Vermeer placed a string of pearls on a table next to or spilling out of a jewelry box

(cat. nos. 71, 73; figs. 169, 170). Despite the preoccupation with pearls, no jewelry box appears in *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*, but a basin, a brush, and, on the near corner of the table, a comb. A brush and comb occupy the same position on Ter Borch's table, while a basin and a pitcher are held close at hand by the maid. These motifs—together with the focus upon a mirror—stand for purification, the need to curry and cleanse the soul. It has been said that Vermeer exchanged a "negative" for a "positive" meaning when he eliminated a map and stringed instrument from the composition.<sup>124</sup> But things are never so simple with Vermeer; he worked intuitively, editing his work to make it less explicit, more evocative. If the Delft painter's use of symbols is generally less obvious than in other artists' works it is because of his sympathy for human nature, his instinctive reticence, and his practice of subordinating incidentals to the overall impression and mood.<sup>125</sup>

With regard to style and approximate date one could also include *A Lady Writing* (fig. 170) among the "pearl pictures"; the limits of the honorific category are unclear. In these works of the early to mid-1660s,





Fig. 171. Gerard ter Borch, *Woman Writing a Letter*, ca. 1655. Oil on wood, 15½ x 11¼ in. (39 x 29.5 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague

Vermeer, then in his early thirties, gradually refined all the qualities of his mature style. Of course, they were variously emphasized, in accordance with different subjects. In *A Lady Writing*, for example, the play of light and shadow predominates, suggesting (it seems) intelligence as well as intimacy and a velvety luxury reminiscent of still lifes by Kalf. In *The Concert* (fig. 161), by contrast, although it dates from about the same time (1665–67), perspective and geometric relationships are emphasized. They underscore the impression of harmony, which the viewer, watching as if from a doorway, hesitates to disturb. One does not have the sensation of staring, as in *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168), where the vanishing point is coincident with the woman's back. In *The Concert* the recession converges toward the bare wall above the cittern on the table; the viewer is drawn in a blocked direction, that is, urged to remain where he is. From a discreet distance, the observer can contemplate the different kinds of landscape painting in the picture — the one idyllic, the other untamed — and might compare this scene of temperate pleasure with that of mercenary love on the wall. Although hardly so staid as Van Vliet's notion of harmony in the Van der Dussen family portrait (cat. no. 80),

Vermeer's canvas also conveys contentment with the licit pleasures of proper society.

In his orderly designs of the 1660s Vermeer was following a regional tradition of genre and architectural painting that was associated above with Antwerp, Middelburg, and the southern part of the province of Holland, that is, the Delfland area of Leiden, The Hague, Delft, and Rotterdam. But like De Hooch, and in their different domain Houckgeest, Van Vliet, and De Witte, Vermeer gave new life to familiar patterns by closely studying appearances. Ter Borch's example (see fig. 17) must have helped him to overcome the more artificial effects of the South Holland style; the prevalence of shadows in the older artist's genre scenes lends them animation and ambiance — that is, a naturalism not found in the fancy interior views that Van Bassen and Houckgeest painted in the first half of the century. However, Houckgeest himself, before 1650, enriched his architectural views with convincing interplays of light and shadow (see fig. 95), and De Witte, De Hooch, and other artists in the 1650s did the same, to expressive effect.

Of course, the importance of observation, personality, and sheer talent in Vermeer's work tends to absolve him from the indignity of conventional stylistic analysis. The point is simply that he was anything but an innocent eye. Gowing rightly insisted on Vermeer's wide-ranging knowledge of what other Dutch artists had done or



Fig. 172. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Scholar*, 1631. Oil on canvas, 41 x 36¼ in. (104 x 92 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg



were doing at the time, and he understood that it took such sophistication to paint as if “from life.” Vermeer’s style was a new synthesis of qualities found in Fabritius, Potter, Houckgeest, De Witte, De Hooch, Ter Borch, Dou, Van Mieris, and a considerable number of other artists, whose every contribution he reexamined in the light of his own visual, intellectual, and emotional experience. This is nearly the opposite process from the one often imagined for the painter—that he worked like a photographer nudging optical information in different aesthetic directions. Vermeer was firstly an artist of a particular time and place, who like several of his colleagues became fascinated with certain aspects of visual experience. These were incorporated into existing patterns of picture making and promptly became stylistic conventions themselves. It was the presence in the studio not of a camera but of the same artist that accounts for the repetition of optical effects and illusionistic devices in Vermeer’s work. They vary considerably in their relation to what might have been seen, like the *pointillé* of sunlight which is sprinkled onto brightly illuminated bread (in cat. no. 68) but also is splashed on the shadowy side of a boat (see fig. 23). Especially telling is the schematization, the shorthand notation of light effects in late works by Vermeer (see cat. no. 77), where a tapestry, including its sequins of sunlight, may resemble a tapestry cartoon and where one can barely distinguish between “real” highlights on satin and faux marbling on wood.

When one sees Vermeer as an artist of the Delft school his patrons can be envisioned as well. For however much the painter’s distinctive qualities reflected his own disposition and experience they were also largely in accord with the interests of contemporary connoisseurs. Close description, whether “illusionistic” or not, was appreciated in Vermeer’s day, not as an alternative to style (the view, effectively, of Thoré-Bürger, Henry James, and many later critics of Dutch art), but as itself a style, an aesthetic alternative.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, the naturalistic manner, when practiced on the level of Dou, Van Mieris, or Vermeer, required extraordinary amounts of time and concentration, and the promise of (or independence from) patronage. Certain kinds of description were considered challenges, to be taken up as opportunities for virtuoso display. Ter Borch and Van Mieris were among the artists who specialized in the rendering of fine fabrics, with their shifting tonalities and elusive textures.<sup>127</sup> The Leiden painters seized, indeed invented, opportunities to study reflections in metal and glass and to distinguish between the surfaces of stone, wood, plaster, leather, skin, and other materials, including fabrics ranging from silk and satin to fur and wool. Dou’s *Self-Portrait* of about 1665 (fig. 288) constitutes such an exercise, and for good measure points out the superiority of painting over sculpture. As in other self-portraits, Dou presents himself as a learned artist, achieving immortality through fame.<sup>128</sup> But that familiar theme could have been embodied in prose or an engraving. The painting serves as a testament of craftsmanship.

Vermeer demonstrates his own art of painting in *The Art of Painting* (cat. no. 76), which of course is also an allegory of painting as a liberal art. There is a remarkable array of materials differently described, despite the artist’s optical rather than tactile approach. It seems consistent with this different predisposition that Vermeer eliminates Dou’s kind of illusionism at the picture plane, with its relieflike and one-better-than-relieflike effects, and instead treats three-dimensional space as an image at a certain distance, where light suggests the nature of objects without surveying them in detail. The items that Dou sets forth like arguments in the foreground are shown unassertively on the table by Vermeer, whose tapestry, chandelier, map, and model surpass any passage of painting by the Leiden artist. Everything in the Delft master’s picture is crafted to look perfectly natural, as if the studied ease of the courtier (as defined in Baldassare Castiglione’s then-famous book) had been transformed into a manner of making art.

There are many such instances of virtuoso painting in Vermeer’s work, like the window and the metal objects in *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* (cat. no. 71) and the celebrated threads in the foreground of *The Lacemaker* (fig. 173), which have inconspicuous antecedents in the tapestry in *The Art of Painting*. That the same passages testify to an intense interest in observation, including “optical” effects (blurred highlights, shifts in focus, and so on), would have only added to their contemporary appeal as displays of artistry. The modern notion that Vermeer in some sense transcribed what he saw with his eyes or with an optical device ignores the fact that his own style remains recognizable throughout, and underestimates the technical difficulty of describing things as he does.

As one follows Vermeer through the last decade of his life (from about 1665 to 1675) it becomes harder to say what is typical of Delft, of the painter, and of Dutch painting in general. Perhaps his synthesis of sophistication and understatement, or refinement and reserve, reflects the ideals of Delft society, or at least that sector of society in Delft and The Hague with which Vermeer aspired to associate (at least as an artist). The supposition would hardly require one to conclude that Vermeer altered his own inclinations to suit connoisseurs, any more than Rubens or Rembrandt did. At the same time, the evidence strongly linking Vermeer to amateurs and collectors of a certain class—not only Van Ruijven but also Balthasar de Monconys, Pieter Teding van Berkhout, Constantijn Huygens, Diego Duarte (see pp. 8–9), and perhaps the distinguished Delft residents Gerard van Berckel (ca. 1620–1686) and Nicolacs van Assendelft (1630–1692; see the discussion under cat. nos. 78, 79)—must be taken seriously.<sup>129</sup>

There have been alternative hypotheses, to be sure, and they generally underscore the difficulty of assessing something so broad and ambiguous as the character of a culture, especially after it already has been interpreted to suit the values of later societies (for which Dutch art might represent the triumph of the individual, democracy,



Fig. 173. Johannes Vermeer, *The Lacemaker*, ca. 1669–70. Oil on canvas, 9¼ x 8¼ in. (24.5 x 21 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

capitalism, the middle class, empirical science, and so on).<sup>130</sup> For example, it has been suggested that Vermeer's art reflects more successfully than any other painter's the "quiet, peaceful and domestic atmosphere" of Dutch life in general, and specifically "the self-contained character of the Dutch bourgeoisie," after the country became officially independent (1648).<sup>131</sup> If so, one can only marvel at how the tenor of patrician life in Delft spread around the country, despite the economically and politically troubled times.<sup>132</sup> Conversely, Vermeer's "classicism" and his apparent rationalism have been associated with French art and philosophy,<sup>133</sup> although there is no evidence that the painter was familiar with Poussinist pictures or with foreign languages. The latest argument along these lines is also the most extreme. In a recent description of *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*, for example, several items of interior decoration, like the leaded window, carpeted table, and mounted map, rise above their normal significance as status symbols to "become vehicles for creating a

sense of nature's underlying order."<sup>134</sup> The reference to "nature" in this residential context recalls contemporary garden design, where geometric forms and graceful order were also admired. However, Vermeer's preoccupations with "perspective, proportion, and subtle compositional adjustments" are said to follow (according to the same line of thought) not from current fashions but from his personal "interest in cartography, music, geography, astronomy, and optics, the study of which inevitably introduced him to Neoplatonic concepts of measure and harmony."<sup>135</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not know if any of the twenty-five books "of all kinds" cited in Vermeer's estate dealt with such high-minded subjects.<sup>136</sup> The allusions made in several of his pictures suggest that he was not unread, at least in fields directly relevant to the matters at hand. And Vermeer probably had a few well-schooled acquaintances, in particular Huygens (who corresponded with Descartes and Mersenne).<sup>137</sup> But there seems no reason to rank Vermeer with learned



Fig. 174. Johannes Vermeer, *The Geographer*, 1669. Oil on canvas, 20½ x 17¾ in. (52 x 45.5 cm). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main

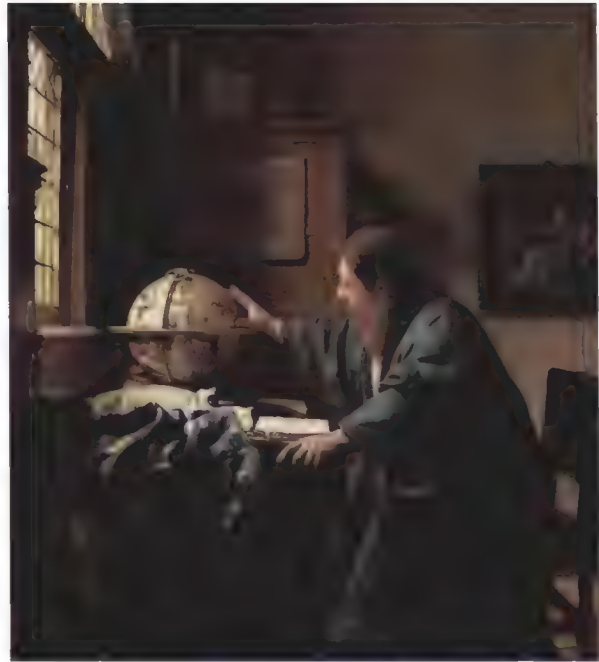


Fig. 175. Johannes Vermeer, *The Astronomer*, 1668. Oil on canvas, 19⅙ x 17¾ in. (50 x 45 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

artists like Rubens and Poussin; he probably had some second-hand notions of contemporary science and philosophy, but they appear to have had little bearing on his style. The very qualities that comprise Vermeer's so-called classicism—a term that has nothing to do with other aspects of his work—had been favored in Delft and The Hague for decades: perspective, proportion, restrained action and expression, a sense of order, and in some cases “measure and harmony” (as in cat. no. 80).<sup>138</sup>

Of course, there is much more to Vermeer's art than these qualities. The great majority of his subjects reflect a certain level of Dutch society. It is not always obvious to the modern eye, surveying Vermeer's comparatively spare interiors, that their appointments are mostly luxurious: tapestries, imported table-carpets, curtains, paintings, large maps, tiled floors, chandeliers, silver-gilt and porcelain vessels, musical instruments, jewelry boxes, and so on. The very scale of Vermeer's rooms, intimate though he makes them appear, reveals a standard of living quite beyond the reach of the “Dutch bourgeoisie.”<sup>139</sup> In *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (fig. 169), the flood of light from the left and the size and placement of the map imply tall windows and high ceilings, as in recently built town houses; even the finest seventeenth-century residences in Delft would not have had the sense of space suggested in this painting (and depicted in detail in *The Music Lesson*). The modish and attractive young woman—a male viewer of the period would immediately notice that she is beautiful—is absorbed in a love letter; the look of pleasure on her face, her tight hold on the sheet of

paper, and her perfectly natural immobility make it hard to look away (as does the structure of the composition). A string of pearls lies by the large jewelry box. In 1660 Samuel Pepys paid 4½ pounds for a pearl necklace, and in 1666 he paid 80 pounds for another, which at the time amounted to about 45 and 800 guilders, respectively.<sup>140</sup> The reader will recall from chapter 1 that in 1663 Monconys was shown a single-figure painting by Vermeer for which 600 guilders had been paid and that he considered the price outrageous.<sup>141</sup>

Vermeer's cast of characters is quite restricted, which has encouraged fruitless and essentially misguided attempts to identify some of his figures as people he knew.<sup>142</sup> It has been noted that, unlike De Hooch, this father of eleven never depicted children, except for two generic specimens in *The Little Street* (cat. no. 69). Perhaps more to the point are the class distinctions and age discrimination in the artist's oeuvre. With the exception of *Study of a Young Woman* (cat. no. 75) and the celebrated *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (fig. 285; see the discussion under cat. no. 75)—which are *tronies*, not meant as reflections of Vermeer's society—no one is under twenty years of age in his pictures, or over about thirty-five (with the possible exception of two servants). The maids are mostly well dressed—too much so in *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67)—and even the men have fussed over their hair and clothing, or affected that chic sign of leisure, the “Japanese” robe (fig. 175).<sup>143</sup>

A person of the period would also have admired the behavior of the people in Vermeer's pictorial world. It is not just that they have

learned their manners; his men and women grew up with them. Verkolje's couple playing backgammon in the Mauritshuis picture (cat. no. 63)—something, one senses, that Vermeer's protagonists would prefer not to do—have been interrupted by a regimental messenger who calls the dashing officer to duty. The young lovers react immediately; like the dog, they turn and stare, and emotion, not reason, shapes their lips and eyes. It is hard to imagine the couple in *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168) behaving in quite the same way. Another one of Vermeer's women, receiving an unexpected missive at her writing desk (fig. 286), lifts her fingers to her chin and is, although not unaffected, giving the matter thought. By contrast, the gesture of Verkolje's young lady—at least she has dressed the part—seems very nearly vulgar (like her chair, in the latest Amsterdam style). Her *profil perdu* (as in the Vermeer) was ultimately derived from Ter Borch, but something has been lost in translation, an impression of naturalness rather than calculation, and an assumption about the intelligence of the male viewer. He is instantly seduced by Verkolje's woman, but he is haunted by Vermeer's.

Vermeer admired intelligence and its social signs, such as candor and discretion. The motifs of writing, reading, and receiving letters, which comprised one of the most fashionable and potentially evocative themes in Dutch genre painting during the 1650s and 1660s, were treated by the Delft artist with such subtlety that one overlooks their obvious sources. In *A Lady Writing* (fig. 170), for example, Vermeer transformed a composition developed by Ter Borch (fig. 171), whose interpretations were already the most nuanced of the day, by blending it with a standard pose in Dutch and Flemish scholar portraits (fig. 172). In retrospect, this seems a simple stroke of genius, but Vermeer's image of a confident and clear-sighted woman emerged in a different manner, from a constant stream of intuitions and artistic knowledge.

Of course, Vermeer himself depicted scholars in his slightly later canvases *The Astronomer* and *The Geographer* (figs. 174, 175). The two pictures have been described implausibly as portraits of the Delft microscopist Anthony van Leeuwenhoek,<sup>144</sup> but together they represent the type of person he attempted to be, an amateur of several sciences, such as astronomy, geography, navigation, and so on. It seems likely that the paintings were made as pendants and that they were commissioned by or intended for someone with Van Leeuwenhoek's (or Christiaan Huygens's) interests.<sup>145</sup> Cornelis de Man, partly in response to Vermeer, painted several pictures of scholars in their studies, all of them genre scenes, not portraits (see fig. 176).<sup>146</sup> As in Vermeer's paintings, stylish attire and the interior itself confirm the patrician nature of such private pursuits (as do Pepys's reports of his household hobbies and dinner conversations).<sup>147</sup> Terrestrial and celestial globes (which may be read as pendants in Vermeer's pictures) were such familiar attributes of learned artists as well as learned gentlemen that it is not at all surprising to find the two paintings by Vermeer described in a Rotterdam sale of 1713 as "A work depicting a Mathematical Artist, by vander Meer;" and "A ditto by the same."<sup>148</sup>

Contemplative expressions are the norm in images of this kind. But Vermeer appears to have gone deeper into the subject, suggesting, for example, that these intellectual endeavors support both a contemplative and an active life (such as sailing the seas). In *The Astronomer*, a painting of the finding of Moses, the infant sailor who was occasionally described in Vermeer's time as "the oldest geographer," hangs on the rear wall. Klaas van Berkel suggests persuasively that the picture in the Louvre represents "two very different types of seventeenth-century knowledge, the new beside the old [Mosaic science], the strictly calculated beside the contemplative, knowledge beside wisdom."<sup>149</sup> *The Geographer* gives the same impression; indeed, the greater emphasis upon contemplation (if not ancient learning) appears to have been placed there. It could be said, in summary, that the two pictures have the same meaning, that the two figures are one and the same. He is the contemporary scholar and gentleman, who draws upon the wisdom of the ages as well as his own experience. And so, in his own way, did Vermeer.

The range of style and technique in Vermeer's late work is illustrated by these paintings (which, suitably, are among the more descriptive), by the abbreviated forms found in *The Lacemaker*, *The Guitar Player*, and *The Love Letter* (fig. 177), and by the broad, almost brittle modeling of the figures in *Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid* (fig. 178), with its "unarguable, unfeeling fall of light."<sup>150</sup> (See also the discussion under cat. nos. 77–79, on the Metropolitan



Fig. 176. Cornelis de Man, *Geographers at Work*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 31 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 26 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (81 x 68 cm). Kunsthalle, Hamburg





177. Johannes Vermeer, *The Love Letter*, ca. 1669–70. Oil on canvas, 17 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 15 in. (44 x 38 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Museum's *Allegory of the Faith* and the two late pictures of women playing virginals in the National Gallery, London.) Vermeer's late manner has been associated with everything from the camera obscura to Neoplatonic philosophy (these two hypothetical factors in the same breath). And recently one scholar has also insisted that the artist's tendency toward abstraction in works of about 1669 onward was "in many ways a natural outgrowth of his own stylistic evolution," a kind of brilliant inbreeding, which may be ascribed solely to "Vermeer's own artistic inclinations, and not the demands of a patron."<sup>151</sup> But however rare an artist Vermeer may have been, it seems permissible to think that even his style might have varied with contemporary taste, as well as with his personal interests and circumstances. What would the contemporary theorist Gerard de Lairese have said of the modern judgment that Vermeer's work in the early 1670s represents a falling off? As Claus Kemmer has shown, De Lairese advocated not only the emulation of antiquity and the treatment of history subjects but also an elevated kind of genre painting, in which the figures are "cleansed of all imperfections": their poses are "well mannered," and passions play over their features in a way that reveals good breeding as well as the feelings of the moment.<sup>152</sup>

Perhaps Vermeer had similar views in mind when he conceived a few of his later pictures. Several genre painters of the period moved in the same direction, away from illusionism and toward abstraction, decoration, or stylization, as is obvious enough in the oeuvres of Van

Hoogstraten, Van Mieris, Netscher, Egdon van der Neer, and (in Delft) De Man and Verkolje (see cat. nos. 42, 63). If this trend still appears in some ways personal to Vermeer, it may be because it remains closely linked with his interest in the behavior of light and with the meaning of his subjects—for example, an allegory of the Catholic faith.

*Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid* (fig. 178) is no exception, to judge from its mood, its apparent meaning, and its stoic style. As if responding to De Lairese's opinions (which were shared by other critics, such as Constantijn Huygens and Jan de Bisschop in The Hague),<sup>153</sup> the sober maid seems to control her feelings with dignity. The precise purpose of her mistress's letter is unclear; the subject does not appear to involve a social situation so much as individual behavior and character. On the wall in the background, a painting of *The Finding of Moses* (much enlarged from its scale in *The Astronomer*) may offer a comparison between the biblical episode (Exod. 2:5–10) and contemporary life. Pharaoh's daughter sends a maid to the Hebrew women, acting in the best interests of everyone concerned. Perhaps Vermeer's canvas, like several others in his oeuvre, is about people behaving admirably when their emotions or personal desires might have set them on another course. This late picture was not owned by Van Ruijven; it passed from the artist's widow to the Delft baker Hendrick van Buyten, whom she owed more than 600 guilders for bread.<sup>154</sup>

To some extent Vermeer's tendency to simplify his technique in works of the 1670s may have been influenced by economic considerations. His paintings of the 1660s required great investments of time, concentration, and in some cases materials.<sup>155</sup> These points were appreciated by critics and connoisseurs; according to Joachim von Sandrart, Gerard Dou not only received an annual stipend from Pieter Spiering Silvercroon but also charged him 6 guilders per hour for work on his finely executed pictures, which added up to between 600 and 1,000 guilders apiece.<sup>156</sup>

This level of the art market disappeared in 1672, when the Dutch economy was devastated by a French invasion and the English war. In the summer of 1675 Vermeer borrowed 1,000 guilders from an Amsterdam merchant. He was buried on December 16 of the same year, at the age of forty-three. Two years later, on July 27, 1677, his wife testified that in the last few years of his life the artist could not sell his own pictures or those by others which he had on hand. Because of this and "the very great burden of [his] children, having nothing of his own, he had lapsed into such decay and decadence, which he had so taken to heart that, as if he had fallen into a frenzy, in a day and a half he had gone from being healthy to being dead."<sup>157</sup>

Vermeer created in his paintings a more perfect world than any he had ever witnessed. Poverty, disease, age, despair, and the large-scale calamities that occasionally afflicted Delft left no trace upon his human subjects, who are concerned with love, beauty, the arts and sciences, spiritual life, and worldly pleasure in moderation. It could





Fig. 178. Johannes Vermeer, *Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 28 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 23 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (72.2 x 59.7 cm). National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Bequest of Sir Alfred Beit

be said, in summary, that the artist depicted a patrician ideal, and that he was the last of several Delft painters to do so.

Delft never recovered from its steady loss of industry during the seventeenth century; the production of beer and linen declined precipitously after about 1675. Faience manufacture slowed the recession during Vermeer's lifetime but, as in the textile business, foreign competition and changes in taste (in favor of French and English fabrics and of German and Oriental porcelain) led to ruin and a drastic loss of population, especially in the 1680s and 1690s. Delft in the eighteenth century was a city of small-scale artisans and shopkeepers,

serving large farms and wealthy landowners in the surrounding area. A scholar who has studied that period, looking back at Delft's golden (or gilded) age, notes that "investment in art, particularly paintings . . . china, coins, jewellery or other gold and silver objects, rarely amounted to much and only formed a small part of the individual's total wealth in the higher tax groups."<sup>158</sup> Most inventories of the seventeenth century in Delft support this observation; the leading families held wealth even more astutely than they dispensed it.<sup>159</sup> In the end, few aspects of life in the city proved so fragile as the arts, except for peace of mind and life itself.



## 6. Drawing and Printmaking in Delft during the Seventeenth Century

MICHIEL C. PLOMP

THE ARTS OF DRAWING AND printmaking are not usually associated with seventeenth-century Delft.

The two greatest artists in that city of famous painters, Johannes Vermeer and Pieter de Hooch, left to posterity no works on paper, and only a few have been attributed to Carel Fabritius and one to Cornelis de Man. On the other hand, the highly idiosyncratic history painter Leonaert Bramer almost overcompensated for his fellow townsmen's neglect of the graphic arts by producing some 1,300 drawings, and, though less prolific, several other seventeenth-century Delft artists took up the drawing pen or the burin, including Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger, Gerard

Houckgeest, Anthonie Palamedesz, Johannes Verkolje, and Hendrick van Vliet. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, Evert van Aelst, and Pieter van Asch also made a few interesting drawings. Taken together, the works on paper by all these Delft artists cover a wide range of subjects, from still lifes to church interiors and from single-figure studies of soldiers to elegant *fêtes champêtres*.

Artists from out of town also made drawings in and of Delft during the seventeenth century. Balthasar van der Ast, Paulus Potter, and Adam Pynacker all lived in the city or were at least members of the municipality's Guild of Saint Luke for a few years. They had a significant influence on the development of the fine arts in Delft and produced drawings while in residence, some of which are remarkably beautiful. A handful of extant topographical drawings by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Jan de Bisschop, Jan van Goyen, Jan van Kessel, Herman Saftleven, and Jan van de Velde are testimony that these important artists from elsewhere also visited Delft during their careers. Indeed, they recorded alleyways and thoroughfares with a



Delftware plaque with *The Temptation of Christ* (fig. 213)

fresh and observant eye—something that few native artists ever did (see cat. nos. 99–102, 113, 114, 116, 117, 124, 125).

The comings and goings of out-of-town artists make it difficult to get a clear notion of what exactly happened in Delft in the field of the graphic arts. That is probably the reason why no study of this kind has ever been undertaken. Despite the difficulties, bringing together all the art on paper made in one city during the course of a single century turns out to be a task that expands and enriches one's knowledge of all the arts of the period. In the case of Delft, the search produced several unexpected finds. Not least of the rewards of the experience has been the

satisfaction of establishing that Delft was by no means a city of painters only.

In the late Middle Ages Delft rivaled Utrecht as the most important center for illustrated manuscripts in the northern Netherlands. Among the city's finest illuminators during this flourishing period was, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the famous Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle (active ca. 1415–25) and, at the end, the Master of the Wodhull-Haberton Hours (active ca. 1490–95). One of the most prestigious manuscripts from the region, the Breviary of Beatrijs van Assendelft, long thought to be from Utrecht, has proved to be from a Delft studio. In the early sixteenth century the craft waned in Delft as the printed book gained ascendancy.<sup>1</sup>

Despite a relatively robust economy, Delft in the sixteenth century was artistically something of a backwater. There were no innovative artists to be found locally, and most of the prestigious commissions—for instance, at the Nieuwe Kerk and Oude Kerk—went to painters from other cities, such as Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) from Haarlem, Jan van Scorel (1495–1562) from Utrecht, and Pieter Aertsen (1507/8–1575) from Amsterdam. Some relatively

Opposite: Fig. 179. Detail, Leonaert Bramer, A Scene from Francisco Quevedo's *Spanish Dreams*, 1659 (fig. 185a).



Fig. 180. Jacob Willemsz Delff, *The Crucifixion with Portraits of the Donor and His Family*, ca. 1585–90. Pen and brown ink and blue wash squared for transfer in black chalk, 9 x 13 1/4 in. (22.9 x 35 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

well known and accomplished artists living and working in Delft during this period were the history painter Anthonie Blocklandt (1533/34–1583), the sculptor Willem Danielsz van Tetrode (ca. 1525–1580), and, early in his career, the portraitist Michiel Jansz van Miereveld (1567–1641). Only the latter remained faithful to the city all his life; the other two moved elsewhere after several years. No Delft drawings by Blocklandt or Van Tetrode are known.<sup>2</sup> Some examples have been attributed to Van Miereveld, but none is indisputable. This is not to say that little drawing was done in Delft during the sixteenth century. On the contrary, probably a great many sketches and working drawings were produced. These, however, had no value outside the studio, and when their usefulness had passed (sometimes after decades of service), they were in all likelihood discarded.

In 1536 a fire swept through Delft, reducing much of it to ashes (see fig. 28). Thirty years later, in 1566, groups of fanatical Calvinists now known as Iconoclasts roamed the city, destroying paintings, sculptures, and other sorts of church decoration. These dreadful events largely obliterated Delft's art of that period. As a result, it is difficult to gain knowledge about Delft draftsmanship during the sixteenth century. Only recently have some late anonymous or mis-attributed sixteenth-century drawings been recognized as the works of Delft artists. One example is *The Crucifixion with Portraits of the Donor and His Family* (fig. 180) by Jacob Willemsz Delff the Elder (ca. 1550–1601).<sup>3</sup> This sheet, which was recognized as Delff's about a decade ago, is the only known drawing by this artist. The very small known oeuvre of works on paper—not even five securely attributed drawings—by the Delft-born painter of kitchen still lifes Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck (1568–after February 17, 1635) was augmented in 1981 by a sheet that was earlier thought to be Venetian (cat. no. 123). It was long known from archival sources that the Haarlem painter Karel van Mander the Elder (1548–1606) had made several designs

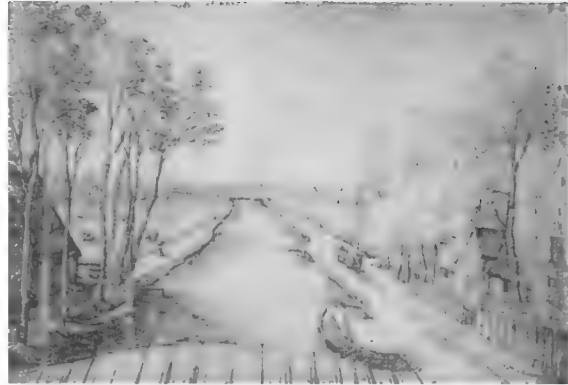


Fig. 181. Hans Bol, *View from a Bridge at Delfgauw*, probably 1580s. Silverpoint on prepared cream-colored surface, 5 1/8 x 16 in. (12.8 x 40.6 cm). British Museum, London

for the Delft tapissier François Spiering (1549/51–1631). Only ten years ago an uncolored drawing made for Spiering by Van Mander was rediscovered (cat. no. 118).

Both Van Mander and Spiering originally came from Flanders. As in many Dutch cities, Flemish immigration considerably quickened the pulse of artistic life in Delft during the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Thanks largely to this influx of talent from the southern Netherlands, membership in the Delft Guild of Saint Luke doubled: in 1569 it totaled thirty-nine and in 1613 nearly one hundred.<sup>4</sup> The differentiation and development of the various genres of painting intensified at this time. Hans Jordaens (1555/60–1630) brought from Antwerp to Delft a less austere and more intimate and decorative manner of depicting scenes from ancient history, mythology, or the Bible. Jordaens also virtually single-handedly introduced landscape painting to the city, followed by Willem van den Bundel from Brussels (ca. 1577–1655) and Jacob Jansz van Geel from Middelburg (1584/85–after 1638). Bartholomeus van Bassen (ca. 1590–1652), who in all likelihood came from The Hague, was the first artist who specialized in architectural painting in Delft. Hardly any drawings survive by these immigrants. A rare exception is a silverpoint study of a village on the eastern outskirts of Delft by Hans Bol (1534–1593), *View from a Bridge at Delfgauw* (fig. 181). The draftsman from Mechelen probably made this delightful, unpretentious landscape during a brief stay in Delft in the 1580s.<sup>5</sup>

The Flemish immigrant who had perhaps the greatest influence on Delft's arts and economy alike was the previously mentioned François Spiering. Son of an Antwerp burgomaster, he came to the city in 1582. In Antwerp he had headed a flourishing tapestry workshop, and the city fathers, eager to attract such an important industry and such a gifted craftsman within the walls of Delft, offered him the former Saint Agnes Convent as his place of business (see fig. 344).<sup>6</sup> Spiering, who worked primarily for princely clients (seldom for



Dutch burghers), made Delft famous around the world as a center for superb tapestries. His draftsmen made the tapestry designs and the full-size cartoons. The weavers worked from these large cartoons—usually divided into strips<sup>7</sup>—which were put under the warps. The height or the width of a tapestry could be adjusted by adding or leaving out strips. For the most part based on prints or drawings, the cartoons were generally reused, sometimes for decades. Precious tapestries, like those from Spiering's studio, were based on special designs. In city records for the year 1613 four painters were registered in Delft as tapestry designers. In all likelihood, all four worked for Spiering. Two of them, Franchois Verhulst and Hans Verlinden, both from Mechelen and both of whom died in 1624, were mentioned specifically as watercolor painters (*waterverschilders*). Presumably they made tapestry cartoons, for which watercolor was the customary medium.

Unfortunately, none of these large cartoons from Delft has ever come to light. The only design that we know was made for a Spiering tapestry is the drawing by Karel van Mander mentioned above, a scene from *Amadis de Gaule* (cat. no. 118). Van Mander was living in Haarlem at the time, for when the need arose, the studio employed artists from other cities. The famous marine painter Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (1566–1639/40), also from Haarlem, made several designs for Spiering, too, as did the Amsterdam resident David Vinckboons (1576–1632?) in all likelihood. Two horizontal drawings, *The Clemency of Scipio* (fig. 182) and *Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator Approaches His Son on Foot*, also by Vinckboons, have been proposed as tapestry designs executed for Spiering.<sup>8</sup>

During the first half of the seventeenth century a small group of connoisseurs in the northern Netherlands began to acknowledge the beauty and importance of works on paper by collecting them. Long before that, of course, artists had been gathering drawings and prints to use in their work and also for pleasure. But now the Dutch *liefhebber* (art amateur) entered the picture. Among these early collectors

were, in Delft, Johan Hoogenhouck, Joris Claesz Tristram, and Willem de Langue (fig. 215). An important art dealer in the city, Abraham de Cooge, traded specifically in drawings as well.<sup>9</sup> The fact that some drawings made for Spiering's tapestry studio have been preserved is probably an indication of this relatively new interest.<sup>10</sup> One consequence of this development was that artists handled their drawings with more care, and—perhaps even more importantly—some of them started to make drawings specifically for these new connoisseurs and collectors or on commission or for the open market. As a rule these drawings were highly finished, sometimes colored, and often signed.

The following discussion of the draftsmen and printmakers who were active in seventeenth-century Delft is organized according to the different kinds of subjects that were popular in Holland at that time. One consequence of this approach is that we shall encounter some artists repeatedly. Before taking up their story, however, we must shed some light on the kind of training in drawing and printmaking that was available at the time. Naturally, most artists learned drawing during their apprenticeship with an elder colleague. Some pupils studied with a master to whom they were not related. Examples of this type of contractual arrangement, which might include board and lodging, are Floris de la Fée's with Hendrick van Vliet or the unknown Aryen Verboom's with Anthonie Palamedesz.<sup>11</sup> In most cases, however, the master-pupil relationship was based on family ties. Hendrick van Vliet studied with his uncle Willem van Vliet, and Willem van Aelst also apprenticed with an uncle, Evert van Aelst (1602–1657). Anthonie Palamedesz taught his younger brother Palamedes Palamedesz (1607–1638).

Learning how to draw was necessary not only for future painters, printmakers, and sculptors but also for such artisans as glassmakers, embroiderers, faience makers, and joiners.<sup>12</sup> The pupil started out by copying prints, then drawings, and then paintings. Subsequently



Fig. 182. David Vinckboons, *The Clemency of Scipio*, ca. 1610. Pen and dark brown ink with gray and blue wash, with touches of magenta wash on the left, on two pieces of paper, 7¼ x 24¾ in. (18.4 x 63 cm). Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Windsor



came drawing from clay and plaster models. Finally he reached the last step, drawing from life and, most importantly, the human figure.<sup>13</sup> This was the official, theoretical course of study. In practice, it was certainly not that rigid. It is interesting that in the middle of the century in Delft, along with the traditional master-pupil course of study, there existed some sort of class in which a number of boys learned how to draw. The almost-seventy-year-old Cornelis Daemen Rietwijck (1589/90–1660) ran a school where boys probably going into any craft occupation could get basic training in the art of drawing.<sup>14</sup> It is rather unlikely that these students ever drew after a nude model. This, however, did happen in Delft, as we know from a rather amusing document. A notarial deposition of 1652 has come down to us in which witnesses testified that the petitioner had been accused of letting herself be painted naked and that she had earned quite a bit of money by doing so.<sup>15</sup>

### Historical Subjects

In addition to the Flemish impact on the art of the northern Netherlands in the early seventeenth century, there was also a strong Italian influence. One traveled to Rome to see the remains of classical antiquity and to admire the masterpieces of the Renaissance. Many Dutch painters set out on the journey south, among them several Delft artists, including in the sixteenth century, for example, Hubert Jacobsz Grimani (1562/63–1631), Willem Danielsz van Tetrode, and Abraham Apersz van der Houve (1576–1621). Their work—the little of it that remains—is strongly Mannerist. Back in

Holland, artists such as these, with their international polish and knowledge of foreign culture, could have a strong influence on the local artistic community. Michiel van Miereveld, for example, who had never been in Italy, started his career with Mannerist history pieces that show Italian influence (see fig. 39); only later on would he make his move into the field in which he is now most famous, portraiture. We know of two prints with historical subjects from Van Miereveld's early period: *Jesus and the Samaritan Woman* and *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*. Although they were described at length in 1604 by the biographer of northern artists Karel van Mander, these prints curiously enough have not been identified.<sup>16</sup>

During the first decades of the seventeenth century the journey to Italy was still of paramount importance, especially for history painters such as the Delft artists Adriaen Cornelisz Linschoten (ca. 1608–1677), Leonaert Bramer (1596–1674), Pieter Anthonisz Groenewegen (ca. 1600–1658?), and possibly Christiaan van Couwenbergh (1604–1667).<sup>17</sup> Bramer and Groenewegen were among the founding members of the Bentvueghels, as the members of the Schildersbent—an association of Netherlandish artists in Rome—called themselves. Other Delft artists who visited Italy were Pieter van Bronckhorst (1588–1661), Cornelis de Man (1621–1706), and Willem van Aelst (1627–1683 or later). Some of these travelers became involved in the life of the country and were deeply influenced by its art. According to the early-eighteenth-century biographer Arnold Houbraken, Linschoten studied for two years with the famous Neapolitan painter Jusepe de Ribera. Bramer, who stayed thirteen years in Italy, came back to Delft an accomplished painter of frescoes. Willem van

Fig. 183. Leonaert Bramer, *The Betrayal of Christ*, 1637. Brush and black ink, gray and black wash with black chalk on prepared gray paper, 8 x 10 1/4 in. (20.3 x 27.3 cm). Private collection, New York



Aelst became court painter to Ferdinand II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany. Among these Italianate Dutchmen there were still-life painters, landscapists, and genre painters, but most of them specialized in history painting.

Van Couwenbergh and Bramer were strongly influenced by the art of Caravaggio and his followers. They imitated the realism, the color schemes, the large scale and vitality of his figures, and the chiaroscuro he favored (see fig. 183). Other Delft painters whose work shows some influence from Caravaggesque art were Willem van Vliet (ca. 1584–1642) and, for a short period, Emanuel de Witte (ca. 1616–1691/92). These last two artists, who had not been to Italy, were introduced to the style either by their fellow townsmen or by painters from Utrecht (in the Netherlands, Caravaggism was primarily a Utrecht phenomenon). So similar, for instance, are Van Couwenbergh's paintings to the work of such Utrecht masters as Gerard van Honthorst (1592–1656) and Dirck van Baburen (1590/95–1624) that it is likely he studied in their hometown in the mid-1620s. Willem van Vliet has also been linked with Utrecht.<sup>18</sup>

Apart from Bramer's, scarcely any drawings are known by these Delft Caravaggists, and it is doubtful that they made many. In archival sources there are no references to such works.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it is striking that neither Caravaggio himself, nor his Italian followers, nor the Utrecht Caravaggists had a penchant for drawing.<sup>20</sup> Presumably they took up the drawing pen only for very special projects, for example, a book produced for a festive occasion, such as an *album amicorum* (friendship album). It is indeed a piece of good fortune that such a volume has turned up recently and can now be seen at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, thanks to a generous donation by George and Maida Abrams. So great is the proportion of Delft drawings in the Abrams Album, which dates for the most part from the 1630s, that it may have originated at Delft (cat. no. 94). Unfortunately, it is not known for whom or why it was made.<sup>21</sup>

In the Abrams Album are drawings by three Delft Caravaggists. Two are by Bramer, *Sleeping Diana* and *Reading Couple*. Van Couwenbergh and De Witte each contributed one—*Diana* (fig. 184) and *Medusa* (cat. no. 94), respectively—and they are the only drawings known by these artists.<sup>22</sup> Both sheets are executed in black chalk. Couwenbergh's robust goddess is entirely in the style of his painted oeuvre. De Witte's intriguing sheet with Medusa seen from the back is not unlike his early history paintings. Unfortunately, the fact that both drawings are unique does not permit us to draw any stylistic conclusions. For example, seeing these works one might think that both artists were very careful, almost prudent, draftsmen. However, there is no other significant evidence for that. Bramer's two contributions to the Abrams Album also show a very careful drawing style, but during the 1630s—the period when the album was created—this artist generally drew rather freely and loosely. The greater care taken with the drawings in the Abrams Album probably reflects the



Fig. 184. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Diana*, folio 25v of the Abrams Album, ca. 1635–41. Black chalk on vellum, ca. 4 1/4 x 6 1/4 in. (11 x 15.5 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Maida and George Abrams Collection

tradition of the *alba amicorum*,<sup>23</sup> it seems logical that in their offerings artists would present themselves at their best, especially if the owner of the book was a good friend or an important connoisseur. In addition, the precision of the drawings in the Abrams Album reflects the ground in which they were made. Vellum, a high-quality parchment, gives a rich effect to a drawing and, on account of its costliness and its carefully prepared surface, induces almost automatically a notable fineness of line.

Bramer was an extraordinarily prolific draftsman, not only by Delft standards but also by comparison with most other artists who were working in the northern Netherlands at the time. Apart from some genre representations, he was exclusively a history painter. His drawn oeuvre largely consists of sequences of illustrations based primarily on the Bible but also on classical and more or less contemporary literature. Bramer's series, which often fill 50 sheets—and, in one case, as many as 140—include the Old Testament, the New Testament, *The Life of Alexander the Great*, Livy's *History of Rome*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Francisco Quevedo's *Spanish*



Fig. 185a–c. Leonart Bramer, Scenes from Francisco Quevedo's *Spanish Dreams*, 1659. Brush and gray ink, gray wash heightened with white on paper prepared in blue, ca.  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. (19.5 x 15 cm). Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich

above: a. *Money Combats the World, the Flesh, and the Devil*, no. 8

above, right: b. *Quevedo and the Skeletons of Juan de la Encina and King Perico*, no. 10

right: c. *Quevedo Sees Chicotus in the Bottle*, no. 11





Fig. 186. School of Rembrandt (possibly Carel Fabritius), *Christ among the Doctors*, probably 1640s. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink, heightened with white gouache, 8¼ x 11½ in. (22 x 29.5 cm). Sammlung Oskar Reinhart am Römerholz, Winterthur

*Dreams* (figs. 185a–c), and the anonymous *Life of Lazarillo of Tormes* and *Tyl Eulenspiegel*. These highly intellectual series found their way into private drawings collections as well as libraries.<sup>24</sup> Bramer made these unique series throughout his career. They reflect his artistic development from the early rapid brush drawings characterized by dramatic light and shade (see cat. nos. 103, 104) to the late, meticulously finished, and evenly lit colored sheets (see cat. no. 110, 111). In addition to these sequential illustrations, Bramer's oeuvre on paper consists of preparatory drawings for all kinds of projects he was working on, such as large interior decorations that include murals in true fresco and illusionistic ceiling paintings (see the discussion under cat. no. 105). As most of these large-scale projects have vanished, it is above all through his drawings that we can gain an idea of this fascinating aspect of his artistic personality. Bramer also made designs for tapestries and earthenware (see below).

Although the oeuvre of Carel Fabritius (1622–1654) is much smaller than Bramer's, his influence on artistic developments in Delft exceeds the latter's by far. One of Rembrandt's most brilliant pupils, Fabritius settled in Delft about 1650; on joining the local Guild of Saint Luke, he described himself as a history painter. According to one seventeenth-century document, Fabritius painted several Delft dwellings with large-scale wall paintings. It would seem that in doing so he may have been following Bramer's example.<sup>25</sup> The two men may have had other interests in common, including perspective boxes (see cat. nos. 18, 108). Whether Fabritius continued drawing throughout his entire career may remain a mystery, but as a pupil of



Fig. 187. Johannes Verkolje, *Venus and Adonis*, 1680s. Mezzotint, 15½ x 11¾ in. (38.5 x 30 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 188. Pieter Jansz van Ruijven, *The Woman Taken in Adultery*, possibly 1670s. Pen and brown ink, black and red chalk, brush and gray-brown ink, 11  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 13  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (29 x 35 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Rennes

Rembrandt in the early 1640s he must have made drawings.<sup>26</sup> Peter Schatborn makes an interesting case for attributing a group of about seven drawings to Fabritius, including a *Christ among the Doctors* (fig. 186). Despite a dependence on Rembrandt's drawings of the 1640s they show a very individual style, indicating that they are the work of a talented pupil of the master's from that period, who may very well have been Fabritius (see cat. no. 115). But since there is no real evidence, this attribution remains speculative. In 1654 Fabritius died, at the age of thirty-two, in the Delft gunpowder explosion. His entire studio was destroyed in the blast, including probably several paintings and many drawings.

After Bramer's death, in 1674, few history paintings were made in Delft. Only Johannes Verkolje (1650–1693) and Pieter Jansz van Ruijven (1651–1716) kept the tradition alive. The former also made a few prints with historical subjects. Houbraken singles out Verkolje as a mezzotint engraver, mentioning that Wallerant Vaillant (1623–1677) and Abraham Bloteling (1640–1690), two very famous masters of the medium, were much impressed by Verkolje's achievements. As Verkolje supposedly learned the rather difficult printing technique by himself, Houbraken told this story to encourage young students.<sup>27</sup> A well-known painting by Verkolje was his *Venus and Adonis*. The present whereabouts of this work are unknown, but Verkolje's own copy in mezzotint—which is also mentioned by Houbraken—gives a fairly good idea of it (fig. 187).<sup>28</sup> The artist exploited the mezzotint medium to the utmost, as is seen in the rendering of the soft clouds around Venus's chariot and the almost tangible textures of the silks and velvets. These highly painterly qualities were much admired by the artist's contemporaries.

With the history and portrait painter Pieter Jansz van Ruijven, we enter the early eighteenth century. Although he was a distant cousin of Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, the important patron of Johannes Vermeer, there is no hint in his work that he knew Vermeer's. Actually, it is a strong Flemish influence that pervades Van Ruijven's painting, as it does also his only known drawing, the signed *Woman Taken in Adultery* (fig. 188), confirming Houbraken's report that Van Ruijven was a pupil of Jacob Jordaens. The sheet provides evidence that ties with Flemish artists were important in Delft long after the first half of the century.<sup>29</sup>

### Portraiture

During the first four decades of the seventeenth century the art of portraiture was at an extremely high level in Delft; this was largely due to Michiel van Miereveld, who from 1607 on was the official painter to the stadholder's court in The Hague. He was so well known abroad that both the Austrian archduke Albert and the English king Charles I sought to monopolize his services. As a portraitist, Van Miereveld built on the already high standards of his fellow townsmen the artists Herman van der Mast (ca. 1550–1610) and Jacob Willemsz Delff the Elder (see fig. 43). As his work was very much in demand, Van Miereveld organized a studio with numerous collaborators and pupils to help him. Some excellent portraitists got their start there—his sons Pieter (1596–1623) and Jan (1604–1633), for example, and Hendrick van Vliet. Several portrait drawings have been attributed to Van Miereveld;<sup>30</sup> hardly any, and perhaps none, however, are by his hand.<sup>31</sup> It is suggestive that in the estate inventory made in 1641 after Van Miereveld's death there is no reference to drawings, except for a rather mysterious anonymous “drawing in white and black” (perhaps a grisaille) and a pair of small portrait likenesses of Michiel's parents, “made by Wierinx.” The latter was probably the Antwerp artist Hans Wierix, who stayed in Delft for two years in the late 1670s. Apparently there had been contact between these two important families of artists.<sup>32</sup> But it seems that Van Miereveld did not imitate Wierix's small, elaborate portrait drawings.

In 1618 Van Miereveld's daughter Gertruyd married Willem Jacobsz Delff (1580–1638), son of the just-mentioned Jacob Willemsz Delff. Although he was registered among the painters in the guild books, the younger Delff is nowadays known above all as a very talented engraver. Recently it has been suggested that he may have been a pupil of Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) in Haarlem.<sup>33</sup> Delff's graphic oeuvre consists largely of portraits, not after his own designs but after those by such painters as Daniel Mijtens (ca. 1590–1647), Jan van Ravesteyn (ca. 1572–1657), Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662), and David Bailly (ca. 1584–1657). However, his prints after Van Miereveld greatly outnumbered these and in fact contributed significantly to the fame of his father-in-law.<sup>34</sup> In addition to portraits





Fig. 189. Willem Jacobsz Delff after Daniel Mijtens, *Portrait of Charles I*, 1628. Engraving,  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$  in. (41.8 x 29.7 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 190. Attributed to Willem Jacobsz Delff after Michiel van Miereveld, *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick*, 1623–24. Black chalk and brush and gray ink,  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$  in. (31.4 x 24.5 cm). Location unknown

Delff also produced illustrations for books, including the famous 1628 edition of *L'Académie de l'espee* by Gérard Thibault. After the engraver and publisher Nicolaes Jansz de Clerck died, in 1623, Delff had the town all to himself, and his business flourished.<sup>35</sup> He lived in an expensive house on the Koornmarkt and, just like his father-in-law, he socialized with the richest people in Delft.<sup>36</sup> Also just like Van Miereveld, he received royal attention. After having seen Mijtens's portrait of himself engraved by Delff (fig. 189), Charles I is said to have granted Delff the title Engraver to the King of England.<sup>37</sup> Only a very few drawings can be attributed to Delff; they were created as an intermediary stage between a painting and a print—as a translation of the painting into graphic terms. An example is the artist's highly finished oval portrait of Frederick Hendrick (fig. 190); it was executed in black chalk and brush and gray ink after Van Miereveld's painting of 1623 (Ashdown House, Berkshire, England) in preparation for the print (fig. 191).<sup>38</sup> A comparable drawing, with elaborate



Fig. 191. Willem Jacobsz Delff after Michiel van Miereveld, *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick*, 1624. Engraving,  $16\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{4}$  in. (42 x 29.8 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

scrollwork, is Delft's portrait of the schoolmistress and calligrapher Maria Strick (cat. no. 112).

Other important seventeenth-century Delft portraitists were Willem van Vliet and his previously mentioned nephew Hendrick van Vliet (1611/12–1675). Willem, who began his career as a history painter working in the Caravaggesque manner, remained as a portraitist rather independent of Van Miereveld's style (a rare thing in Delft). His technique is less linear, and the depicted sitters often have a friendly and smiling expression. He was the first teacher of Hendrick van Vliet, who later joined Van Miereveld's studio. We are fortunate that a sketchbook with thirty quickly drawn portraits by Hendrick has been preserved (see cat. no. 128). Some of them seem to portray real people, and these were probably made in preparation for paintings to follow. Other sheets are perhaps just examples of portrait types from which clients could choose something that appealed to them.<sup>39</sup> It is extremely interesting that the booklet contains several compositional sketches for bucolic portraits, for this is a genre that is as yet unknown in Van Vliet's painterly oeuvre. Apart from portraits, the sketchbook also includes some drawn church interiors and figure studies.

Delft remained an important center for portraiture until the end of the seventeenth century. The last flower from this root was Johannes Verkolje, who made an impressive number of portraits—paintings, drawings, and prints—throughout his career. Houbraken states that Verkolje was kept busy making them and that they commanded a considerable sum of money.<sup>40</sup> He portrayed many important local people in paintings or in mezzotint engravings (sometimes in both)—for example, the vicar Cornelius van Aken, the painter Pieter van Asch (fig. 192), and the burgomaster and historian Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijck (fig. 218). Of much greater than merely local interest were Verkolje's portrait prints of Anthony van Leeuwenhoek; Hortense Mancini, duchess of Mazarin; James II, king of England; Willem III, Prince of Orange, and his wife, Mary Stuart, James's daughter. Of these, only the Delft naturalist and microscopist Van Leeuwenhoek was portrayed by the artist in a painting (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) as well as in a print; the other portraits were mezzotint engravings after the work of other painters, such as Peter Lely (1618–1680) and Godfrey Kneller (1646/49–1723).<sup>41</sup> Most of Verkolje's known portrait drawings were made in preparation for his paintings. Sometimes they focus on facial features and expression, sometimes on the whole composition (see cat. no. 126).

### Genre

The earliest known artist in Delft who specialized in genre pieces—depictions of scenes from everyday life that often convey an edifying message—was Anthonie Palamedesz (1601–1673). His elegant interiors filled with merry companions making music or playing cards and



Fig. 192. Johannes Verkolje, *Portrait of Pieter van Asch*, probably 1670s. Mezzotint,  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{16}$  in. (9.9 x 10 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

his scenes of soldiers dining or gambling are clearly linked in spirit to the works of the Haarlem and Amsterdam painters Dirck Hals (1591–1656) and Pieter Codde (1599–1678). It has been suggested that Palamedesz studied with Hals, for both their paintings and their drawing techniques point toward such a relationship. The two artists prepared their paintings by making figure studies in a rather unusual medium, brush and oil containing paint and white gouache (see cat. no. 119). In addition, Palamedesz made drawings using more customary techniques, such as brush and brown ink (cat. no. 120) or black chalk (fig. 193). His contribution to the Abrams Album was done in black chalk (fig. 194). As this sheet in the album is quite different from the artist's other drawings, one might at first doubt the attribution. However, the monogram AP on the drawing and the existence of a signed painting that is very close to it in theme and composition (fig. 195) remove all doubt.<sup>42</sup> Like Bramer—who, incidentally, also drew a few genre scenes (see cat. no. 109)—and probably also Van Couwenbergh and De Witte, Palamedesz made an unusually polished and finished product for this special album.



Fig. 193. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Standing Man*, probably 1640s. Black chalk, 10¼ x 7¼ in. (27.6 x 18.5 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin



Fig. 194. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Couple Playing Trictrac*, folio 27v of the Abrams Album, ca. 1635–41. Black chalk on vellum, ca. 4¼ x 6½ in. (11 x 15.5 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Maida and George Abrams Collection

Fig. 195. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Genre Scene*, probably ca. 1640. Oil on wood, 18¼ x 25¼ in. (46 x 65.5 cm). Location unknown





Fig. 196. Ludolf de Jongh, *Standing Man in Riding Boots*, ca. 1650. Black crayon heightened with white on purplish paper, 11 x 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (28 x 18.5 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille

All in all, the drawings securely attributed to Palamedesz number fewer than ten. Traditionally, many more sheets have been attributed to him; most of them are figure studies executed in black chalk. Hardly any of these attributions are still accepted today; quite often the drawings have turned out to be preparatory studies for paintings by Palamedesz's pupil Ludolf de Jongh (1616–1679) or by other contemporary genre artists such as Simon Kick (1603–1652).<sup>43</sup> A sheet in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, depicting a woman's head and a standing man in riding boots holding a wine glass (fig. 196), for example, was called a Palamedesz until 1993, when Roland Fleischer and Stephen Reiss rightly recognized it as work by De Jongh — by whom, incidentally, not many more drawings are known than by Palamedesz. The studies in the Lille drawing were used by De Jongh in two different paintings. One of them, titled *Musical Party*, is now in a private collection in Owensboro, Kentucky. The location of the other, *A Hunting Party at an Inn*, is unknown (fig. 197).<sup>44</sup> The way the standing man in riding boots is drawn with very fine hatching in chalk clearly resembles Palamedesz's drawing technique in the Abrams Album. It is interesting (and until now has not been noted) that De Jongh probably experimented with oil sketching, like his teacher Palamedesz and his presumed teacher Dirck Hals. In the Fodor Collection of the Amsterdam's Historisch Museum is an oil sketch on paper of a dog lying on its side (fig. 198) that in all likelihood is by De Jongh. The same dog in the same pose reappears in two paintings by De Jongh, *A Sporting Party* and *A Hunting Party at an Inn* (fig. 197).<sup>45</sup> After his apprenticeship with Palamedesz, De Jongh studied with Jan van Bijlert (1597–1671) in Utrecht. He then lived in France for seven years and finally settled in Rotterdam.



Fig. 197. Ludolf de Jongh, *A Hunting Party at an Inn*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 38 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 51 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (98.5 x 131 cm). Location unknown (photo courtesy Sotheby's, London)

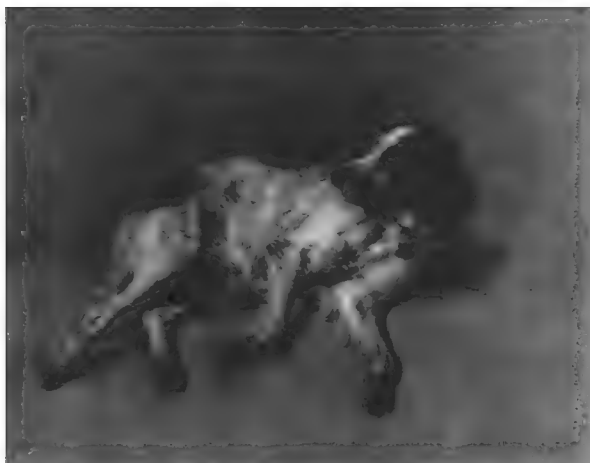


Fig. 198. Attributed to Ludolf de Jongh, *Reclining Dog*, probably ca. 1650. Oil on paper, 6¼ x 8½ in. (16.9 x 21.6 cm). Historisch Museum, Amsterdam

It is curious that there are so few preparatory drawings by Palamedesz and De Jongh, both of whom were prolific painters of figure and genre subjects. Occasional examples can be found, like the ones illustrated here (see also cat. nos. 94, 119, 120), but there are many figures in these artists' paintings for which no preparatory studies are known. Are we to conclude that these artists made figure studies only occasionally? Or was it a frequent endeavor of which very few traces remain?<sup>46</sup> On these questions the taste of early collectors of works on paper may cast some light. In the years when collecting drawings was rather new, there may have been a greater appreciation among connoisseurs for finished drawings than for sketches. If that was indeed the case, the value of preparatory drawings must have been insignificant outside the studio, and many were probably neglected and ultimately thrown away. As Palamedesz and De Jongh made relatively simple studies, it would appear that a great many of their drawings were lost that way. In many other cases, it is by sheer luck that study material has been preserved. The studio drawings by members of the Ter Borch family now in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, are a well-known example; they were handed down carefully through many generations. In the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden, are conserved many individual figure studies by Dirck van der Lisse (1607–1669), a gifted pupil of Cornelis van Poelenburgh who, incidentally, lived in Delft for a short period of time in 1625.<sup>47</sup> Had there been one thoughtless person in the succession of legatees to these drawings, posterity would have supposed that Van der Lisse made his paintings without any preparatory figure studies. We are less lucky in the case of the painter from The Hague Dirck Bleker (1622–after 1672) and of the Delft sculptor Christiaan

van der Hulst. The former mentioned his drawings several times and even described how he drew after the nude—yet nothing of this work remains. The inventory of Van der Hulst, an artist who has fallen into oblivion, contains a reference to “six books in folio with diverse drawings by the deceased”; again, we know nothing about them.<sup>48</sup>

Perhaps a lack of interest in studio material among early Dutch collectors explains, in part, why no drawings are known by Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675)—a fact that has long puzzled historians of seventeenth-century art. Several attempts have been made to attribute drawings to this most famous Delft painter, but hardly any of them can be taken seriously.<sup>49</sup> And the mystery is not confined to Vermeer. Other important genre artists who worked in Delft, such as Pieter de Hooch (1629–1684), Hendrick van der Burch (active 1649–64), and Cornelis de Man are not known for their drawings.<sup>50</sup>

We can probably also look for the answer to this mystery in studio practice: in all likelihood Vermeer, De Hooch, and many of their colleagues were accustomed to working directly on the canvas.<sup>51</sup> (This does not mean that they never picked up a pen or a pencil to make a sketch on paper: Vermeer, for instance, must have prepared his *View of Delft* with drawings, unless he painted it out-of-doors.) Autoradiographic analysis of Vermeer's paintings has shown that he often made brushed underdrawings,<sup>52</sup> a practice that is described in seventeenth-century treatises. In autoradiographs of his painting *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* (fig. 18), for instance, brushstrokes can be seen that reveal the artist's first idea for the whole composition, including items that were never finished, such as the lute on the chair in the foreground and a map on the back wall.

Tiny holes in paintings by Vermeer are another indication that he worked directly on the canvas. He inserted a pin with a string attached to it at the place where all the perspective lines (orthogonals) of the composition that he planned to paint would meet in a central vanishing point. To transfer a perspective line to the canvas, the artist first applied chalk to the string. Next, he stretched this so-called chalk cord (*krijtsnoer*) to the place where he wanted the line to originate. Then by lifting the string up a little and by letting it snap back against the canvas he produced a line of chalk to use as a guide. It is clear that in no less than thirteen and perhaps as many as fifteen paintings Vermeer used this system, as they all still show a pinhole at the vanishing point.<sup>53</sup> Vermeer was not the only painter in Delft to work in this fashion; in fact, the practice was common among architectural painters such as Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte, and Pieter de Hooch also relied upon it. Incidentally, none of these painters produced many drawings, to judge by what has survived.<sup>54</sup> The *pentimenti* in paintings by Vermeer and De Hooch are also a clear indication that neither of these artists had any hesitation in making changes in clothing, shadows, and so forth as they worked.<sup>55</sup>





Fig. 199. Johannes Verkolje, *Elegant Company Making Music on a Terrace*, 1670–73. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 8  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (23.2 x 21.5). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin



Fig. 200. Johannes Verkolje, *Elegant Company Making Music on a Terrace*, 1673. Oil on canvas, 27  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 23  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (68.8 x 59.7 cm). Kulturstiftung Dessau Wörlitz, Castle Wörlitz, Dessau

Whether the fact that we have no drawings by Vermeer can be related to the artist's possible apprenticeship to a painter who drew only occasionally, if at all — a Caravaggist from Utrecht, for example — is a subject for further speculation.<sup>56</sup> In any case, it is remarkable that in the inventory of Vermeer's estate, made in February 1676, there is only one reference to drawings. Listed among the contents of the *grote zaal* (great hall) are "three small drawings in front of the mantelpiece with black frames." These were probably portrait drawings, as they are mentioned together with likenesses of Vermeer's late father and mother and with a coat of arms of the Vermeer family. The only other reference to art on paper is "three bundles with all sorts of prints." Since these were in Vermeer's studio, and thus probably of much greater art-historical interest, it is unfortunate that the inventory fails to identify them by subject or by artist's name.<sup>57</sup>

The most important genre painter in Delft after the death of Vermeer was Johannes Verkolje. Unlike Vermeer, he left a considerable number of drawings. He came to Delft at the age of twenty-three, having married a woman of the town, Judith Voorheul. According to Houbraken, it was during an illness in his youth, when he sat in bed making drawings, that his talent was revealed. He studied for half a year with Jan Andrea Lievens (1644–1680), completing unfinished mythological and genre paintings begun by the artist Gerrit Pietersz van Zijl (1619–1665).<sup>58</sup> The influence of Van Zijl

remains apparent in Verkolje's genre pieces throughout his career, although later his palette lightened and his work began to show clear traces of inspiration from other artists, for example, Caspar Netscher (1639–1684). Verkolje prepared both his portraits and his genre paintings with compositional drawings, of which *Elegant Company Making Music on a Terrace* is a characteristic example (fig. 199). This freehand sketch, executed in pen and brown ink and gray wash, anticipates his painting of the same title at Castle Wörlitz, near Dessau (fig. 200).<sup>59</sup> Only on close examination does one note small differences in the painting, such as the pose of the cello player, the dress of the standing lady, the dog overpainted at the left, and the replacement of the garden vase by a statue of two small figures that may be putti.

Depictions of peasants and soldiers, a genre that was fashionable in neighboring Rotterdam, were relatively rare in Delft. Pieter de Hooch, who had worked in that tradition, altered his subject matter accordingly when he came to Delft in 1655. One of the few Delft artists who — probably only occasionally — depicted scenes of lower-class life was Pieter Evertsz Steenwyck (ca. 1615–after 1654). Now better known for his still lifes (see below), he drew a *Feasting Peasant Couple* as his contribution to the Abrams Album. This sheet, dated 1639, precedes by three years Steenwyck's acceptance into the Delft guild. Another drawing, *Peasant Scene*, dated 1656, located in the

De Grez Collection at the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, testifies that occasionally this genre absorbed his attention as well.<sup>60</sup> Steenwyck is recorded as a painter in The Hague between 1652 and 1654. We know he had some artist friends there, and it seems likely, since he depicted scenes of life at the bottom of the social scale, that he was acquainted with Rotterdam artists as well.<sup>61</sup>

### Still Life

Delft had a flourishing still-life tradition at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The so-called kitchen piece—a hearthside scene often with a religious vignette in the background—was especially popular between 1550 and 1575 in the hands of the Amsterdam artists Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer (1533–1573). The fact that Aertsen's work was well known in Delft may account for the popularity of the kitchen piece there. In the work of the Delft-born artist Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck the influence of Aertsen's work is felt. Two of his very rare drawings show kitchen scenes. Van Rijck, who traveled to Italy about 1603, seems to have been affected by Venetian art, especially the work of the Bassano family; some of his kitchen pieces are therefore a very interesting mix of Netherlandish and North Italian elements (cat. no. 123).

The most important still-life painter in Delft in the first half of the seventeenth century, Balthasar van der Ast (1593/94–1657) was already an accomplished artist when he arrived there from Utrecht in 1632. Like Michiel van Miereveld, he was old-fashioned but highly skilled. Van der Ast had been strongly influenced by his master (and brother-in-law) Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573–1621). At first he painted very precise, symmetrical still lifes with flowers, fruit, and shells, in imitation of Bosschaert. But what distinguishes his art—

what makes it less stiff by comparison with Bosschaert's—is, among other things, that he included all these objects in a single painting, carefully arranging a flower vase, a fruit bowl, and several shells in companionable proximity. Sometimes later in his life he omitted the vessels altogether. His only known compositional drawing, *Still Life with Plums, Cherries, and Shells* (fig. 201), is an example of the later, more informal type (compare cat. no. 95). While this drawing has the artist's full signature, "B. van der Ast," there are also almost five hundred drawings of individual objects like flowers and shells, signed with the monogram BA, and these in all probability are also from his hand (see cat. nos. 96–98). Whether Van der Ast made all these for himself or for a collector is a problem still to be solved; strangely enough, they have been attributed for the past four decades to the minor Dordrecht artist Bartholomeus Assteyn (1607–1667?). A Delft art lover whose collection would have accommodated this group of drawings beautifully was Hendrik d'Acquet (1632–1706). This burgomaster of Delft had an internationally acclaimed *konstkamer* (cabinet of curiosities), where a large atlas of natural history could be consulted.<sup>62</sup>

An artist of the same generation as Balthasar van der Ast, born and active almost all his life in Delft, was Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer (ca. 1584–1641), by whom fewer than ten painted still lifes are known, all of them flower pieces (see cat. no. 88; fig. 102). Initially he was a landscapist, but almost all his works in this genre have been lost (see below). The estate inventory drawn up after Vosmaer's death mentions a considerable number of drawings; although no specifics such as subject or artist are given, one wonders whether at least some of them were by Vosmaer's hand.<sup>63</sup> Perhaps the small painted study titled *A Butterfly, Two Beetles, and a Caterpillar*, monogrammed JWV and dated 1639, gives an idea how some of Vosmaer's drawings may have looked.<sup>64</sup>

The *vanitas* still life, very popular in seventeenth-century Holland, was more or less the specialty in Delft of Pieter Steenwyck and his brother Harmen (1612–1656).<sup>65</sup> The message of their pictures of skulls, timepieces, and just-extinguished but still-smoking candles is quite clear. All the evidence suggests that these artists made very few drawings; this seems a little strange, for they were trained by their uncle David Bailly, who is famous for his portrait drawings. In any case, no works on paper by Harmen have come to light, and by Pieter there are only a very few. These include the two genre scenes mentioned above and *Vanitas Still Life with Gorget and Cuirass* (fig. 202). This drawn still life is distinguished from the artist's paintings by its vertical format and its subject matter. The latter suggests that perhaps Pieter Steenwyck, if only for a little while, may have been a pupil of the slightly older Delft still-life painter Evert van Aelst, or in any case may have studied his work.<sup>66</sup> It is interesting in this regard that Van Bleyswijck praised Evert van Aelst for his depiction of shining armor: "iron cuirasses, morions, and other things, to which he



Fig. 201. Balthasar van der Ast, *Still Life with Plums, Cherries, and Shells*, 1640–57. Watercolor, 11 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (29.1 x 39.9 cm). British Museum, London

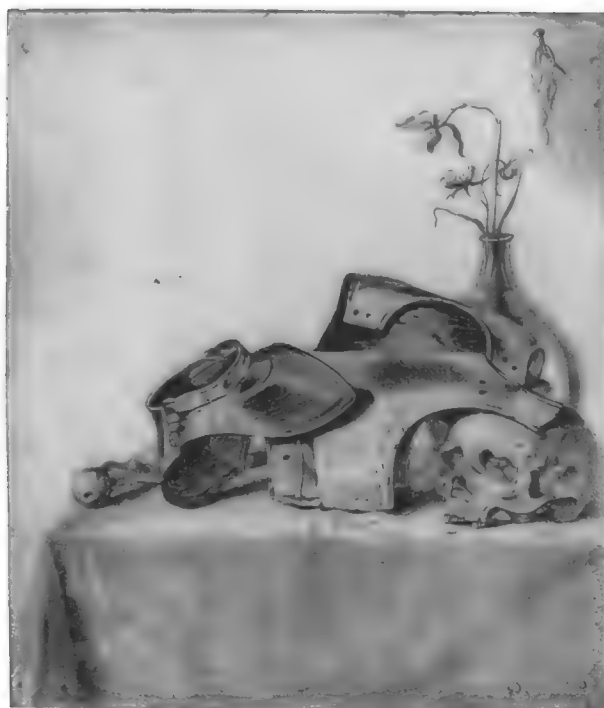


Fig. 202. Pieter Steenwyck, *Vanitas Still Life with Gorget and Cuirass*, probably ca. 1640. Graphite on vellum, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (19.3 x 16.5 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Fig. 203. Willem van Aelst, *Still Life with Armor*, folio 50v of the Abrams Album, ca. 1635–41. Black chalk on vellum, ca. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (11 x 15.5 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Maida and George Abrams Collection



was able to give their appropriate shine and reflection.”<sup>67</sup> No military still-life paintings by Van Aelst seem to have survived;<sup>68</sup> however, a drawing by Evert’s nephew and pupil Willem van Aelst of a gorget and a backplate is another example of this supposedly Delft tradition (fig. 203). The resemblance to Steenwyck’s drawing (for example, the bone and the skull) is striking. It seems possible that both sheets were made about the same time in the same studio, probably Evert van Aelst’s.

### Landscape

Unlike still life, landscape seems not to have been very important in Delft in the seventeenth century. Although there are losses to be mourned—for instance, the painted landscapes of Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer and a great many views by Jan Willemsz Decker (c. 1553–1632) and Pieter Stael (ca. 1575/76–1622)<sup>69</sup>—it is unlikely that our impression of Delft as a city of relatively old-fashioned landscapists is incorrect. To observe the birth of the so-called realistic Dutch landscape, one had to go to Haarlem or Leiden. As a sort of *pars pro toto* for Delft landscape art, the work of Pieter van Asch (1603–1678) is often mentioned. Although his friendly landscapes definitely have a naive charm, they hardly ever seem to be a product of his own imagination (see fig. 100). They alternate in their debt to the work of Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/3–1670), Cornelis Vroom (ca. 1591/92–

1661), and the Italianate Jan Both (ca. 1615–1652). Although we have seen Van Asch portrayed with a landscape drawing or print in his hand (fig. 192), no work on paper by him of any subject has survived,<sup>70</sup> with the exception of one sheet, his contribution to the Abrams Album (fig. 204). This landscape, which is more intimate than is normally the case in Van Asch’s compositions, suggests the work of Salomon van Ruysdael as well as that of his nephew Jacob van Ruysdael (1629/30–1681). Large and gnarled old trees, like those seen here, for instance, are abundant in their oeuvres. Van Asch, however, did make at least two other drawings, both for a project in which he became involved in 1675, the famous map of Delft called the *Kaart Figuratief* (Illustrated Map), which was produced under the supervision of Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijck (see below). As his contribution, Van Asch executed preparatory drawings for prints of two places near Delft, Overschie and Voorburg, but unfortunately these drawings have not survived.<sup>71</sup>

The fascinating flower still lifes that Jacob Vosmaer painted in the 1610s make it difficult to believe that his one remaining landscape, a drawing dated 1641 in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, gives an accurate idea of his landscapes as a whole (cat. no. 130). Van Bleyswijck tells us that Vosmaer started his career with landscapes. This and the fact that the artist was in Italy during his twenties<sup>72</sup> lead one to expect from him Italianate Campagna scenes in the manner of Paul Bril. But instead we have this one very Dutch landscape

drawing, rather old-fashioned for the 1640s. Unlike Vosmaer, the younger Delft landscape artist Pieter Anthonisz Groenewegen was clearly very much influenced by his youthful journey to Italy. After spending some years in Rome (perhaps arriving as early as 1615, but more probably about 1623), he continued painting Italian landscapes all his life. Since the Roman ruins he depicted are only vaguely similar to those, for example, on the Palatine Hill or in the Forum Romanum, one wonders whether he really drew or studied them on the spot, as so many of his countrymen had done. It does not seem likely that he brought back to Holland a large portfolio of Italian Campagna drawings. In any case, no such drawing or any other drawing by Groenewegen seems to have survived, apart from (once again) a contribution to the Abrams Album (fig. 205). This landscape, very characteristic of this artist, shows a view of the hilly Italian countryside, full of imaginary, impressive, classical remains. It was probably made several years after Groenewegen's Italian journey, around 1630, for in composition it is quite comparable to a painting dated 1629 that was on the Dutch art market in the 1960s.<sup>73</sup>

Two—possibly three—landscape drawings by Simon de Vlieger (1601–1653) are also in the Abrams Album (cat. no. 94). As De Vlieger was active in Delft for several years in the mid-1630s, the period when most of the drawings in the album were done, we may assume that his contributions were made either while he was resident in the city or within a reasonably short time after his Delft period. The attention paid to large rock formations gives these landscapes a rather

archaic, Flemish appearance. The composition of *Landscape with Ruin*, a vista with a mountain in the middle crowned by a tower, is a formula also encountered in the work of Lucas van Valckenborch (ca. 1535–1597) and Joos de Momper (1564–1635).<sup>74</sup> *Rocky Coastal Landscape* (attributed, but not certainly, to De Vlieger) also seems to have Flemish prototypes. In this context it is noteworthy that De Momper's manner must have been quite popular in Delft in the early seventeenth century; Montias states that it was this Flemish artist whose works were most often cited in contemporary city inventories. For example, in the collection of the Delft merchant Joris Claesz Tristram, who died in 1617, there were six paintings and nineteen landscape drawings by De Momper.<sup>75</sup> Especially fascinating is De Vlieger's third contribution to the Abrams Album, the *Coastal Landscape with Anthropomorphic Rocks* (cat. no. 94). It may relate to contemporary drawings and prints from the circle of Jacques de Gheyn the Younger (1565–1629) but it may also, again, reflect De Momper, for comparable anthropomorphic landscapes have been attributed to him (see the discussion under cat. no. 94). From about the same time date some elaborate landscape drawings with goats by De Vlieger. Exemplifying the great inventiveness of this artist, they foreshadow his series of animal etchings, which was probably created in the 1640s, after his Delft period.<sup>76</sup>

Roughly ten years after Simon de Vlieger's stay in Delft, two other landscape painters from elsewhere in Holland appeared for a short period of time on the city's scene: Paulus Potter (1625–1654)



Fig. 204. Pieter van Asch, *Landscape*, folio 14r of the Abrams Album, ca. 1635–41. Brush with gray and brown wash, ca. 4¼ x 6½ in. (11 x 15.5 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Maida and George Abrams Collection



Fig. 205. Pieter Groenewegen, *Italianate Landscape*, folio 23v of the Abrams Album, ca. 1635–41. Black chalk and graphite and brown wash on vellum, ca. 4½ x 6½ in. (11 x 15.5 cm). Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Maida and George Abrams Collection

and Adam Pynacker (ca. 1620–1673). An animal painter and landscapist, Potter joined Saint Luke's Guild on August 6, 1646, but it is not known whether he actually settled in Delft.<sup>77</sup> Three years later he was apparently a member of the painters' guild in The Hague and resident there. Potter's keen interest in the rendering of sunlight may have been crucial to the development of painting in Delft, as evidenced by his silvery tones and refined backlighting. To superb effect, he also introduced a subtle chiaroscuro in his drawings, as may be seen in *Horsemen near a Barn* (cat. no. 121), a sheet dating from 1646. The play of light and shadow on trees, the riders, and the dogs gives this work great enchantment; one almost feels the warmth of the sun on this bright summer day.

Adam Pynacker is thought to have been influenced by Potter because of the prominence of cattle in his early oeuvre. In addition, his beautiful handling of light may, in part, be traceable to Potter.<sup>78</sup> Pynacker's rather rare drawings mostly date from later in his career, from the 1660s on, after his Delft period. During his stay in the city, Pynacker had at least one pupil, Jan Gabriel Sonjé (1625–1707). Just like his teacher, Sonjé was not a prolific draftsman.<sup>79</sup>

Within the field of landscape painting and drawing there were also hybrids and subcategories, such as marines, cavalry battles, and many kinds of architectural depictions (including city views). All of these were explored at Delft in the seventeenth century.<sup>80</sup> Beginning in the 1650s the most important architectural painters in Delft, Gerard Houckgeest (ca. 1600–1661) and Emanuel de Witte, followed by



Fig. 206. Gerard Houckgeest after Bartholomeus van Bassen, *Imaginary Gothic Church*, probably late 1630s. Engraving, 9½ x 8½ in. (25.1 x 21.6 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Hendrick van Vliet, produced a superb series of paintings of actual church interiors. In all likelihood the three artists worked directly on the canvas, using the system of pinholes and a chalk cord to create correct orthogonals.<sup>81</sup> In addition, they must have made drawings of details of the church interiors they painted. How else are we to explain the often exact rendering of the columns, the choir screens, and the memorial tablets, not to mention the pulpits and the organs?<sup>82</sup> Perhaps these artists made their paintings on the spot; however, the large number of different church interiors that they depicted (some in cities other than the one where they lived) and the fact that if that practice had existed someone certainly would have described it make this hypothesis highly unlikely. Thus, since only a handful of preparatory architectural sheets are known today, we have to mourn once again the loss of a considerable number of drawings.

To start with, there are no extant drawings by Houckgeest; his only known work on paper is an engraving, *Imaginary Gothic Church* (fig. 206), after an unknown composition by Bartholomeus van Bassen, his presumed teacher.<sup>83</sup> As Walter Liedtke has pointed out, Van Bassen's design was in all likelihood based on a painting of 1636 by Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665), *Saint Bavo's in Haarlem* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Consequently, the print illustrated here is rather important as it may represent the young Houckgeest's first exposure to a composition by Saenredam.<sup>84</sup>

Although he was deeply influenced by Houckgeest, Emanuel de Witte did not focus on the structural details of the architecture in his interiors. Of greater interest to him was the effect of sunlight, which enabled him to unify his compositions and to strike a balance between the areas of light and shade; thus, he may well have painted his church interiors without making preparatory studies on paper. In any case, if such existed they are unknown to us now.<sup>85</sup> Hendrick van Vliet, however, did leave to posterity a few architectural drawings. Some are in his sketchbook, and they include three church interiors, a pulpit, and a memorial tablet, all drawn in black and red chalk (for a full description of these sheets, see the discussion under cat. no. 128). So far no painted church interior that can be said to reflect these drawings has turned up; the rather incomplete appearance of the sheets makes one wonder whether this was indeed the only material on which Van Vliet based his paintings. Other, more precise drawings in pen and brown ink have been attributed to the artist (see cat. no. 129), and though they cannot be correlated with any of his paintings, they suggest how Van Vliet's finished architectural drawings may have looked.

In the field of cityscapes, Delft attained world fame through Vermeer's *View of Delft* and *The Little Street* (fig. no. 23; cat. no. 69). Whether Vermeer made these stunning paintings on the spot, as has been suggested, or worked with preparatory drawings will probably always remain a mystery.<sup>86</sup> Aside from these highly important works, there are not many paintings that depict seventeenth-century Delft,

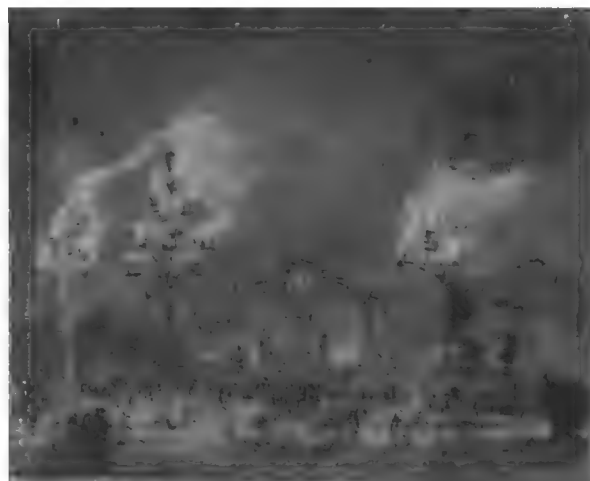


Fig. 207. Possibly by Egbert van der Poel, *Night Scene with a Fireworks Display before a Palace*, probably 1650s. Black and white chalk, brush and gray ink on blue paper, 6¼ x 8⅞ in. (16.9 x 20.8 cm). Private collection, Amsterdam

either from outside the city walls or from inside. We are lucky indeed that visiting artists like Jan de Bisschop (1628–1671), Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674), Jan van Goyen (1596–1656), and Herman Saftleven (1609–1685) made drawings of the charming town with narrow, canal-lined streets and sturdy fortifications. (Their evocative views are discussed below in the essay “Along the City Walls.”) One of the few Delft painters who made city views was Egbert van der Poel (1621–1664). In some of his nocturnal paintings, parts of Delft are recognizable, but Van der Poel was more concerned with special effects of light than with urban architecture or topographical accuracy. Some drawings that show nocturnal scenes within a city have been associated with his name, for example, *Night Scene with a Fireworks Display before a Palace*, a sheet in a private collection (fig. 207).<sup>87</sup> As there is no certain drawing from his hand, however, this attribution remains questionable.<sup>88</sup>

In 1675 the governing body of Delft commissioned former burgo-master Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijck to make a large and very elaborate pictorial record of the city, the so-called *Kaart Figuratief*,<sup>89</sup> which, in addition to a detailed map, included two large profiles (skyline views) and several pictures of important buildings and surrounding villages (see cat. nos. 134, 135). This commission reflected the burghers' great pride in their town, but it was also intended to be a form of city promotion. As a gift to other Dutch city magistrates, to ambassadors, or to visiting foreign princes it would trumpet the fame of Delft throughout Europe. The city fathers may also have been responding competitively to the publication ten years before of Jacob Quack's map of the mouth of the river Maas, in which Rotterdam was prominently shown in the center while Delft was reduced to a supporting image. The *Kaart Figuratief*, which consisted of



Fig. 208. Heerman Witmont, *A Dutch Squadron on the Sont, near Castle Kronborg*, possibly 1640s. Pen on prepared wood, 18 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (46 x 59 cm). Historisch Museum, Amsterdam

thirty-three prints (the detailed map accounts for four of these and the largest profile for two), is one of the most beautiful illustrated publications produced in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. The history of its creation can be reconstructed from evidence in a bulky file compiled by Van Bleyswijck himself, now in the Delft city archives. Some of the artists engaged to work on the project were natives of Delft. Oddly enough, the portraitist and genre painter Johannes Verkolje was asked to make most of the preparatory drawings for the cityscape prints (for instance, for the skyline view; see fig. 330). Pieter van Asch and Heerman Witmont (ca. 1605–1684) also received commissions for preparatory drawings. Unfortunately, none of these has come to light.<sup>90</sup>

Witmont, who was known in Delft as the “Const Teijckenaer” (skillful draftsman), specialized in marine scenes. He was famous for his so-called pen paintings, sometimes done on paper, sometimes on panel; a fine example is *A Dutch Squadron on the Sont, near Castle Kronborg* (fig. 208).<sup>91</sup> Nowadays Willem van de Velde the Elder (ca. 1611–1693) is especially well known for his pen paintings of sea scenes, but at that time Witmont, who apparently never worked in oils, was considered his equal. In fact, it is quite possible—though not provable, since Witmont never dated his work—that the Delft artist, who was several years older than Van de Velde, was the first to make them.<sup>92</sup> Certainly pen paintings were a Delft specialty—the historian Michael Montias came across many marines of this kind in

seventeenth-century Delft inventories.<sup>93</sup> Apart from Witmont, we know that Johannes Coesermans, who joined the Delft guild in 1661, must have made several marine pen drawings and pen paintings. Only two of them, however, seem to have survived.<sup>94</sup> Adriaen Cornelisz van der Salm (1656–1720), who lived in the harbor town of Delfshaven, was famous for his pen paintings, which are almost all seascapes.<sup>95</sup> Delft artists also painted seascapes in the more customary medium of oil on canvas or on panel.<sup>96</sup> During his Delft period Simon de Vlieger, for instance, made several paintings of the sea, often seen washing against a rocky shore. Fine examples of these are *Dutch Ships Revictualing off a Rocky Coast*, in the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, and *Christ in the Storm* in the Kunstsammlung der Universität Göttingen, and his coastal views in the Abrams Album (see cat. no. 94).<sup>97</sup>

### *The Graphic Arts in Commerce and Industry*

Thus far we have concentrated on drawing in the service of painting and printmaking and on drawing and printmaking as independent art forms in seventeenth-century Delft. But drawings and prints also played an important role in the decorative arts and were an indispensable part of the product in industries such as bookmaking and commercial print and map manufacture. It is to the applied use of art on paper that we now turn. In the early seventeenth century, Delft

was the home of two important publishers and engravers: Floris Balthasar van Berckenrode (1562/63–1616) and Nicolaes Jansz de Clerck. The former, who started out as a goldsmith, made his first known prints in 1597. Two years later, Van Berckenrode was unofficially in the service of Stadholder Maurits (and the States General), making illustrations and maps for *nieuwskaarten*, leaflets printed with a battle scene, often a map of a city or a region, and some war propaganda.<sup>98</sup> Much of this material found its way into the map collection (the *kaartkamer*, or map room) at the stadholder's court. Van Berckenrode also collaborated with Hugo Grotius, the famous political and legal theorist, also from Delft, on an illustrated opus on Dutch military achievements during the administration of Prince Maurits. The designing and engraving of this ambitious publication, on which he worked for seven years, was not done single-handedly; the Delft publisher called in other artists, such as Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, Bartholomeus Dolendo (ca. 1571–ca. 1629), and Pieter Bast (ca. 1570–1605). In 1609, when the Twelve Years Truce brought an end to the fighting between Spain and the United Provinces and with that the need for propaganda, Van Berckenrode's employment came to an end, and he sold the uncompleted book to the Leiden publisher Jan Jansz Orlers.<sup>99</sup> As early as 1608, before the truce went into effect, Van Berckenrode was asked to map Delfland and, shortly afterward, in 1608 and 1609, Schieland and Rijnland as well. In 1614 the enormous task was accomplished, and the publisher was able to present the last of the large maps (drawn on a scale of 1:30,000), beautifully decorated with watercolor. Shortly afterward all three were reproduced in print. The mapping of these important regions,

which together made up the southern part of the province of Holland, was encouraged and partly paid for by the States of Holland. Their ultimate ambitious goal was, as has been plausibly suggested, to map on a large scale (1:110,000) the whole province of Holland. Van Berckenrode, who must have started that project, unfortunately did not witness the end, as he died in 1616. But his sons Balthasar Florisz and Frans Florisz finished the job; in 1620 the States of Holland granted them the rights to the map for nine years. In the tenth year, probably because of financial difficulties, Balthasar Florisz sold the publication rights to the Amsterdam publisher Willem Jansz Blaeu.<sup>100</sup> Nevertheless, this masterpiece of Dutch seventeenth-century cartography, which figures prominently in Vermeer's *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165), originated in Delft.

In 1593 Nicolaes Jansz de Clerck, a native of Lier in Flanders, married Catalina Segers of Delft. He brought out a number of prints by (or after) Jacques de Gheyn the Younger and also most of the prints by his son Jacques de Gheyn III (1576–1641).<sup>101</sup> That is to say, these artists made the drawings and engraved the plates (or had somebody else do that), after which De Clerck pulled the prints and saw to their distribution. A famous print from De Clerck's presses was *Witches' Sabbath* (fig. 209), after a drawing by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, probably engraved by Andreas Stock (ca. 1580–ca. 1648). Subject, dimensions, and execution make this work "one of the mightiest products of graphic art," as I. Q. Van Regteren Altena described it.<sup>102</sup> De Clerck himself produced maps and portraits of statesmen for several historical publications.<sup>103</sup> In addition to this, De Clerck was a prominent book and print dealer, whose business was not confined

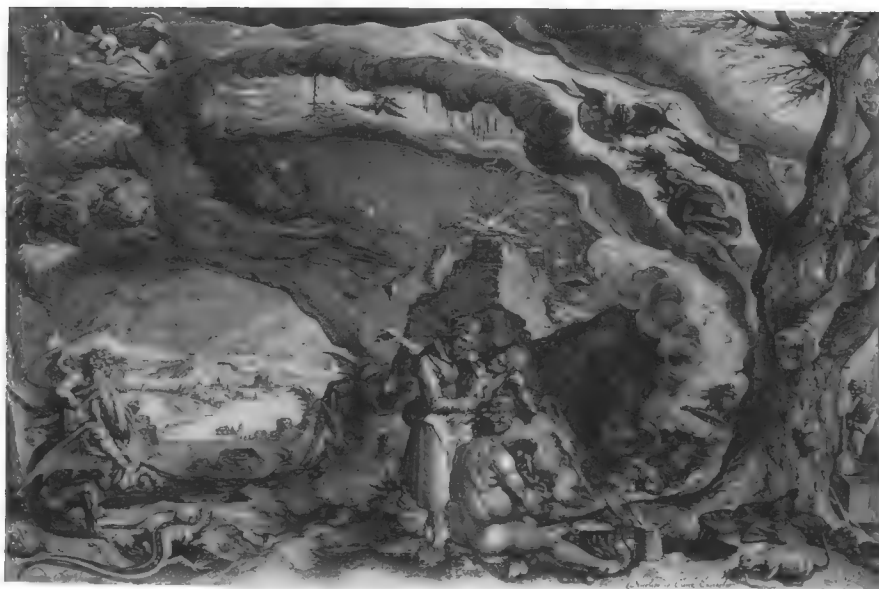


Fig. 209. Probably Andreas Stock after Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, *Witches' Sabbath*, ca. 1610. Engraving, two plates, overall: 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (43.5 x 65.8 cm); left plate: 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (43.5 x 33.2 cm); right plate: 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (43.5 x 32.6 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

to Delft. He had, for example, the privilege of exhibiting his work at the Binnenhof in The Hague, at a special location near the Assembly Room of the States of Holland, during the fair and on holidays.<sup>104</sup>

After the death of Nicolaes de Clerck, in 1623, Willem Jacobsz Delff seized the opportunity to develop a successful business turning out reproductive engravings after paintings by Van Miereveld and other artists. In 1638, when Delff died, the continuous line of outstanding print publishers and printmakers came to an end in Delft, although there was an occasional creative outpouring from an artist of the town, such as the beautiful mezzotint engravings by Johannes Verkolje. But in general, during the rest of the seventeenth century, Delft's activity in the publishing trade was limited to book printing. This reflects a general trend in Holland. At the beginning of the century, print publishers flourished in many of the smaller cities, but about 1625 they began to concentrate in Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Haarlem; by about 1650 Amsterdam was the capital of commercial printmaking in the United Provinces. It is significant that in the first decades of the century Floris Balthasar van Berckenrode and De Clerck were already selling their prints in The Hague—and even more so that the merchants who bought De Clerck's plates after his death were all important publishers from Amsterdam and The Hague: Claes Jansz Visscher, Jan Jansz, Broer Jansz, and Hendrick Hondius.<sup>105</sup> A consequence of this was that the large *Kaart Figuratief* was not printed in Delft. Van Bleyswijck undertook to produce it in The Hague with Johannes Rammazeyn, but after the latter turned out to be untrustworthy, he went to the Amsterdam printer Pieter Smith.<sup>106</sup>

Dutch book printers were famous throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. The English typesetter Joseph Moxon, who wrote the first and most complete early manual of typography, *Mechanick Exercises* (1683–84), stated that “from the cutting of the Steel Punches to the pulling off at the Press [printing is] managed [in Holland] with greater Curiosity [perfection] than hitherto any Nation hath performed it.”<sup>107</sup> Moxon knew what he was talking about, as he had learned the trade in Delft with his father, James. The Moxons belonged to a group of English printers producing chiefly English-language religious books for export.<sup>108</sup> Among these publications were Calvinist Geneva Bibles made to be smuggled into England as forbidden “weapons against episcopacy” (that is, against the established Church of England). These English printers, who owned and ran their own printing shops, formed an enclave in the economy of Delft. They bought their principal raw materials in Holland and hired local apprentices, but they seem not to have employed any local draftsmen or printmakers to illustrate their books.

Prominent local publishers in Delft were: Aelbrecht Hendricxz, Jan Andriesz Cloeting, Felix van Sambix de Jonge, Adriaen Gerritsz van Beyeren, Jan Piertsz Waelpot, Abraham Dissius, and Cornelis Jansz Timmer.<sup>109</sup> To the same degree that the English community of

printers was closed, the Dutch book business was open; its printing, binding, and distribution activities transcended the boundaries of individual cities. Complex deals were contracted by Delft book merchants and printers with colleagues elsewhere, for instance, in Amsterdam or Rotterdam. The quality of the books they produced was generally acclaimed, but the involvement of Delft artists was minimal. One would think that of Bramer's more than forty series of drawings—many of which have literary subjects—some would have found their way into print, yet such was not the case, and it seems that Bramer did not make them with any such intention.<sup>110</sup> There is only one Delft-born artist who contributed greatly to the art of book illustration in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic: Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne. From the 1610s Van de Venne, who was a writer himself, made a great many illustrations for books by the foremost authors of the day, including Jacob Cats.<sup>111</sup> The artist usually concentrated on the human figure, combining a gift for narrative clarity with an informal compositional charm. To say more than this, however, would be to exaggerate Delft's claim on this artist—just as Van Bleyswijck did in 1680 when he included Van de Venne, “the famous painter and poet,” among the city's artists.<sup>112</sup> In fact, Van de Venne left Delft at an early age for Middelburg and later moved to The Hague, probably returning only occasionally to his hometown to visit Willem Jacobsz Delff, who engraved some of his portraits (see cat. nos. 131–33), or the Delft tapisserie Maximiliaan van der Gucht (1603–1689), who made at least one tapestry to his design.

Tapestry making, briefly described at the beginning of this essay, remained a very important industry in Delft throughout the seventeenth century (see pp. 512–14; cat nos. 137–40). François Spiering's monopoly there lasted until 1615, when a former employee, Karel van Mander the Younger (1579–1623), son of the famous biographer of artists, set up his own shop. Van Mander's firm produced top-quality tapestry series in Delft for almost a decade; however, the competition was too great and the new company had to close in 1623, the year Van Mander died.<sup>113</sup> Shop practice at Van Mander's factory was the same as at Spiering's. It is thus not surprising that the full-size cartoons, many of which were executed in strips, have disappeared. Rather strange, however, is the fact that not one preliminary design from Van Mander's studio seems to have survived—the more so as they were extremely valuable. One of the designs for the artist's series of large tapestries on the theme of Alexander the Great was sold to the king of Bohemia for the large sum of 2,000 guilders, although it had already been used four times!<sup>114</sup>

In 1630, shortly before Spiering's death, Maximiliaan van der Gucht appeared on the scene. He confined his output for the most part to relatively small and inexpensive tapestries. But when challenged—by a special foreign commission, for example—he was able to deliver very interesting work that rose high above the usual level. For the Swedish court, for instance, Van der Gucht made beautiful



Fig. 210. Leonaert Bramer, *The Cutting of the Dikes*, ca. 1660. Pen and brush in black and gray, brush in yellow and some blue, some lines in brown pen, 12¼ x 16½ in. (32.2 x 42 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

large tapestries with hunting scenes after designs by Christiaan van Couwenbergh (see fig. 325).<sup>115</sup> Other Delft artists who probably made designs for Van der Gucht, were Gerard Houckgeest, Simon de Vlieger, Adriaen van de Venne, and Heerman Witmont.<sup>116</sup> It is puzzling that we know about this only through archival information and some surviving tapestries. None of the drawings or cartoons that these artists presented to Van der Gucht has come to light. Leonaert Bramer was luckier. Not only is he the only Delft artist from whose hand a tapestry design survives, he has left us several. Well known is his series of six drawings on the subject of the siege and relief of the city of Leiden (fig. 210), which in all likelihood were designs for tapestries commissioned from Van der Gucht in the 1660s for the Leiden town hall. Conceived with many figures and scenes, Bramer's designs were probably too expensive to execute. In any case, the Leiden city fathers decided in favor of much simpler landscape scenes with occasional mythological staffage.<sup>117</sup> In 1664 Bramer must have made eight marine drawings for Van der Gucht; undoubtedly tapestry designs, they were sent to the Swedish field marshal Count Karl Gustav von Wrangel. Two of these drawings are extant,<sup>118</sup> but the tapestries after these drawings, if they were ever woven, have not been identified.

During the first half of the seventeenth century Haarlem and Delft developed into the country's main centers for the production of tin-glazed earthenware—properly called majolica or faience. Manufacturers in those cities had been forced to experiment with

their product in the face of stiff competition from blue-and-white Chinese porcelain, which the East India Company had begun to import in large quantities about 1620. A new and improved type of earthenware resulted, and it was Delft that ultimately monopolized the product and gave it a name. The growth of the Delftware industry between about 1650 and 1680—no less than a quarter of the city's population depended on it by 1670—was nurtured by a temporary interruption in the flow of porcelain from China. During this period the Delftware potteries, about twenty-five in number, were able to secure a very strong position in the European market. The resumption of trade with China about 1685 had hardly any ill effect on the industry, which went on to even greater artistic and technical achievements.

The elaborate pieces of Delftware displayed today in museums or private collections were ornamental. They represent only a small part of the output of the Delftware kilns. The larger part consisted of plain or very simply decorated pottery for household use, and tiles for wall decoration. When applying designs to these tiles—and sometimes also to the ornamental pieces—the shop decorators, or *plateelschilders*, often used a simple sketch on paper or an already existing print as a *spons*, or stencil. First the paper was pricked along the lines of the design and then powdered charcoal was sifted through the tiny holes onto the tile. Later the faience painter used the transferred lines as a guide during the tricky process of applying the colored decoration to the tile. Although a stencil simplified his task, the quality of the product always depended on the proficiency





Fig. 211. Anonymous artist possibly after Anthonie Palamedesz, *Elegant Company in a Room*, possibly ca. 1650. Ceramic tile tableau, dimensions unknown. Location unknown (formerly in the Vis Collection, Amsterdam)

of the painter. One famous series of plaques decorated with the portraits of Delft ministers offers excellent examples of virtuoso faience decoration (see cat. no. 156). Based on prints by Chrispijn van Queborn (1604–1652), these earthenware portraits are almost superior to their models on paper.<sup>119</sup>

The most gifted of all the Delftware decorators was Frederik van Frijtom (1632–1702), who settled in Delft in 1658.<sup>120</sup> He also painted ordinary landscapes with meticulously executed trees; but he was

renowned for his very delicately painted Delftware plaques depicting Dutch landscapes, sometimes enlivened by figures and houses. One of these can be related to a print by Anthonie Waterloo (1609–1690), and it may have been made with a *spons*,<sup>121</sup> but in all likelihood Frijtom designed all his other “porcelain landscapes” himself. Whether he prepared them by sketching out-of-doors is not known; in any case, no drawing by this artist seems to have survived.

It is surprising that Delft painters were so seldom involved in the decoration of Delft faience. Some Delftware plaques may have been inspired by paintings of church interiors such as those by Gerard Houckgeest or Hendrick van Vliet.<sup>122</sup> Furthermore, some tile pictures may have been made with the help of Anthonie Palamedesz, for example, *Elegant Company in a Room* (fig. 211). Here, the whole composition as well as the individual figures seem strongly influenced by the work of Palamedesz. Since the lady, the officer, and the boy on the right are depicted in exactly the same way in another tile picture, we may conclude that these three figures were drawn by means of a *spons*, possibly a pricked drawing by Palamedesz.<sup>123</sup> One can easily imagine how, for instance, the same artist’s drawing of a standing man in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (fig. 193), could be used as a model for a figure like the officer in the *Elegant Company in a Room*.

The only important Delft painter who became seriously involved in the decoration of Delftware was the versatile Leonaert Bramer.<sup>124</sup> This fact has recently been established through the discovery that several Delftware dishes decorated with biblical scenes are directly related to two of Bramer’s large series of drawings illustrating the Old and the New Testaments (see cat. nos. 103, 104; fig. 306). Since



Fig. 212a. Leonaert Bramer, *Jacob's Dream*, late 1650s. Brush and gray ink, pricked for transfer, diameter  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (13.5 cm). Koninklijke Tichelaar, Makkum



Fig. 212b. Leonaert Bramer, *Jacob's Dream* (working copy), probably late 1650s. Pricked from fig. 212a for transfer by pouncing, diameter  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (13.5 cm). Koninklijke Tichelaar, Makkum



Fig. 213. Anonymous, *The Temptation of Christ*, 1660. Delftware plaque, diameter  $5\frac{1}{8}$  in. (13.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 214. Leonaert Bramer, *The Temptation of Christ*, ca. 1645–55. Brush and gray ink,  $3\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. (9.4 x 10.9 cm). Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

these dishes have different border decorations—some of which can be dated as early as the 1630s—it is probable that several series of dishes with designs based on Bramer's work were produced at the Delftware kilns. In addition, drawings by Bramer that have been pricked for pouncing turned up recently at Makkum, in the archives of Koninklijke Tichelaar. A fascinating discovery in this cache is a trio of stencils in different stages of wear. The first is a drawing by Bramer of *Jacob's Dream* done in brush and gray ink (fig. 212a). Someone pricked small holes along the lines, marking two underlying sheets at the same time. The second and third sheets became the decorator's working copies (fig. 212b). In the manufacture of tiles, stencils like these might be used as many as two thousand times,<sup>125</sup> but it does not seem likely that any of the Bramer drawings found at Makkum were reused as often as that. And only one of the working stencils based on *Jacob's Dream* shows signs of pouncing; the other one bears no traces at all of charcoal dust.

Most of the pricked drawings by Bramer found at Makkum are similar or identical in composition to the artist's large drawings on

Old and New Testament themes. Others have mythological subjects, such as Europa and the Bull, Venus and Adonis, and Ajax and Odysseus Quarreling over the Armor of Achilles. Finally, some large Delftware plates and valuable plaques are obviously based on Bramer's compositions. Some of them are of such high quality that one may assume they were executed by the artist himself. An example, illustrated here, is a plaque with *The Temptation of Christ*, closely related to a Bramer drawing in Darmstadt (figs. 213, 214).

This chapter begins and ends with the melancholy reflection that many of the works on paper made in Delft during the seventeenth century have been lost. On the other hand, much of the material that has survived the ravages of time and neglect is of great beauty and historical interest. And exciting discoveries of recent years, such as the Abrams Album and the collection of drawings by Bramer in the archives at Makkum, cast an optimistic light on the prospect of finding in years to come yet more works on paper from Delft's Golden Age.



## 7. Society, Culture, and Collecting in Seventeenth-Century Delft

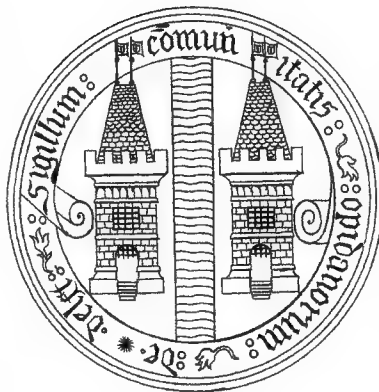
MARTEN JAN BOK

### *Early History and Background*

THE PRESENT-DAY VISITOR to Delft is charmed by the beauty of the brick facades lining the streets and canals of this small city. Oddly enough, Delft owes the preservation of its seventeenth-century aspect to the misfortune of its sharp economic decline in the eighteenth century. The houses in the poorest neighborhoods deteriorated, and because the population had fallen off they were eventually pulled down and replaced by gardens rather than by new buildings.<sup>1</sup> Only recently has the city undergone considerable modernization.<sup>2</sup>

Delft owed its prosperity in the seventeenth century to Dutch perseverance in the long struggle for independence from Spain (1568–1648). Despite the enormous cost of the war the Dutch economy boomed, thanks to an exceedingly profitable network of maritime trade laid down during the preceding centuries across northern and western Europe, from the Baltic Sea via the North Sea to the Atlantic coasts of the Iberian Peninsula. After 1600 the Dutch extended their commercial interests around the globe. Dutch trading posts were established in New Netherland (now New York State) and Brazil in the Western Hemisphere; along the Gold Coast and the Cape of Good Hope in Africa; in Ceylon and Indonesia; and on Formosa (Taiwan) and the island of Deshima off the coast of Japan in the Far East. By 1648 the Dutch Republic had become a world power, and its cultural influence in Europe was at a high-water mark. The Dutch Golden Age spans only a relatively short period, however. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century the republic had been overtaken, both militarily and economically, by its most powerful rivals, France and England.

But during its heyday all Europe was amazed at the republic's prosperity, especially that of Amsterdam. In the sixteenth century the



Crest of the City of Delft (fig. 21)

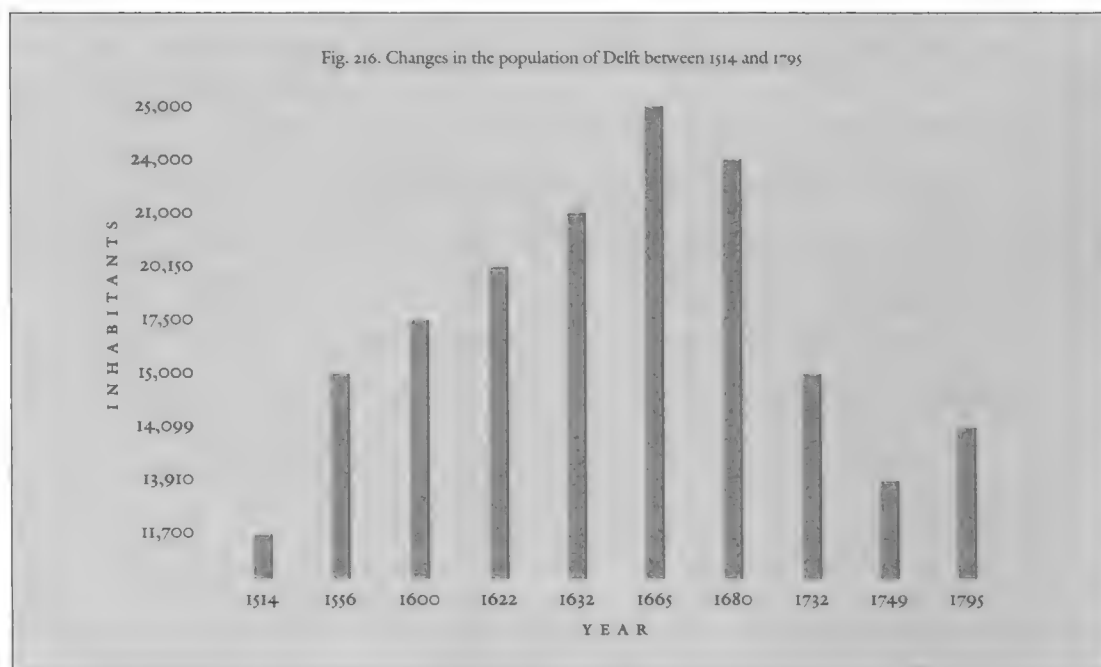
largest city in the Low Countries had been Antwerp, which itself had outstripped the medieval trading metropolis of Bruges in size and wealth. This part of Europe owed its long-standing demographic and economic importance mainly to its geographic location. Great seaports at the mouths of the Schelde, Maas (Meuse), and Rhine gave Netherlandish merchants access to a large part of the central European hinterland. In 1500 the Netherlands was the most heavily urbanized area of Europe, comparable in this regard only with northern Italy.<sup>3</sup> In the coastal province of Holland, where Delft is located, nearly 45 percent of the population lived in cities in 1525,<sup>4</sup>

and by about 1675 urbanization had increased to more than 60 percent.

Unlike Bruges, Antwerp, and Amsterdam, Delft is situated not at the mouth of a river but inland. Its harbor, Delfshaven (see figs. 5, 25)—some miles to the south—never became a great port. Delft was the capital and market town of Delfland (see fig. 20) and Maasland, as well as a center of trade and manufacturing. It had its own textile industry and a large number of breweries. The seventeenth century saw the emergence of the faience industry, which still flourishes today, producing the well-known glazed pottery called Delftware.

Between 1500 and 1665 the population of Delft more than doubled (fig. 216).<sup>5</sup> Given the regular recurrence of infectious disease, however, growth was not nearly as steady as the graph suggests. It is estimated that one-fifth of the population of Delft died of the plague in 1624 and 1625, and in 1635 and 1636 pestilence claimed the lives of nearly 2,000 inhabitants.<sup>6</sup> Yet again in the mid-1650s and mid-1660s, hundreds of people died in epidemics. We can only assume that immigrants, from the surrounding countryside and beyond, were responsible for Delft's rapid expansion during those years. Meanwhile, other towns in Holland—Leiden, Rotterdam, and Haarlem—were growing even faster (see fig. 217), and in the 1660s Amsterdam became a true metropolis, with a population of 200,000.

Opposite: Fig. 215. Willem van Vliet, *Portrait of Willem de Langue* (detail), 1648 (see fig. 228a). Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 34 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (113.5 x 87.5 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague)



Starting in the mid-1670s, the population of Delft dropped sharply, until by the 1730s it had fallen to where it had been in 1550—about 15,000 persons (see fig. 216). Trade and industry declined drastically; many houses stood empty; and the gravediggers complained of lack of business.<sup>7</sup> This trend may also be attributed in large part to the movement of people rather than to a change in the birth or the death rate.<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, opportunities for employment in the nearby cities of The Hague and Rotterdam lured many citizens of Delft away from their hometown. Like all European seats of government, The Hague continually attracted new residents.<sup>9</sup> After the Treaty of Münster (1648) brought peace and increased shipping on the Rhine, Rotterdam became one of Europe's busiest seaports.<sup>10</sup> In addition, many of the men who sailed away each year in the service of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) never returned.<sup>11</sup> This meant that many women of the town remained unmarried or had to find a husband elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> Delft was not the only city in the western part of the republic to experience a decline in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Most of the smaller cities faded in importance compared with Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht (see fig. 217). Delft's downturn was one aspect of broad changes in the Dutch economy, although events and circumstances of a purely local nature contributed to the trend.

### *Class and Political Structure*

Delft joined the war for independence in 1572, and in that same year Prince William of Orange, leader of the revolt, took up residence in

Delft's Convent of Saint Agatha, which thereafter became known as the Prinsenhof (see fig. 27). He chose the walled city of Delft because the traditional seat of government, The Hague, was open and not easy to defend. The nobles, soldiers, and officials in the prince's retinue formed a completely new kind of elite in this city of merchants and small-business men. Twelve years later William was murdered in the Prinsenhof by a French Catholic bounty hunter named Balthasar Geraerts. The prince was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk, where his tomb—now the last resting place of other members of the House of Orange-Nassau—recalls the short period when Delft was the political and administrative capital of the United Provinces.

Fig. 217. The population of ten major cities in Holland in 1560, 1670, and 1795

	1560	1670	1795
Amsterdam	30,000	219,000	221,000
Utrecht	27,500	30,000	32,294
Haarlem	16,000	38,000	21,225
Delft	15,000	25,000	14,099
Leiden	12,500	67,000	30,955
Dordrecht	10,000	20,000	18,014
Gouda	9,000	15,000	11,715
Rotterdam	7,000	45,000	53,212
The Hague	6,000	20,000	38,433
Schiedam	4,100	7,000	9,101



When Prince Maurits succeeded his father as leader of the revolt, he moved back to The Hague, and once again Delft became a city of burghers. During the seventeenth century the only aristocratic household was that of Don Emanuel, pretender to the throne of Portugal, who lived modestly in the Prinsenhof with his wife, a daughter of William of Orange.<sup>13</sup>

Many of Delft's old families, the so-called burgher-elite, had amassed great fortunes since the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the chance to invest in the East and West India trade presented itself.<sup>14</sup> As in all Dutch cities, wealth came to be less equally distributed.<sup>15</sup> From a 1674 tax register we know that in that year 220 Delft households were worth more than 20,000 guilders, and 101 of them were worth more than 50,000 guilders.<sup>16</sup> By comparison, a carpenter or a mason might earn 500 guilders a year. Most of the wealthy families lived in imposing town houses on the Oude Delft, the city's main canal, and it was they who had a decisive voice in civic affairs.

Since 1445 the most important political organization in Delft had been the so-called Council of Forty, which was established in that year by Philip of Burgundy in his capacity as count of Holland.<sup>17</sup> From its ranks came the men with executive authority in the city: the four burgomasters, who were chosen yearly, the town treasurer, the regents of the Orphan Chamber, and the harbormasters of Delfshaven.<sup>18</sup> The sheriff and the aldermen, who administered justice locally, were nearly all recruited from the council, as were those who represented the city at the provincial level. Membership in the council was therefore a prerequisite to holding public office, a situation that would remain unchanged until 1795, when France invaded the Netherlands, sweeping away all the constitutional machinery of the old system, including the Council of Forty.

In seventeenth-century Delft the burgomasters were responsible for running the day-to-day affairs of the town. They appointed dozens of minor administrative officials as well as several important delegates to the national government, including Delft's representatives at the States General, the Council of State, and the Auditor's Office.<sup>19</sup> They were in a position to appoint family members and friends to these frequently lucrative posts and did not hesitate to do so. The power to grant commissions for the construction of government buildings and their decoration gave them a decisive voice in the way the city presented itself to the outside world. The rebuilding of the Stadhuis (town hall), which had burned down in 1618, illustrates this clearly enough.<sup>20</sup> A committee consisting of the four incumbent burgomasters (Frank Reyersz van der Burch, Dirck Corstiaensz van Groenewegen, Jacob Adriaensz Pauw, and Jan Jansz van Lodensteyn), two former burgomasters (Paulus Cornelisz van Beresteyn and Gerrit Beukelsz van Santen), and a former alderman (Jan Abrahamsz Graswinckel) was responsible for the project. The committee awarded the commission for the design to Hendrick de Keyser, the famous sculptor whose splendid marble and bronze tomb of William of Orange was being constructed in the Nieuwe Kerk, across from the site of



Fig. 218. Johannes Verkolje, *Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijck at the Age of Thirty*, 1671. Mezzotint, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (17.4 x 13.3 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection

the new town hall (fig. 7). De Keyser was city architect and a resident of Amsterdam; his work in Delft recalls that of the sculptors, stained-glass painters, and major artists who were brought in from out of town during the previous century. However, it became increasingly common during the seventeenth century to award public commissions to local artists and craftsmen. Thus, a painting depicting The Judgment of Solomon for the local court of justice was ordered some years later from the Delft painter Pieter Anthonisz van Bronckhorst (fig. 94). For the burgomasters' chamber a local portraitist, Michiel Jansz van Miereveld, produced likenesses of the members of the House of Orange-Nassau, as well as of the king and queen of Bohemia, who had been living in exile in The Hague since 1621.<sup>21</sup> Van Miereveld was required to promise that he would sign the portraits himself, meaning that he agreed not to deliver copies produced by assistants after existing paintings. Also hanging in the Stadhuis were sixteenth-century religious paintings that had survived the iconoclastic riots of 1566, including works by Maerten van Heemskerck



Fig. 219. Jacob Willemsz. Delft, *Paulus van Beresteyn at the Age of Forty-four*, 1592. Oil on wood, 45¼ x 32½ in. (115 x 83.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

and Pieter Aertsen.<sup>22</sup> In the course of the seventeenth century, the decoration of the building was expanded to include even more paintings, as well as a number of tapestries from the famous Delft workshop of Maximiliaan van der Gucht. As a repository of important works of art, the town hall was itself a focus of local pride.<sup>23</sup>

The local elite dominated all aspects of civic life. The officers of the guard were recruited from this stratum of society,<sup>24</sup> as were the elders and deacons of the Reformed congregation and the regents of charitable institutions.<sup>25</sup> During the first half of the seventeenth century, when the economy of the United Provinces boomed and even those on the lower rungs of the social ladder had an opportunity to better their lives, local pride swelled in Delft, as it did in other cities of Holland.<sup>26</sup> As elsewhere, the city's coat of arms was displayed on public buildings and incorporated into stained-glass windows. The parade of the civic guard during the annual fair and the stately public burials of deceased burghers provided opportunities for public reinforcement of local identity.<sup>27</sup> Among the cities of the republic, Delft enjoyed an extra measure of prestige by virtue of the fact that members of the stadholder's family were buried in the

Nieuwe Kerk. William's tomb was considered the most important artistic monument in Delft.

Another expression of civic pride was the publication, in 1667, of the first volume of Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijck's *Beschryvinge der stad Delft* (Description of the City of Delft),<sup>28</sup> a history of the city with descriptions of the greatest accomplishments of its citizens and all its important monuments. In the preface Van Bleyswijck (fig. 218), son of a well-to-do brewer and burgomaster, recounts how he was forced by illness to abandon plans for a grand tour of the Netherlands, France, and Italy, and then, lying on his sickbed, decided he would take the opportunity to explore the history of his hometown.<sup>29</sup> Van Bleyswijck believed that his love of Delft was shared by many of his fellow townspeople. Yet he sensed a change in outlook, complaining in his preface that a whole generation was growing up who were interested only in things from far-off lands and no longer concerned themselves with their own heritage. Clearly, prosperity and the worldwide expansion of the republic had profoundly influenced the thinking of many Delft burghers by the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

When he created the Council of Forty, Count Philip stipulated that it would be composed of "forty persons, the wealthiest, most honorable, most prominent, and most peace-loving" in Delft.<sup>30</sup> Members served for life, and the council was replenished by appointment. The government was oligarchic, in the sense that a limited group of individuals and their families controlled it.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, this group managed to maintain its position for more than three centuries because the important religious and political developments that took place in the Netherlands, such as the Reformation and the revolt against Spain, did not prompt any constitutional changes at the local level. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the lists of names of the Council of Forty display a great deal of continuity. A study made by H. W. van Leeuwen for the years between 1572 and 1667, for example, has shown how often members of a few prominent families were appointed to the Council of Forty: eight times from the Van Bleyswijck



Fig. 220. Adriaan de Grebber, *Medal to Commemorate the Fiftieth Wedding Anniversary of Paulus van Beresteyn and Volckera Nicolai*, 1624. Silver, diameter 2¼ in. (5.5 cm). Rijksmuseum Het Koninklijk Penningkabinet, Leiden

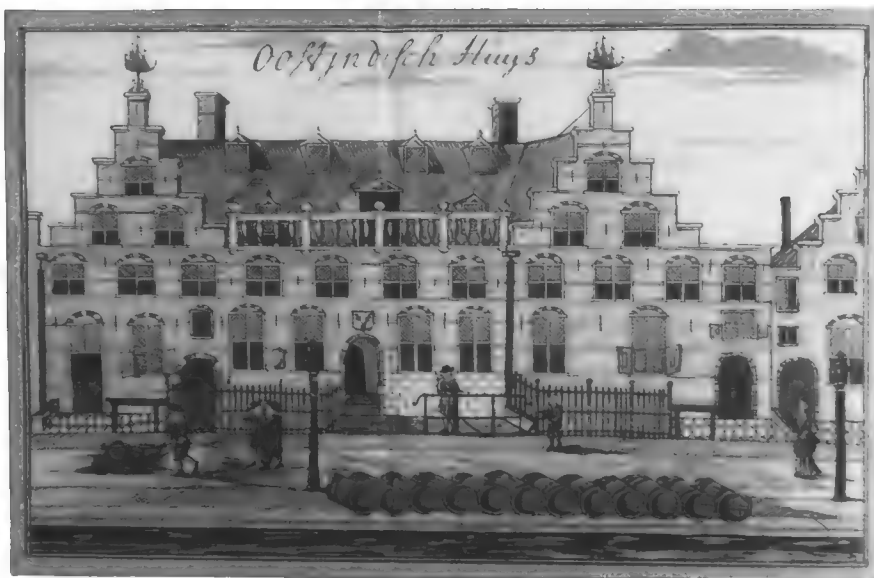


Fig. 221. Anonymous, *The "Oost-Indisch Huys" in Delft (Situation of 1631)*, first quarter of the 18th century. Watercolor, 7 x 10 1/4 in. (17.9 x 27.2 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft

family, eleven from the Van der Burchs, eighteen from the Van der Dussens, seven from the Duysts, six from the Van Groenewegens, and ten from the Van der Meers.<sup>32</sup> Other leading families whose names recur regularly are the Graswinckels, Van Hoogenhoucks, Van Lodensteyns, Meermans, Van Ruijvens, and Van Santens. For centuries their status resembled that of aristocrats. Their crowning moment of glory came in 1813 with the establishment of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, when the families who had supplied members to the Council of Forty for more than three generations were elevated to the nobility.

Outsiders found it very difficult to penetrate this local elite. Newcomers were usually admitted only after they had become related to a member of the ruling class through marriage. This category included, for example, members of socially and politically prominent families from other cities, such as the Van Beresteys (originally from Amsterdam), the Teding van Berkhouts (from Monnikendam), and the Pauws (from Gouda).<sup>33</sup>

In 1624 the enormously rich Delft burgomaster Paulus Cornelisz van Beresteyn (fig. 219)<sup>34</sup> and his wife, Volckera Nicolai, celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary. To commemorate the occasion the goldsmith Adriaan de Grebber made medals in gold and silver (fig. 220)<sup>35</sup> as gifts for the couple's children and other guests. Among their descendants were Teding van Berkhouts, Tromps, and members of Delft's other prominent families. The later burgomaster Pieter Teding van Berkhout, who in 1669 paid several visits to the studio of a "famous painter named Vermeer," was one of them.<sup>36</sup> About 1700 he estimated his own fortune at more than half a million guilders.<sup>37</sup> Teding van Berkhout spent a good deal of his time maintaining contact with the other Delft descendants of Paulus van Beresteyn, a

group that by his day had grown to include "a veritable legion of cousins, nieces, and nephews."<sup>38</sup> These people of standing spent their leisure time at country houses in the vicinity of Delft. Family reunions were held regularly, and for the financial support of the less fortunate among them a family fund was set up that still exists.<sup>39</sup>

The members of the burgher-elite in seventeenth-century Holland were commoners only in the sense that they lacked hereditary titles. Otherwise their way of life was similar to that of aristocrats elsewhere in Europe, including even a measure of pomp and ceremony. This is why the eighteenth-century city historian Reinier Boitet found it important to mention in his *Beschryvinge der stad Delft* (1729) that the painters Jacob Vosmaer, Pieter van Ruijven, and Albertus van der Burch were born into "the good family of time-honored Vosmaers," the "old and notable family" of Van Ruijven, and the "distinguished and notable line, and time-honored family" of Van der Burch.<sup>40</sup> Their lineage gave them direct access to the wealthiest art lovers and patrons in the city.

Most historians now agree that it was religious tolerance, rather than Calvinism, that gave seventeenth-century Dutch society its quintessential character.<sup>41</sup> In Delft, where there was a large measure of social and political continuity, keeping the peace was considered more important than establishing an ideal Protestant society, and the political elite displayed a tolerant attitude.<sup>42</sup> Between 1573 and 1615 only slightly more than half of all the new appointees to the Council of Forty were members of the Reformed congregation,<sup>43</sup> and this remained the case even after 1618, when Prince Maurits openly sided with the orthodox Calvinists in their conflict with the more liberal Arminians.<sup>44</sup>

In 1620 only about one-fourth of the population of Delft belonged to the Reformed Church.<sup>45</sup> The city harbored many Catholics and



Fig. 222. *The Capture of the Spanish "Silver Fleet" in the Bay of Matanzas by a Dutch Fleet under the Command of Piet Hein, 1628.* Engraving, from Isaac Commelin, *Frederick Hendrick van Nassauw, Prince va[n] Orangien, zyn leven en bedryf*, Amsterdam, 1651. Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Rotterdam

Mennonites as well as a range of religious minorities,<sup>46</sup> and many citizens preferred to remain unaffiliated with any church.<sup>47</sup> That there was a smaller percentage of orthodox Calvinists in Delft than in a city such as Leiden, for example, may be explained by the fact that Delft did not take in as many refugees from Flanders and Brabant. These emigrants from the Spanish Netherlands often had nothing left except their ability to work, their Calvinist beliefs, and the hope of one day returning to their birthplace. In many areas of the republic they formed a corps of uncompromising Calvinists.

Protestants and Catholics participated equally in many areas of public life in Delft: for example, in the guilds, which regulated economic life, and in the civic-guard companies. Thus Johannes Vermeer, who was never a member of the Reformed Church and whose marriage drew him into Jesuit circles, was able to become headman of the Guild of Saint Luke and a member of the civic guard.<sup>48</sup>

### *Economic Structure*

At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were eighty-two breweries in Delft, offering employment to between 15 and 20 percent of the labor force and creating considerable business for the local grain merchants, coopers, and bargemen as well.<sup>49</sup> As in other Dutch cities the brewers of Delft were among the wealthiest and most prominent burghers,<sup>50</sup> and a large number of them were members of

the Council of Forty. Soon, however, the breweries began to disappear, partly through mergers and partly because of increased competition in their traditional markets; by 1645 only twenty-five were still in business. A decade later, the painter Jan Steen, who was the son of a Leiden brewer, experienced the decline of the Delft beer industry in the most painful way. In 1654 he rented one of the few remaining breweries—"De Slang" ("The Snake"), also known as "De Roskam" ("The Currycomb"), on the city's main canal—but was forced to give it up three years later after suffering heavy losses.<sup>51</sup> Steen's failure can be attributed only in part to his lack of managerial expertise: by the mid-1650s the whole country was experiencing a period of economic stagnation as a result of the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54). In Amsterdam, Rembrandt's debts were called in, bringing the artist to the brink of financial ruin. In Delft the problems caused by the slump were exacerbated by the explosion of a gunpowder magazine in 1654 that devastated an entire neighborhood and killed and wounded many people (see cat. no. 51).

In the Middle Ages the manufacture of woolen cloth had been the second pillar of Delft's economy, but in the sixteenth century this, too, began to fail.<sup>52</sup> The city fathers attempted to revive the textile industry by luring foreign manufacturers with the promise of favorable conditions, but their efforts were unsuccessful, chiefly because of an inadequate pool of experienced workers. Whereas Delft had for a long time tried to limit immigration, Leiden and Haarlem had

welcomed the thousands of cloth workers who had left the Spanish Netherlands to seek a new life in the north. Delft's rivals were thus well positioned to dominate Holland's textile industry in the first half of the seventeenth century, and eventually Leiden became the largest manufacturing city in Europe after Lyons.

In 1621 fortune seemed to smile on Delft. An English trading company known as the Merchant Adventurers was persuaded to establish its headquarters in the town.<sup>53</sup> This windfall meant that Delft now had an import monopoly on undyed English woolen cloth; moreover, the activities involved in processing and transporting the cloth to other parts of the Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe were expected to provide new jobs in Delft. Part of the Prinsenhof was given over to the company to use as its administrative offices and warehouse. The Merchant Adventurers took advantage of the proximity of The Hague to promote its interests with the king of England. In August 1623 and April 1624, for example, the company hosted huge celebrations in the Prinsenhof honoring Elizabeth Stuart, the daughter of King James I, and her consort, King Frederick V of Bohemia.<sup>54</sup> The firm also lent her considerable sums of money.<sup>55</sup>

The following year the city established in the newly rebuilt town hall a bank of exchange to facilitate international financial transactions. Cloth dyers from elsewhere set up business in Delft, together with a number of English printers—and even an English barber, who in 1627 accepted paintings from an English merchant as payment for his services.<sup>56</sup> The positive influence of the Merchant Adventurers on Delft's economy was unmistakable yet short-lived. The import of English cloth came to a standstill in 1629, when a trade conflict developed between the Dutch Republic and England. When the dispute was finally resolved, in 1634, the English merchants decided to relocate their business to Rotterdam, leaving Delft for good. All subsequent attempts to breathe new life into the Delft textile industry proved fruitless.

A small exception to this unfortunate pattern of economic decline was tapestry weaving.<sup>57</sup> François Spiering introduced the first manufactory in Delft in 1593, and a few others were set up in the seventeenth century (see pp. 512–14). Tapestries were luxury products that only the very rich could afford, so it is hardly surprising that these workshops were located in the vicinity of the court at The Hague. On the one hand, the highly skilled artists who were hired to make the designs and cartoons enriched the artistic life of Delft;<sup>58</sup> on the other hand, the industry created few jobs for local weavers.

At the turn of the century, the city was still producing textiles and brewing beer for a mass market, but gradually the merchants of Delft began to specialize in international trade and the production of luxury goods. Spiering's tapestry workshop was a harbinger of this trend, and about the same time, local potteries began turning out tin-glazed earthenware in imitation of the popular Italian faience. Several decades later these kilns started to produce imitation Chinese

porcelain, laying the basis for what would be Delft's most important industry in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>59</sup>

During this period Delft undoubtedly benefited from the proximity of the court at The Hague, which guaranteed a constant demand for luxury goods and which was in a position to advertise the city's products internationally via its corps diplomatique. Of greater importance, however, was the fact that Delft and the other large cities of Holland, with Amsterdam in the lead, began to broaden their mercantile horizons to include the farthest reaches of the known world. Gradually, Dutch society took on a more open and cosmopolitan character. The populace grew curious about far-off lands and hungry for new products and new knowledge. The depictions of tropical birds, Chinese porcelain, and exotic shells in the still lifes of the painter Balthasar van der Ast bear witness to this curiosity (see cat. nos. 3, 4).

The Dutch expansion in Asia dates from the last years of the sixteenth century. In various cities merchants founded companies that outfitted fleets bound for the Far East. In 1601 a group of twelve merchants and manufacturers of Delft decided to ready a ship for a voyage to the East Indies; the following year, however, the States General forced all the existing overseas trading companies to form a single Dutch East India Company, or VOC (*Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*), putting an end to the competition between them. It was one of the first public limited-liability companies in history, though it differed from the organizations now labeled as such in that it was also conceived as a political and military arm of the republic in its fight against the Habsburg empire. From the very beginning, the deployment of the VOC against Spanish interests in Asia was a part of the Dutch war strategy.

In all six cities where overseas trading companies had been active before 1602—Amsterdam, Middelburg (representing Zeeland), Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen—the VOC now opened up its own office, called a chamber, with its own shareholders and its own administration. The representatives of these chambers made up the central governing body of the VOC. Amsterdam contributed 3.7 million guilders, more than half of the company's total equity of nearly 6.5 million guilders, and would continue to be the driving force in the new enterprise.<sup>60</sup> Many of the big Amsterdam investors were merchants and bankers from Antwerp who had moved to the northern Netherlands after 1585 and now perceived a golden opportunity to make their capital productive once again.<sup>61</sup>

The VOC was rewarding its shareholders with high dividends and considerable capital gains as early as 1610. Those who purchased their shares in 1602 and held on to them until 1650 received an average annual return on their invested capital of 27 percent.<sup>62</sup> At the height of its success, in 1671, the VOC paid out dividends of 60 percent, and shares on the Amsterdam stock exchange reached 570 percent of their nominal value.<sup>63</sup>

The company rapidly became the largest employer in the republic, and the expansion of its power was felt immediately, even in the





Fig. 223. Anonymous, *Hendrick Pauw* (d. 1500) and His Sons Reinier (d. 1541), Dirk (d. 1530), Gerard (d. 1567), and Frans Pauw (donor portraits on a triptych wing), ca. 1490. Oil on wood, 32½ x 12 in. (82.5 x 30.5 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague)

smaller participating cities.<sup>64</sup> Delft, with a total investment of 469,400 guilders, was one of the smaller chambers.<sup>65</sup> The original registry of shareholders has not been preserved, but we may deduce from the names of the executive directors, who were among the largest investors, that the Delft chamber of the VOC was from the very beginning closely tied to the local power structure. Five of the first twelve executive directors were, during their directorates, also members of the Council of Forty.<sup>66</sup> The others also belonged to important Delft families. After 1618 nearly every director was a member of the Council of Forty.

The chamber's base of daily operations was usually the harbor of Delfshaven, where the VOC had its shipyard, though everything was supervised from the main office in Delft (fig. 221).<sup>67</sup> The wares brought back from the Dutch colonies traded briskly at the market in Delft. Delft patricians, who enjoyed early access to the newly arrived cargo, profited accordingly. New positions with attractive salaries and allowances were created by the overseers of the Delft chamber, who also had the power to appoint protégés to all sorts of minor posts. The VOC also stimulated the Delft economy indirectly, hiring suppliers and people to process their goods, and benefiting those who carried wares from the Dutch colonies to other European countries. Many of the poor and needy, too, including large numbers of orphaned boys, found work on the ships of the VOC and in Asia. Later on, at the end of the seventeenth century, the VOC would be the only stabilizing factor in the otherwise shrinking Delft economy.<sup>68</sup>

In 1621, after the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain, the newly founded West India Company (WIC) was given a monopoly on trade in West Africa, South America, the Caribbean, and North America. Obviously the WIC was expected to bring the war to the very heart of the Spanish colonial empire. To judge from the size of its equity (7.1 million guilders), this enterprise was even bigger than the VOC. Delft contributed 300,000 guilders and formed a joint chamber with Rotterdam and Dordrecht.<sup>69</sup> Each of these three cities set up an office, and the one in Delft was headed by executives selected from the Council of Forty. One of the directors of the Rotterdam office was a captain and merchant from Delfshaven named Piet Hein. Seven years later, then an admiral in the WIC, he captured a Spanish treasure fleet sailing home from Mexico via Cuba (fig. 222). The booty was worth 11 million guilders, and Hein became a national hero whose fabulous exploits are still remembered in children's songs. He retired and settled in Delft, intent on leading a peaceful life, but in April 1629 was appointed lieutenant admiral of the Dutch navy. Two months later he died in a skirmish with privateers at Dunkerque and was buried in the Oude Kerk in Delft, in a tomb paid for by the Delft chamber of the WIC (see fig. 294).<sup>70</sup>

Not all the new enterprises were as profitable for Delft as the VOC. Moreover, the departure of the Merchant Adventurers and the closing of the bank of exchange in the mid-1630s suddenly made

the city much less cosmopolitan than before. The WIC proved to be a disappointment to investors, and the Delft office lingered on only until 1676, when it was transferred to Rotterdam. A company formed with Delft capital to outfit ships and send them from Delfshaven on whaling missions to Greenland came to nothing.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the rapid expansion of the faience industry between 1650 and 1670 meant that many new jobs were created. This alone would tend to counter the traditional view that the decline of the breweries and textile industry dealt the city a mortal economic blow. Moreover, the families whose fortunes had been made in brewing or cloth production, and multiplied by shrewd investments in the East India trade, remained rich enough to invest in public monuments and to support a flourishing local school of painting throughout most of the seventeenth century.

### *Art Collecting in Delft*

Between five and ten million paintings were produced in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup> The great demand for art probably reflects a substantial increase in the purchasing power of the middle class.<sup>73</sup> Many more people than ever before could afford to decorate their houses with at least a few paintings. Serious collecting, however, remained a pastime indulged in by a small number of the very rich.<sup>74</sup>

The modern conception of an art collection is a group of objects that have been brought together because of their artistic merit. There existed in seventeenth-century Delft several collections of this kind, one of which could not be matched in quality today, namely, Pieter Claesz van Ruijven's. This art lover owned not only twenty or twenty-one Vermeers, including some of the most important works in the artist's oeuvre, but also paintings by other major masters such as Jan Porcellis, Simon de Vlieger, and Emanuel de Witte.<sup>75</sup> No private collections of this kind have been preserved intact in Delft.

A few rather different Delft art collections are still in existence, namely, the portrait galleries representing members of some of the great families that dominated the city's cultural life. These commissions must have accounted for a considerable portion of the Delft artists' local market, especially that of the portrait painters. This is confirmed by Karel van Mander's comment in his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) that most of the clients of the portraitist Michiel van Miereveld were Delft brewers, an especially wealthy group.<sup>76</sup>

One important Delft collection of family portraits is that of the Pauws,<sup>77</sup> who entered the historical record in Gouda in the fifteenth century and then spread out in collateral branches to Amsterdam in the sixteenth century and to Delft in the seventeenth. Brought together by inheritance and later by purchases made at auctions of the estates of related families, the collection of Pauw portraits eventually grew to contain, by 1905, 159 paintings. Some of them

were lost a few years later in a fire at Broekhuizen Castle, and during the twentieth century the rest were distributed among the living family members.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the thirty-nine paintings of Pauws who had settled in Delft were in the possession of a lawyer and sheriff of the city named Maarten Pauw (1678–1721). In the year of his death he bequeathed them to his son Franco Pauw, together with a bond worth 2,000 guilders, putting his heir under the obligation to use the interest to maintain and expand the collection.<sup>78</sup> Thirty-two of the works, depicting seven generations of the Pauw family and their relatives by marriage from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the time of Maarten Pauw, comprised a classic family-portrait gallery. A few of the sitters' names—Pauw, Van Hoogenhouck, Van der Dussen, Van der Meer, Graswinckel, Van der Burch, Teding van Berkhout—are by now familiar to readers of this book.

Closer analysis of the collection reveals how it was put together. The portraits from the Delft group are all painted on panel and have identical measurements.<sup>79</sup> The earliest—all unsigned and undated—are copies, but some later examples are originals cut to match the others in size; and the most recent ones, dating from the last quarter of the seventeenth century, are originals by such masters as Nicolaes Maes, Johannes Verkolje, Nicolaas Verkolje, and Constantijn Netscher. The whole group must therefore be an ensemble conceived about 1680. That such collections provided a great deal of work for copyists is understandable if we bear in mind that the various members of the individual branches of patrician families all wanted to display portraits of their ancestors to demonstrate the antiquity of their lineage. In the case of the Pauw collection, the originals of some of the Delft copies, which were preserved by members of the main branch of the family in Amsterdam (fig. 223), were absorbed into the rest of the collection during the nineteenth century,<sup>80</sup> making it possible to identify, in the case of some portraits, both the original and the copy in the Pauw collection (figs. 224, 225).

Some collections of Delft family portraits include whole groups of works whose provenance has been forgotten over the centuries. In the Pauw collection, for example, there was a group of five three-quarters-length portraits by Michiel van Miereveld dating from the second and third decades of the seventeenth century. The sitters can no longer be identified, but they must have belonged to the Delft branch of the family.<sup>81</sup> Also, on occasion, works advertised as Pauw family portraits were purchased on the art market and only later discovered to have been incorrectly identified.<sup>82</sup>

The portrait collections of the Van Beresteyn, Graswinckel, Van der Goes, Teding van Berkhout, and Van Vredenburg families remained intact for a long time, and some of the paintings are still in family collections.<sup>83</sup> Other Delft collections, however, were auctioned off and dispersed in the second half of the nineteenth century, for example, those of the Van der Dussens and Van der Burchs.<sup>84</sup>



Fig. 224. Anonymous copyist, *Hendrick Pauw* (d. 1500). Oil on wood,  $27\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{8}$  in. (69.3 x 46.5 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague)



Fig. 225. Anonymous copyist, *Reinier Pauw* (d. 1541). Oil on wood,  $27\frac{1}{4} \times 22\frac{7}{8}$  in. (69.5 x 57 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague)

Portraits must have been in constant demand in seventeenth-century Delft, but so, apparently, were landscapes, still lifes, and genre scenes. Such pictures were acquired presumably because their purchasers thought they had artistic merit—that is, in the modern sense of art collecting. Michael Montias, who was the first to study collecting in detail using the example of Delft,<sup>85</sup> observed that the average number of paintings in a household doubled during the first half of the century.<sup>86</sup> The fact that the percentage of paintings mentioned in probate inventories as the work of a named artist began to increase after about 1640 indicates that collectors and appraisers were placing greater emphasis upon authorship. In Montias's words: "There is no greater step in the metamorphosis of craft into art than the recognition that an object is the unique creation of an individual and that its worth to potential amateurs will depend, at least in part, on the information they have about its maker."<sup>87</sup> There arose, in short, a culture of collecting, not only in Delft but in the republic as a whole. Contemporary Dutch observers remarked on this trend, and foreign visitors expressed amazement at the great interest taken in paintings in the Netherlands.<sup>88</sup>

Nevertheless, we must bear in mind that two-thirds of the Dutch population possessed no art at all. The middle class—comprising 25 to 30 percent of the population—often owned paintings worth 5 to

10 guilders and even more. A considerable number of the estimated 50,000 paintings in Delft households in the mid-seventeenth century belonged to middle-class families.

Paintings by the best Delft masters could have been purchased only by the elite, however, among whom Montias counted the "merchants, printers, successful innkeepers, notaries, and patrician-rentiers."<sup>89</sup> The value of their paintings as a percentage of all the movable goods in their households might be anywhere from 5 to 10 percent.<sup>90</sup> Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, the patron of Vermeer, was this kind of collector. Who else in Delft belonged in this category?

In the Dutch Republic, collecting in the modern sense dates from the last decade of the sixteenth century. Karel van Mander, who laid the foundation of Dutch art historiography, clearly distinguished between a group he referred to as "art lovers" (amateurs)—those who collected contemporary art and actively promoted the arts—and owners of art who participated only marginally in the art world.<sup>91</sup> He specifically mentions the Delft brewer Aper Fransz van der Houve as a collector in the first category (*beminder*).<sup>92</sup> In his youth Van der Houve had been one of the many pupils of the Antwerp painter Frans Floris, though in Van Mander's day he was no longer painting. He had arranged his collection, according to Van Mander, "in very fine order." The Utrecht humanist and art lover Aernout van

Buchell recorded in his diary that he paid a visit to the same amateur in the summer of 1597 and again in the spring of 1598.<sup>92</sup> In Van der Houve's house he saw paintings, sculptures, archaeological artifacts, and biological and geological specimens. Van der Houve's collection can be described as a cabinet of curiosities in which *naturalia* and choice objets d'art were displayed together. Collections of this kind, the most famous of which was that of the physician Hendrik d'Acquet, appear to have been popular in Delft throughout the seventeenth century.<sup>94</sup> It is not surprising that Anthony van Leeuwenhoek, the Delft naturalist and lensmaker, also had such a collection.

Another early art collector in Delft, who lived there for a relatively short time, was the mintmaster Melchior Wyntgis.<sup>95</sup> He married a woman from the city and invested in the brewing industry there. Van Mander, who considered him one of the most important amateurs of his time, dedicated his didactic poem in the *Schilder-Boeck* to Wyntgis. When, in 1618, Wyntgis drew up an inventory of his collection in Brussels, it contained 170 paintings, whose total value he estimated at more than 12,500 guilders.<sup>96</sup> A large number of them were by masters from the southern Netherlands, and the whole collection gives the impression of being an art dealer's stock in trade. The extent to which Wyntgis contributed to the development of a culture of collecting in Delft therefore remains a topic for further study.

The most prominent collector in Delft during the first half of the seventeenth century was Boudewijn de Man, receiver general and executive director of the WIC (fig. 226). By 1611 his renown in art

circles was such that in the caption beneath Willem van Swanenburg's print after Rubens's lost *Supper at Emmaus* he is described as the oracle of Delft in matters of painting (fig. 227).<sup>97</sup> Thirty-three years later, in 1644, the Rubens was sold from De Man's estate. At the auction the paintings fetched 6,139 guilders, a sum that represented 47 percent of the total proceeds from the sale of the movable goods (13,081 guilders).<sup>98</sup>

De Man owned important works by masters from all over the Low Countries, from Antwerp (Rubens and Brueghel) to Haarlem (Goltzius). Utrecht masters, such as Abraham Bloemaert, Roelant Savery, Hendrick ter Brugghen, and Dirck van Baburen, were well represented.<sup>99</sup> A "Landscape" by Rembrandt is listed among his acquisitions—the earliest record of a painting by the Amsterdam artist in a Delft collection.<sup>100</sup> Pictures by Pieter Aertsen, Gillis (?) Mostaert, and Jan van Scorel reflect De Man's interest in the art of the previous generation. He was also the owner of one of the few Italian paintings that Montias found listed in Delft inventories: a kitchen scene said to be by Bassano. The local school was also patronized by De Man, who owned several works by Christiaan van Couwenbergh, Cornelis Jacobsz Delff, and Hans Jordaens.

In the seventeenth century the notary Willem de Langue must have played a key role in the artistic life of Delft (fig. 228a).<sup>101</sup> As a youth he developed a passion for poetry, which he later shared with his wife, Maria Jorisdr. Pynacker (fig. 228b), and he actively practiced the art of calligraphy. He also began to collect drawings and



Fig. 226. Michiel van Miereveld, *Portrait of Boudewijn de Man*, 1638. Oil on wood, 28 x 23 in. (71.2 x 58.5 cm). Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart



Fig. 227. Willem van Swanenburg after a lost painting by Peter Paul Rubens, *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1611. Engraving, 12 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (32.2 x 31.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951



Figs. 228a and b. Willem van Vliet, *Portrait of Willem de Langue*, 1648, and *Portrait of Maria Jorisdr. Pynacker*, 1626. Oil on canvas, each  $44\frac{1}{4} \times 34\frac{1}{2}$  in. (113.5 x 87.5 cm). Location unknown (photo courtesy Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague)

paintings at an early age, and his collection attracted such art lovers as the schoolmaster David Beck (see chapter 1), who went from The Hague to Delft in 1624 to admire De Langue's recent acquisitions. A great many Delft artists made use of De Langue's services as a notary, and his surviving protocols are an invaluable source of information on the history of Delft art. It is probably no coincidence that among the few known posters announcing a seventeenth-century Dutch sale of paintings is one that was printed for an auction, held in 1655 in Delft, at which De Langue presided.<sup>102</sup> The collection was described as "the very curious cabinet" of an anonymous person who had spent thirty years gathering the works of many famous masters, "made during their best period." Among the latter were three local painters—Van Miereveld, Leonaert Bramer, and Balthasar van der Ast—as well as artists from other cities.

There is one other important source of information on Delft collections in which out-of-town masters were strongly represented. This is a group of 107 quick sketches made about 1653 by Bramer after paintings owned by eleven Delft collectors.<sup>103</sup> Here we find works by Jan Asselijn, Adriaen Brouwer, Karel Dujardin,

Adam Elsheimer, Pieter van Laer, Pieter Lastman, Dirck van der Lisse, Cornelis van Poelenburgh, Rembrandt, and others. Few paintings by the great masters whose works were found in the collection of Boudewijn de Man are included. Michiel Plomp has proposed that Bramer's drawings were made in connection with a forthcoming sale of pictures,<sup>104</sup> and the fact that almost half of the collectors—William de Langue, Abraham de Cooge, Adam Pick, Reynier Jansz Vermeer (and perhaps Bramer himself)—were involved in the art trade seems to prove him right. The sale may even have been the one advertised in the poster of 1655, since many of the artists whose names appear there are represented among Bramer's sketches.

The confidence of the Netherlandish art world was lifted in the seventeenth century by the international fame of such native masters as Rubens, Van Honthorst, Van Dyck, and Rembrandt, but many people still regarded the work of the great Italian masters as being in a class of its own.<sup>105</sup> Only the richest Dutch burghers could afford to collect Italian art. Nonetheless, if we are to believe Constantijn Huygens, Rembrandt remarked as early as 1630 that it was no longer



necessary for Dutch artists to study in Italy because so many examples of Italian art were to be seen in the republic.<sup>106</sup> Beginning in the early 1640s a steady stream of Italian paintings flowed out of England (then in the throes of civil war) via Antwerp to the Dutch art market.<sup>107</sup> Did any of these works reach Delft during Vermeer's lifetime?<sup>108</sup> The answer is probably no. Although no research has been undertaken recently on the subject, it has become evident that many important works by leading Italian masters were to be found in the Dutch Republic during this period, but only in Amsterdam,<sup>109</sup> for the most part in the collections of wealthy merchants who traded in the Mediterranean and the Levant. Many of them had spent considerable periods of time in Italy.<sup>110</sup>

In his exhaustive research into Delft probate inventories, Montias found, for the years 1610–79, fewer than ten paintings attributed to Italian masters, out of a total of nearly two thousand paintings by known artists.<sup>111</sup> To this small group may be added a painting by a Walloon artist active in Rome named Jean Ducamps, which Bramer brought back from Italy in the late 1620s.<sup>112</sup> It later belonged to Johan Hoogenhouck, from whose estate it was sold in 1647.<sup>113</sup> Also, at the time of his death Michiel van Miereveld owned a copy of a "Temptation of Christ" by Titian.<sup>114</sup> But here we come to the end of the line. Montias did not find a single painting by a French master in any of the inventories of private collections he studied.

In the stock of Delft dealers there were apparently very few examples of foreign art. In 1680, at the end of his long career, the dealer Abraham de Cooge sold thirteen paintings, including a "Dead Christ" by Tintoretto. The most expensive work in the sale, it was valued at 250 guilders.<sup>115</sup> This suggests that the painting was thought to be an autograph. Finally, there is the rich collection of Italian paintings owned by the Amsterdam art dealer Johannes de Renialme to be considered. (He owned a house in Delft and became a member of the painters' guild there in 1644.) But there is nothing to indicate that any of the Italian pictures from his Amsterdam stock ended up in Delft collections.<sup>116</sup> Vermeer's knowledge of Italian paintings must therefore have been based on what was to be seen elsewhere.

Perhaps he and other Delft art lovers had the opportunity to examine work by foreign masters in The Hague—in the collection of the king and queen of Bohemia, for example. In Rotterdam, too, there were wealthy collectors who actively sought examples of Italian art.<sup>117</sup> In 1663 the French traveler Balthasar de Monconys saw paintings by Titian, Correggio, Parmigianino, Palma Vecchio, Caravaggio, and other great Italian artists in the house of Reinier van der Wolff. Many of these paintings had come from the collection of the duke of Buckingham.<sup>118</sup> A recent survey of French paintings in Dutch collections before 1700 has revealed that they were concentrated in Amsterdam and The Hague.<sup>119</sup> Most of them were attributed to Poussin and Claude Lorrain.

Major collectors in seventeenth-century Delft could boast of owning works only by important Netherlandish masters. There were, quite simply, no art lovers in the city who were rich enough to play a role in the market for Italian or French art. This does not mean, of course, that local collections such as Pieter van Ruijven's were not of international standing. The accounts of foreign visitors testify to the contrary.

### *The Guild of Saint Luke*

The art market in Delft was regulated by the city, according to guidelines established in a letter of 1611 from the town council to the artists' guild.<sup>120</sup> The guild's governing board saw to it that the regulations were upheld by the members, who included both fine artists and artisans—painters, engravers, sculptors, faïencers, booksellers, and embroiderers. The painters were the most influential group within the guild. Beginning in 1661 meetings were held in an attractive building on the Voldersgracht with a classicist facade that featured a bust of Apelles in the pediment (fig. 229). Inside, the decorations included a ceiling painted by Bramer and a canvas mural by Cornelis de Man depicting a triumphal arch.<sup>121</sup>

In Delft, as in nearly all the other important artistic centers in the Netherlands, measures were taken to limit the import of artworks from outside the city. This was generally accomplished by allowing only members of the local Guild of Saint Luke to sell paintings.<sup>122</sup> Auctions of paintings brought in from elsewhere were forbidden<sup>123</sup> except at the annual fairs (in Delft the main public room of the town hall was used for this purpose).<sup>124</sup> In Amsterdam the percentage of paintings by out-of-town artists recorded in inventories is close to what one would expect in an open-market economy.<sup>125</sup> Delft, however, succeeded fairly well in protecting its local school of painters.<sup>126</sup> About half of all the attributed paintings listed in the city's inventories between 1610 and 1679 bear the name of a Delft artist. Among the portraits and less expensive paintings, which were usually listed in inventories without the artist's name, the percentage of imported works would undoubtedly have been somewhat lower.

But, in fact, serious collectors had plenty of opportunities to acquire art produced outside Delft. The annual fair has already been mentioned, and nothing prevented citizens from leaving Delft to make purchases elsewhere. Unorthodox marketing practices such as lotteries and raffles were another means of marketing art.<sup>127</sup> In 1631 the archers' society, *Diletto et Arme*, organized a shooting competition at which silverware and twenty-five paintings, most of them by Utrecht artists, were awarded as prizes.<sup>128</sup> The first prize was a series of paintings representing the Five Senses, painted by the Utrecht masters Gerard van Honthorst, Abraham Bloemaert, Paulus Moreelse, Jan van Bijlert, and Hendrick ter Brugghen and valued at 600 guilders.

Work produced outside the city also reached the local market through auctions of artworks from the estates of deceased collectors. In the auction of 1655 mentioned above, work by local masters made up only a small proportion of the sale. Art dealers also brought into the city paintings made elsewhere. We have encountered some of these men already, since many were also collectors. The most successful, and certainly the most cosmopolitan of them all, was Abraham de Cooge,<sup>129</sup> who traded in works by sixteenth-century masters and did business with colleagues in other parts of the republic and as far away as Antwerp. That he operated at the top of the market is indicated by his sale in 1654 of a large drawing by Raphael of *The Massacre of the Innocents*.<sup>130</sup>

The Hague, with its courtiers, diplomats, and fortune seekers, must have been viewed as a second home market by many Delft artists. This is not surprising, considering the proximity of the two cities. The cost of transportation was minimal, and it was a small matter for collectors from The Hague to pay a visit to a studio in Delft. Michiel van Miereveld must have traveled regularly to The Hague to visit his clients, when they could or would not come themselves to sit for him in his Delft workshop.<sup>131</sup> As early as the first decade of the seventeenth century, Delft painters and art dealers sold their wares in booths set up in the large hall of the Binnenhof.<sup>132</sup> In surviving inventories of collections in The Hague, paintings by Delft masters constitute the largest percentage of works from other cities (Anthonie Palamedesz and Leonaert Bramer are mentioned most frequently in such lists).<sup>133</sup>

In The Hague as everywhere else, however, attempts were made to shield the local market from foreign imports.<sup>134</sup> In 1632 there were protests among the painters of the court city against what they considered to be an excessive number of imports.<sup>135</sup> They demanded that the city enact restrictive measures, so that the art which they "had learned and acquired at great cost and with much effort in Italy, France, and other places" might blossom in The Hague as it had in other cities.<sup>136</sup> Amsterdam, Delft, Leiden, and Utrecht were named as examples of places where such measures had been successful.

Delft's school of painting could not fail to be affected by the decline in population that began in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. Research has shown that the production of paintings in the Netherlands swelled in the first half of the century, leveled off or dropped slightly in the third quarter, plummeted after the Second Anglo-Dutch War of 1665–67, and slowed to a trickle after the Third Anglo-Dutch War of 1672–74, when large areas of the republic were occupied by the French and German allies of England.<sup>137</sup> Some cities began to suffer sooner than others: Utrecht's artistic community stopped growing about 1650, for example,<sup>138</sup> whereas Delft's increased for another decade, but by the 1650s the number of established artists



Fig. 229. Gerrit Lamberts, *The Hall of the Delft Guild of Saint Luke on the Voldersgracht*, 1820. Graphite, pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, 9 1/4 x 7 1/4 in. (24.9 x 19.3 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft

leaving Delft was greater than the number of new artists coming to settle there.<sup>139</sup>

The last word has not yet been said about the cause of the slump, but elsewhere I have argued that the market for paintings was vulnerable to cyclical trends in the economy, since art is not one of life's primary necessities.<sup>140</sup> Moreover, the durability of paintings was such that living masters were increasingly forced to compete with their deceased colleagues, whose work reappeared on the market every time an estate was put up for sale. At some point in the 1650s oversupply began to negatively affect prices, and many artists were forced to declare bankruptcy or to seek other employment. The war of 1672–74 dealt them the final blow.

Vermeer's financial difficulties at the end of his life and the testimony of his contemporaries indicate that after 1672 it was hardly possible to earn a living as a painter in the republic. A contemporary observer named Van der Saan compared the late-seventeenth-century trade in paintings with that in tulip bulbs. As a result of the economic decline, he said, "many no longer desired to buy paintings or to plant flowers. Then many scarcely earned in one year what in former times they had recklessly spent in one hour."<sup>141</sup>

# CATALOGUE

# WILLEM VAN AELST

Delft 1627–1683 (or later) Amsterdam?

Willem van Aelst was the son of the notary Jan van Aelst and his wife Catharina de Veer.<sup>1</sup> He apprenticed with his uncle, the painter Evert van Aelst (1602–1657), and joined the local Guild of Saint Luke on November 9, 1643.<sup>2</sup> After living in France from 1645 to 1649, he moved to Florence and entered the service of Ferdinand II de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, as court painter. While in Florence he made the acquaintance of the Dutch painters Matthias Withoos (1621/27–1703) and Otto Marseus van Schrieck (1619/20–1678); Van Schrieck's work seems to have had some influence on Van Aelst's. In Italy he began to sign his paintings with the Italian version of his name, Guill[er]mo van Aelst. In 1656 Van Aelst and Van Schrieck returned to Delft. By 1657 Van Aelst had settled in Amsterdam, where in 1662 he owned a house on the Bloemengracht. On January 15, 1679, he married his housekeeper, Helena Nieuwenhuys. He is last mentioned in 1683, when he lived in a house on the Prinsengracht. It has been suggested elsewhere that Willem may have been a Roman Catholic.<sup>3</sup> Maria van Oosterwijck (1630–1693) in Delft and Isaac de Nys, Ernst Stuven (ca. 1660–1712), and Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750) in Amsterdam were his pupils.

A.R.

## I. Still Life with Mouse and Candle

1647

Oil on copper, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (19.3 x 24.7 cm)

Signed and dated below, on the stone ledge:

W. V. Aelst. [16]47

Private collection

Although Van Aelst is most admired for elegant still lifes with fine glassware, silver vessels, fruit, and flowers, this representation of humbler motifs must be considered one of his finest early works. The simple composition recalls fruit still lifes by the artist's uncle, Evert van Aelst, and Willem's own *Peaches, a Plum, and Grapes on a Ledge* of 1646 (Henry Weldon collection, New York).<sup>1</sup> But the subject here is a *vanitas*, with a recently extinguished candle set in a holder on a cracked stone ledge, and a mouse nibbling at walnut crumbs. The low (mouse's-eye) point of view lends the small picture monumentality.

It has been observed that the subject is unique not only in Van Aelst's oeuvre but in European still-life painting of the seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Mice themselves are by no means rare in Netherlandish still lifes: examples by the German Georg Flegel (1566–1638), the Flemings Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) and Roelant Savery (1576–1639), and the Delft flower painter Jacob Vosmaer (see cat. no. 88) come to mind. However, the specific combination of a mouse and an expired candle would appear to go back to an illuminated manuscript by the celebrated Antwerp artist Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601?). His career as a miniaturist depended upon court patronage, which Hoefnagel found in Munich with Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (about 1577–79) and then with Archduke Ferdinand II of the Tirol (about 1582–90). During the 1590s Hoefnagel worked mainly for Emperor Rudolf II in Prague but lived in Frankfurt am Main and Vienna. The artist was appreciated above all for his superb illustrations of botanical and

biological specimens and as a composer of learned emblems and allegories.<sup>3</sup> Savery (who was Balthasar van der Ast's colleague in Utrecht) must have become familiar with Hoefnagel's work during his own years in Prague (about 1604–13).

Hoefnagel drew a mouse with a candle stump and a nut in a watercolor dated 1594 (Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam).<sup>4</sup> The very small sheet is dedicated to the artist's friend Johann Muizenhol (whose last name means mouse hole) and illustrates the adage that a man like a mouse should have more than one avenue of escape. A similar mouse is found in a famous series of engravings after Hoefnagel, *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgii Hoefnagelii*, which was published in 1592 by the artist's son Jacob Hoefnagel (1557–ca. 1630). The latter, a staunch supporter of Frederick V, the "Winter King" of Bohemia (and the Dutch stadholder's nephew), fled from Bohemia to Holland, where he lived in the 1620s. The *Archetypa* illustrates a great variety of flowers, insects, and animals, which are accompanied by Latin mottoes and aphorisms. For the latter the Hoefnagels were mostly indebted to Erasmus's *Adagia*, a font of ancient wisdom that went through many editions.<sup>5</sup> In one plate of the *Archetypa* a mouse sits in the center of a page surrounded by insects, bits of fruits and snips of flowers, a mussel, a snail, and the last remains of a candle. The inscription, *Mus non uni fidit antro* (A mouse does not trust to one hole alone), is adopted from Erasmus and means that one should have several friends, or more than one interest—for example, philosophy as well as wealth, so that at the end of the day (or late in life) there will always be a refuge.<sup>6</sup>

These conceits would have delighted learned collectors in Delft and The Hague. One thinks especially of Constantijn Huygens, with his love of Latin literature, and of his close friend Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, who drew studies of a mouse very much in the naturalist spirit of Hoefnagel.<sup>7</sup> Whether Van Aelst's painting had intellectual pretensions

1. Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB (registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials) 55, Doopboek (Baptisms) Nieuwe Kerk, fol. 41v. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 1983–, vol. 1 (1983), pp. 441–42; B. P. J. Broos in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 1, pp. 165–66; and Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 288.

2. This was one year after the completion of his earliest known painting (formerly Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen). For guild records, see Montias 1982, p. 341.

3. Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 288.



beyond its *vanitas* significance—the mouse had a reputation for wasteful living and a variety of sins—is difficult to determine: the picture's meaning could be said to lie in the eyes of the original beholder.

Given its date, *Still Life with Mouse and Candle* was probably painted by the young Van Aelst in France. However, its style is consistent with his early work in Delft and with still-life painting in Leiden, with which the Van Aelsts and the Steenwycks were familiar (see cat. no. 59). The balance between learning and aesthetic pleasure often tips in favor

of the latter in Delft and The Hague (more so than in the university city of Leiden), which is certainly the case here. The painting's visual appeal is enhanced by its support, a copper panel, which gives the surface the faint glow of a candlewick dying in the dark. AR

1. See Baltimore 1999, no. 1.

2. This point and much of what follows is adopted from an unpublished entry by Sam Segal, to whom the writer is most grateful. The present entry was edited by Walter Liedtke, who added a few remarks.

3. See Lee Hendrix's entry in the *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 14, pp. 618–20, and the same author in Prague

1997, pp. 157–60. A good example of Hoefnagel's talent is the pair of watercolor miniatures on parchment (1591) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, *Allegory of Life's Brevity* (*Diptych with Flowers and Insects*); see New York 1992–93, no. 8.

4. Inv. no. A3115. See Kaufmann 1988, no. 9.6.

5. See Vignau-Wilberg 1994, pp. 55–57.

6. As explained in *ibid.*, pp. 63–64, 116–17.

7. See Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 2, cat. II, nos. 863–66.

EX COLL.: [Brian Koetser Gallery, London]; private collection, London; J. R. Ritman, Amsterdam; the present owner.



## 2. *Still Life with a Basket of Fruit on a Marble Ledge*

1650

Oil on canvas, 14½ x 19½ in. (37.5 x 49.5 cm)

Signed and dated lower right:

W. V. Aelst. 1650

Warneford Collection

In this comparatively early canvas, painted when the artist was twenty-three years old and already well established, Van Aelst continues a tradition of fruit and flower painting that flourished in Delft from the early 1630s onward with the work of Balthasar van der Ast (see cat. nos. 3–5), Gillis de Bergh (see cat. no. 8), and Evert van Aelst, Willem's uncle. Works of this kind were meant for close perusal, which Van Aelst rewards with his virtuosic description of textures and surfaces, such as the variously smooth or velvety skins of plums, peaches, grapes, and fine materials. In this picture these effects are enhanced by the artist's characteristically subtle use of glazes and are preserved by the remarkable circumstance that the canvas has never been lined, a process that almost always diminishes a painting's textures and sense of depth.

In his earliest works, like the Weldon painting of 1646 mentioned in the previous entry, Van Aelst followed his uncle in setting a few pieces of fruit on a worn stone ledge. However, the younger painter's still lifes stand apart in the way they seduce the eye with hints of moisture and atmospheric effects. The motifs are also reminiscent of Balthasar van der Ast (see cat. nos. 3–5), who painted exquisite pictures of fruit and flowers spilling out of baskets (for example, the pendant panels of about 1622 in the National Gallery of Art, Washington);<sup>1</sup> however, Van Aelst's technique is much softer. The difference in style might be compared with that between Emanuel de Witte's and Gerard Houckgeest's church interiors of the early 1650s. And while Van Aelst maintained the impression of intimacy that one finds in Van der Ast's small cabinet pictures—as opposed to display pieces like the panels in Dessau and Douai (see cat. no. 5; fig. 103)—one also finds that a new sense of grandeur emerged in his works dating from

the second half of the 1640s. It would not be unreasonable to compare, in its design, the present picture with contemporary landscapes by the young Jacob van Ruisdael, with their dramatically massed and illuminated trees.

Between 1645 and 1649 Van Aelst lived mostly in France, and then in 1650, the year in which this work was made, he entered the service of Ferdinand II de' Medici (1610–1670), grand duke of Tuscany, and of his brother, Cardinal Giovanni Carlo de' Medici (1619/20–1678). It is possible that the present picture was painted for the cardinal, who was Van Aelst's principal patron in Florence, but the work cannot be traced before it came to light in France not long ago.

The demand for Van Aelst's increasingly sophisticated still lifes at the court in Florence recalls earlier instances of patronage in Italy, in particular Cardinal Federigo Borromeo's acquisition in 1607 of Caravaggio's *Basket of Fruit* (ca. 1599–1601; Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan), and the same collector's support of Jan Brueghel the Elder. With Brueghel's work a steady stream of fruit and flower baskets and similar arrangements began to flow from Antwerp studios, including those of Brueghel's son Jan the Younger, Jacob van Hulsdonck, Frans Snyders, and others. There is little parallel after about 1620 in the schools of Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Leiden, but Delft and Dordrecht had strong ties to Antwerp in the production of fruit still lifes comparable with this one (the main representatives in Dordrecht are Bartholomeus Assteyn, Johannes Bosschaert, and Abraham van Calraet).<sup>2</sup> Part of the reason for Antwerp's influence in this market was its supply of imported fruits; Joachim von Sandrart claimed that Jan de Heem moved to Antwerp (in 1635 or 1636) to be closer to these commodities.<sup>3</sup> In any event, not only the marble tabletop and the fringed

tablecloth but also the basket of fruit depicted in this canvas suggests a person of means and taste, as does the painting itself.

AR/WL

1. See Wheelock 1995b, pp. 5–8.

2. For similar works by these artists, see Dordrecht 1992–93, nos. 2, 10, 12.

3. See Bergström 1956, p. 196.

EX COLL.: Private collection, France; private collection, Switzerland; acquired in 1998 by the present owner.



## BALTHASAR VAN DER AST

Middelburg 1593/94–1657 Delft

Balthasar van der Ast was born in Middelburg about 1593/94. After the premature death of his father, a wealthy merchant, in 1609, he moved in with the family of his sister Maria, who had married the flower painter Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573–1621).<sup>1</sup> A short while later Van der Ast became apprenticed to his brother-in-law. (Bosschaert probably also trained Balthasar's brother Johannes, who became a flower painter as well.) In 1615 Van der Ast moved with the Bosschaert family to Bergen op Zoom. A year later the Bosschaerts are documented in Utrecht, while Van der Ast appears in Utrecht records only in 1619, when he entered the local Guild of Saint Luke. After twelve years in Utrecht he moved to Delft, where he became a citizen and joined the Guild of Saint Luke on June 22, 1632.<sup>2</sup> He married Margrieta Jans van Buijeren in Delft on February 26, 1633.<sup>3</sup> The couple had two children. Van der Ast stayed in Delft until his death, in December 1657. His pupils may have included Bosschaert's sons Ambrosius the Younger (1609–1645), Johannes (ca. 1610/11–1628 or later), and Abraham (1612/13–1643), as well as Johannes Buers (d. after 1641) and Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606–1683/84).

AR

1. *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 1983–, vol. 5 (1992), pp. 478–79; Irene Haberland in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 2, pp. 643–44; and Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 288.

2. Montias 1982, p. 340.

3. Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB (registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials) 21, Trouwboek (Marriages) Oude Kerk (entry for February 26, 1633).

### 3. *Flowers in a Vase with Shells and Insects*

ca. 1630

Oil on wood, 18½ x 14½ in. (47 x 36.8 cm)

Signed lower right, on the ledge: B van dr Ast

Private collection, London, on loan to  
The National Gallery

London only

In the center of this picture Van der Ast presents a bouquet of flowers in a ceramic vase placed on a stone ledge. Some seashells, a grasshopper, and a few rose petals have been decoratively arranged to the sides of the vase. Other insects populating the scene are a bee hovering on the right, a spider crawling on the petals of the yellow rose, and a butterfly resting on the iris at the top. The symmetrical composition, the flowers “rising impossibly high out of their vessel,” and the relatively dark setting reveal Van der Ast's debt to his teacher (and brother-in-law) Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder (1573–1621), with whom he had trained in Middelburg and Bergen op Zoom between 1609 and 1616.<sup>1</sup> Lively details such as insects and richly patterned shells — some of the most characteristic features of Van der Ast's paintings — were inspired by the work of both Bosschaert and Van der Ast's colleague Roelant Savery (1576–1639), whom he had met in Utrecht upon his move there in 1619.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, paintings such as this one did not represent the handiwork of accomplished florists but, rather, depicted imaginary and idealized arrangements of flowers that bloom at different times of the year.<sup>3</sup> In seventeenth-century Holland flowers were far too costly to be cut, put in a vase, and thus allowed to wilt quickly. (During the “tulipomania” of 1636–37, when out-of-control speculation sent prices for tulip bulbs on the Dutch market skyrocketing, bulbs of the red-and-white striated or flamed tulip *Semper Augustus* seen here could cost as much as 13,000 guilders.

The yearly earnings of a master carpenter, by comparison, would have been about a third of that sum.)<sup>4</sup> Instead, flowers were kept in gardens designed and maintained for the display of individual precious specimens, much as a collector's cabinet held valuable objects.<sup>5</sup> Seashells imported from exotic places around the world were also expensive and highly desirable collector's items.<sup>6</sup> In short, the objects in this elegant painting by Van der Ast are rare luxury goods that would have been beyond the reach of all but the wealthiest members of society.

Finding a precise date for this picture has proved difficult. Laurens Bol, in his seminal book on the “Bosschaert dynasty,” mentions the picture, albeit identifying the vase as metal rather than ceramic, but remains silent on a possible date.<sup>7</sup> In 1995, when the picture was lent to the National Gallery, London, a date was proposed toward the end of the artist's years in the southern part of Holland, just before his move to Utrecht. This conclusion was based on compositional principles that the painting shares with Bosschaert's works.<sup>8</sup> More recently, however, it has been convincingly shown that Van der Ast painted the picture sometime later.<sup>9</sup> Although the background light, which gradually intensifies from left to right, is reminiscent of that found in Savery's paintings of the early 1620s, the open arrangement of the flowers, meant to avoid overlap of the blossoms, as well as the sense of spatial depth evoked by the subtle distribution of color and chiaroscuro, indicates a date toward the end of Van der Ast's stay in Utrecht.<sup>10</sup> The author of this argument dismisses the possibility that the picture could have been painted after Van der Ast's move to Delft in 1632. And, indeed, the hallmarks of his Delft style — even looser arrangements of flowers and generally more brightly lit backgrounds, as seen in the two other paintings by Van der Ast in the exhibition (cat. nos. 4, 5) — are absent here. But this is not to say that the picture would not have attracted a Delft clientele. On the contrary,



firmly rooted in the southern Netherlandish tradition of meticulously painted fancy bouquets in precious vases, it accords with the predominant type of still-life painting in Delft.<sup>1</sup> As such, it would have appealed to the conservative yet expensive taste of the city's wealthy art collectors—and it may well have been the absence of significant still-life painters in Delft that motivated Van der Ast to leave Utrecht to set up shop in Delft.

AR

1. These features and much of what follows, as well as the origins and symbolism of some of the flowers and insects, have been extensively discussed by Quint Gregory in his entry on the painting in San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, no. 76. For assessments

- of Van der Ast's career, see Bol 1960; Amsterdam 1984, pp. 45–62; Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, pp. 105ff.; and Taylor 1995, pp. 146–51. For the symbolic significance of flowers, see Amsterdam, 's Hertogenbosch 1982, chap. 2, and Taylor 1995, pp. 28–76.
2. Bakker in Amsterdam 1984, p. 46, and San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 360.
3. San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 360. Tulips, pinks, fritillaries, lilac, and snapdragons are spring flowers, while roses, irises, and delphiniums bloom in the summer. See also Taylor 1995, p. 118.
4. Taylor 1995, p. 10, and London 1996, p. 17. See also Segal 1993.
5. Taylor 1995, pp. 15–16. Hendrick van der Burch, in his *Woman with a Child Blowing Bubbles in a Garden* (cat. no. 12), depicts a garden with a fenced-in section that may have been for display purposes. For Dutch gardens and their representation in art, see also 's Hertogenbosch, Haarlem 1996, especially pp. 61–65, 147, and nos. 29, 42, 57, 58, 64.

6. For more on the collecting of shells, see the discussion under cat. no. 5.
7. Bol 1960, p. 73, no. 26.
8. *National Gallery Report* 1995, p. 16. See, for example, Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, *Vase of Flowers* (1609–10; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), illustrated in Taylor 1995, p. 135, fig. 82.
9. San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 363.
10. See Roelant Savery, *Flower Piece* (signed and dated 1624; Centraal Museum, Utrecht), in Taylor 1995, pp. 144–46, fig. 88.
11. See also chap. 3, p. 89–92.

REFERENCES: Bol 1960, pp. 38, 73, no. 26; *National Gallery Report* 1995, pp. 16–17; Quint Gregory in San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, no. 76.

EXHIBITED: London 1952–53, no. 138; San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, no. 76.

EX COLL.: Percy B. Meyer, London; private collection, on loan to the National Gallery, London (L655).

#### 4. *Still Life of Flowers, Shells, and Insects*

Possibly mid-1630s  
Oil on wood, 9½ x 13½ in. (24 x 34.5 cm)  
Signed lower left: B. / van der Ast

Collection P. C. W. M. Dreesmann, London

The Amsterdam doctor Jan Sysmus's *Schildersregister* (Register of painters), which was compiled between about 1669 and 1678, characterizes the work of Van der Ast in these words: "In flowers, shells, and lizards, beautiful."<sup>1</sup> In this horizontal still life Van der Ast presents a variety of seashells, flowers, and—in place of lizards—insects on a stone surface. At the center is a horn-shaped shell (*Charonia lampas*) holding an arrangement of flowers; additional shells and flowers, as well as insects, have been carefully placed in a semi-circle around it.<sup>2</sup> The artist seems to have gone to great lengths to avoid any overlap or clustering of the shells so that each one can be scrutinized and admired individually, almost as if in a scientific display. This compositional principle is echoed by the flowers: their long stems and relatively small blossoms not only form an elegant decorative pattern but,

together with the shells and flowers on the stone surface, also describe an ellipse around the large shell and the voluminous roses and colorful anemones at the center. The spacious arrangement contrasts with the dense composition of some of Van der Ast's bouquets (see cat. nos. 3, 5) and baskets of fruit, and it creates a sense of calm elegance and fragility.<sup>3</sup> This overall impression is enhanced by the delicate balance between the light palette used for the shells, stone ledge, and background and the pink, yellow, and blue accents of the flowers. At the same time the distribution of light and color, shifting from a shadowy background against which brightly lit flowers and the translucent wings of the dragonfly are silhouetted to a brighter one, with darker flowers and the dim far end of the stone ledge before it, creates a sense of depth.<sup>4</sup>

Whether the elements in this still life carry any symbolic significance is a matter of debate. It has been argued that the grasshopper, which sheds its skin, and the butterfly, which transforms itself from a caterpillar, may be interpreted as symbols of the resurrection of the human soul and thus of eternity. By this reasoning, the dead wasp and the chips in the stone ledge may be considered reminders of the limits of life on earth and of inevitable

death and decay (see cat. no. 5). Shells in Dutch still lifes have traditionally been seen as symbols of vanity and of the transience of beauty and earthly belongings. This interpretation is largely based on a page in Roemer Visscher's famous 1614 emblem book, *Sinnepoppen*. An illustration there of imaginary seashells is accompanied by the reflection "It is odd how a fool will spend his money," and another text in the same book suggests that shells were appreciated only for their rarity. Indeed, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seashells were highly desirable items, and a number of important collections were formed in the Netherlands.<sup>5</sup> In Delft the burgomaster Hendrik d'Acquet owned an important collection of shells, as did the painter Jacob van Velsen.<sup>6</sup> The attraction of tropical shells, for collectors, seems to have been twofold. They were admired for their immense beauty—their intricate forms and their rich colors and patterns—which was perceived as a reflection of God's Creation. Nautilus shells, in particular, were often turned into objets d'art (for example, nautilus cups: see cat. no. 143) by embellishing them with delicate decorative gold and silver fittings. Shells imported from distant lands were also appreciated as study





objects and often formed part of collections of *naturalia*. While the high value of exotic seashells did not elude seventeenth-century viewers — and some may have recoiled at their costliness — depictions of seashells in prints and paintings were most likely meant to celebrate the shells' exoticism and striking beauty.

The dating of Van der Ast's paintings is notoriously difficult. His style changed subtly over the course of his career, and after 1628 few of his paintings are dated.<sup>7</sup> While *Vase of Flowers by a Window* (cat. no. 5) reveals a close adherence to the compositional principles of Delft painting, which provides a basis for conclusions about its date, the present picture is more elusive. In a recent exhibition catalogue it was dated to about 1630, which means that it could have been painted either during the last years of Van der Ast's sojourn in Utrecht or shortly after his arrival in Delft

in 1632.<sup>8</sup> Yet the relatively low viewpoint, the subtle lighting, and the unified tonality suggest that the picture was painted in Delft, possibly toward the mid-1630s.<sup>9</sup>

AR

1. Bredius 1890b, p. 4.
2. The individual shells have been identified in Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 157, n. 1.
3. For some of these points, see *ibid.*, p. 156.
4. For a discussion of these lighting effects, see Taylor 1995, p. 149, and in this catalogue no. 5.
5. On collections of seashells and how they were perceived, see Segal in Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, chap. 5, especially p. 78; Amsterdam 1992b, nos. 33–67; and H. E. Coomans in Bergvelt and Kistemaker 1992, pp. 192–203. See also Chong in Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, pp. 17–18.
6. D'Acquet's collection is mentioned by H. E. Coomans in Bergvelt and Kistemaker 1992, p. 199. For Van Velsen's collection of "hundreds of shells," see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 3, p. 881.
7. F. G. Meijer (1989, p. 52) suggests that after 1628 no paintings by Van der Ast are dated. However, Bol (1960, p. 75, nos. 43, 44) and Segal (based on Bol, in

Amsterdam 1984, p. 54 and n. 24) mention two paintings that bear the date 1636.

8. Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 156.
9. Related paintings, albeit with slightly more crowded compositions, that have also been dated to the Delft period are *Still Life with Shells* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. 2173) and *Shells and Fruit* (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. no. 1257). Segal in Amsterdam 1984, p. 54, considers the present picture one of a group of works "produced in the late 1630s or in 1640."

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1984, pp. 54, 59 (figure captions reversed), 61, n. 27; Brussels 1996, p. 20; Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, no. 23.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, no. 23.

EX COLL.: Private collection, Philadelphia; [Edward Speelman, London]; private collection, France, 1984 (sold at Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1996, no. 24); [Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York]; bought by a private collector; Pieter C. W. M. Dreesmann, London.

### 5. *Vase of Flowers by a Window*

Probably ca. 1650–57

Oil on wood, 26½ x 38⅜ in. (67 x 98 cm)

Signed lower right: ·B. vander. Ast. fē-

Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau

During his Delft years (1632–57) Van der Ast painted a number of elaborate still-life compositions, show pieces that in their exceptional refinement of execution, variety of motifs, and scale were the most ambitious and undoubtedly the most expensive pictures of his career.<sup>1</sup> A monumental panel of about 1640 in Douai (fig. 103) is perhaps the most extraordinary example, but the present painting is unequaled in quality and in its interest as a work of the Delft school.

Given the setting's resemblance to early genre interiors by De Hooch and Vermeer, in particular the latter's *Letter Reader* in Dresden (fig. 163), the date of this picture is an important consideration. All scholars agree that it dates from the artist's Delft period; Sam Segal suggests that it is probably from the 1640s.<sup>2</sup> In the manner of execution, subtle handling of light, and spaciousness the composition compares closely with works from the mid-1630s onward. Similar settings occur in genre paintings dating from as early as about 1620 and are fairly common in works of the 1640s;<sup>3</sup> however, none of them brings the view in so close as here. In its immediacy and precise definition—the table, the window, and the building outside recede to a vanishing point coincident with the red-and-white carnation in the center of the bouquet—the space recalls that found in Delft paintings of the early to mid-1650s, including church interiors (for example, cat. no. 37), *A View in Delft* by Fabritius (cat. no. 18), Steen's *Burgher of Delft and His Daughter* of 1655 (cat. no. 58), and the earliest genre interiors by Vermeer (cat. nos. 66, 67; fig. 163).<sup>4</sup> The structure of the composition also resembles that of still lifes dating from the early 1650s, for example, Harmen Steenwyck's *Vanitas Still Life* (fig. 107), in which a table is set against a divided wall and a window must be just out of view to the left.<sup>5</sup> In both pictures there is a strong sense of being in the corner of an actual room, not simply close to a table

in an ambiguous space. Thus, it appears likely that the present painting is one of Van der Ast's latest works, dating from between the early 1650s and his death, in 1657. In its description of space and (as Paul Taylor has noted) its "delicacy of light and colour" the picture may be placed beside the works of younger artists such as Fabritius, De Witte, and Vermeer.<sup>6</sup>

Taylor describes in detail Van der Ast's mastery in this painting of "devices like chequering and the chiaroscuro of hue." The former term refers to the alternation of light and dark colors, the latter to the placement of colors with respect to the overall scheme of light. "The central axis of the bouquet is picked out in white flowers. Pinks, yellows and light blues take up the left side; dark pinks, reds, oranges and dark blues are painted on the right." Blue flowers—hyacinth, valerian, and monkshood—are used to mute or foil the advancement of warm colors. The flowers are also arranged in such a way as to enhance the impression of volume in the bouquet, with large blooms such as roses and the orange and yellow tulips in the center and small flowers such as columbine, hyacinth, campion, and valerian around the edges. Similarly, the placement of the tabletop with respect to the window, and of the vase and purple and yellow plums, creates a constant alternation of dark and light zones, ending with the darker wall behind the lighter flowers on the left and the brighter wall behind the darker forms on the right.<sup>7</sup> A similar scheme has often been noted in Vermeer's work, for example, in the figure set against a wall in *The Letter Reader*.

As in most Dutch flower pictures of this type all the motifs are rarities, with the exception of the insects and lizards. The stone casement, leaded glass window, and very high view to the outside suggest that these treasures are on display within a magnificent town house. The vase, like others in paintings by Van der Ast and his

brother-in-law Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder, is Wan-li porcelain imported from China (presumably by the East India Company) and provided with silver-gilt mounts in the Netherlands. The shells come from the East and West Indies;<sup>8</sup> Van der Ast—and connoisseurs of the period, as well—often compared their hardness and shiny surfaces with the then newly revealed virtues of Oriental porcelain.<sup>9</sup> The artist also dwells upon painterly patterns found in nature (in the shells, the flowers, and the butterfly) and the natural pattern employed in the decoration of the vase. As usual, nibbles in the leaves and chips in the stone imply that youth, beauty, riches, and life itself will not last. The butterfly, resurrected from a caterpillar, reminded contemporaries of the soul and salvation in eternity.

The building outside the window has been identified as the Gemeenlandshuis (see fig. 22) and the Lambert van Meerten mansion, two large town houses on the west side of the Oude Delft.<sup>10</sup> Van der Ast lived on the east side of that canal, just north of the Oude Kerk and near both buildings. However, neither identification is convincing. The building he depicts is merely typical of new town houses on the best streets of Delft.

WL

1. See Bol 1960, pp. 85–86, nos. 112–20.

2. Segal in Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, p. 108. After the 1620s Van der Ast rarely dated his pictures.

There is only one known example from the 1640s, a large panel dated 1641, which was on the art market in Amsterdam about 1950; see Bol 1960, p. 85, no. 112.

3. As discussed in Liedtke 1988 and Liedtke 2000, chap. 4.

4. There is also some resemblance to the composition of a lost painting by Adam Pick (recorded in a drawing by Leonaert Bramer) that probably dates from the early 1650s and shows a man smoking behind still-life objects on a table; see Blankert 1978, pp. 33–34, fig. 25, and Plomp 1986, pp. 133–34, no. 44.

5. Harmen Steenwyck's picture is catalogued in Ter Kuile 1985, no. VI-57.

6. Taylor 1995, p. 149.

7. All these points are made in *ibid.*

8. See Segal in Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, p. 108.



9. For a survey of the European trade in Oriental porcelain, see Rinaldi 1989 (and F. Scholten 1991 for a telling review). An earlier instance in which Van der Ast compared shells with porcelain is discussed by the present writer in New York 1992–93, no. 10.
10. Segal in Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, p. 108, and an unpublished opinion. The mansion (now museum) of Lambert van Meerten (1893) replaced rather than remodeled an earlier struc-

ture. For basic information on both buildings (and others on the Oude Delft), see Mans and Van Winden 1992, nos. 48, 52.

REFERENCES: Bol 1955, pp. 142, 144, 149, 154; Bol 1960, pp. 38, 86, no. 120; Haak 1984, p. 205; Segal in Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, pp. 106, 108, no. 21 (with additional literature); Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, no. 8/31; Taylor 1995, pp. 148–49; Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 156.

EXHIBITED: Delft, Cambridge, Fort Worth 1988–89, no. 21.

EX COLL.: (Sale, Frankfurt am Main, 1784, no. 365); purchased at that sale by Princess Henriette Amalia von Anhalt-Dessau, Bockenheim; Amalienstiftung, Dessau, no. 322; transferred at its foundation in 1927 to the Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau (63).

## BARTHOLOMEUS VAN BASSEN

*The Hague? ca. 1590–1652 The Hague*

Considering Van Bassen's role as architect to the courts of Orange and Bohemia and his reputation as one of the most important architectural painters of the first half of the seventeenth century, it is surprising that he does not appear in any of the contemporary literature on art.<sup>1</sup> Historians Cornelis de Bie, Arnold Houbraken, and Dirck van Bleyswijck, for example, do not mention him. His date and place of birth are not known. Carla Scheffer was the first to discover evidence that suggests an association with a family of the same name from Arnhem: a document that refers to him as "Barthelmes Cornelisz [son of Cornelis] van Bassen, Schilder [painter]." This Cornelis van Bassen was the son of Bartholt Ernst van Bassen, who was griffier (secretary) to the States General at The Hague between 1557 and 1585. The fact that Bartholomeus's son was called Aernoudt (or Arnold) Ernst van Bassen seems to support this connection. To date, nothing is known about Bartholomeus's training.

The first known document that refers to Van Bassen himself is his registration with the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft on October 21, 1613.<sup>2</sup> While painters born in the city paid an entrance fee of 6 guilders, Van Bassen, who was considered a foreigner, was required to pay 12 guilders. By 1624 he was a member of the guild at The Hague, of which he became deken (dean) in 1627 and hoofdman (headman)

twice, in 1636 and 1640. On January 28, 1624, he married Aaltgen Pietersdr van Gilst at The Hague. From 1629 until 1634 he was occupied with commissions from the stadholder Frederick Hendrick for the Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuburch palaces near The Hague. In 1630–31 he worked as the principal architect on the rebuilding of the monastery of Saint Agnes in Rhenen as a residence for Frederick V, Elector Palatine and king of Bohemia, and his wife, Elizabeth Stuart. Van Bassen was also involved in a number of architectural projects at The Hague and elsewhere. On October 27, 1638, he became comptroller of municipal buildings in The Hague, and from 1639 until 1652 he held the office of stad-boumeester (city architect). Van Bassen died shortly after his wife and was buried in the Jacobskerk at The Hague on November 28, 1652. His son became Advocate and adviser to the court of Holland, and in 1651 he married Adriana, daughter of the painter Cornelis van Poelenburgh. Only the architectural painter Gerard Houckgeest can be identified with some degree of certainty as Van Bassen's pupil.

A R

1. This biography depends largely on C. Scheffer 1985; Ariane van Suchtelen in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 1983–, vol. 7 (1993), pp. 395–96; Bernard Vermet in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 3, pp. 352–53; and The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 86–89.

2. Montias 1982, especially p. 338.

### 6. *The Tomb of William the Silent in an Imaginary Church*

1620

Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 59 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (112 x 151 cm)

Signed and dated lower left: Bartoll/van bassen/anno 1620. The year is also inscribed on the stone in the foreground.

Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

In this painting an imaginary Gothic church interior is the setting for the tomb monument of William the Silent (1533–1584). Seen from the choir, whose stalls occupy the left foreground, the monument has been placed in the crossing, partially obscuring the view into the nave. To the right of the tomb the transept opens into a side aisle or a chapel. The plain white walls and the absence of any religious imagery suggest that the church is a Protestant one. The man dressed in fine red attire in the foreground faces away from the viewer and toward the tomb, thereby drawing us into the scene, while other expensively dressed people casually walk about and chat. The figures have been attributed to Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630), with whom Van Bassen frequently collaborated (see the discussion under cat. no. 7).<sup>1</sup>

The rendering of the interior — the central perspective, deeply receding space, and



Fig. 230. Jan van Londerseel after Hendrick Aerts, *Imaginary Gothic Church Interior*, ca. 1600. Engraving, 12 x 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (30.4 x 41 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam





detailed description of the architectural details—is reminiscent of the Antwerp tradition of architectural painting as represented by Hans Vredeman de Vries, Hendrick van Steenwyck, and Pieter Neeffs the Elder. Their rigidly constructed interiors often appear to be airless boxes, however. While retaining the single-point perspective favored by his Flemish colleagues, Van Bassen introduces light and atmospheric effects as means to articulate architectural space. Thus, the shadowed area in the foreground serves as a repoussoir to set off the crossing and the tomb, which is bathed in sunlight streaming

in from the left transept. The right transept, with its northern light, is more softly lit, in contrast to the brightly lit chapel or aisle beyond it. In the nave soft yet relatively radiant light counteracts the deep recession of the space. An important influence must have been a composition by Hendrick Aerts, which Van Bassen probably knew through an engraving by Jan van Londerseel (fig. 230).<sup>2</sup> Some of the architectural features of Van Bassen's painting, such as the repoussoir and the Gothic arch separating the foreground space from the nave, seem to be taken directly from Aerts's example. It has often been observed

that Van Bassen's interiors appear more realistic than those of his Flemish predecessors. This is mainly a result of his realization that light and atmosphere are as important as perspectival systems for producing a convincing illusion of a three-dimensional space.<sup>3</sup> The following generation of Delft architectural painters, such as Van Bassen's pupil Gerard Houckgeest as well as Hendrick van Vliet and Emanuel de Witte, developed this approach more fully after 1650.

The actual setting of the tomb of William the Silent is the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, where the monument stands in the choir and the



seated effigy of the prince faces the nave (see fig. 7). In the present painting Van Bassen has turned the tomb 180 degrees and enlarged it in relation to the church interior, thus making it a more awe-inspiring presence. The tomb had been commissioned by the States General in commemoration of the "Father of the Fatherland," William the Silent, who had been assassinated at his residence, the Prinsenhof in Delft, in 1584.<sup>4</sup> Work on the mausoleum began in 1614, after designs by the Amsterdam architect Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621). The tomb was finished only in 1623, by Hendrick's son Pieter (1595–1676), three years after the date of Van Bassen's painting. The picture is the earliest painted rendering of the monument.

The painted tomb follows the actual structure closely. Discrepancies appear only in the sculptural decoration. The figures personifying Liberty and Justice, in the corner niches to the left and right, respectively, vary from the originals.<sup>5</sup> In the painting Liberty is shown with her head turned toward the hat in her hand, and the dresses of both figures fall differently than they do on the monument. The helmet on the steps is also noticeably unlike that on the actual tomb. The most obvious divergence, however, is the suits of armor that appear in the painting at the foot of the obelisks. It is tempting to conjecture that Van Bassen saw the tomb—possibly only partially erected—in the church in 1620 without its sculptural decoration and that the painted sculptural decoration derives from sketches or drawings. (In depictions of the tomb by Cornelis Dankerts[?] of 1622 [fig. 328] and by Salomon de Bray of 1631, similar suits of armor with helmets and shields can be seen.)<sup>6</sup> Whether the armor ever formed part of the tomb or existed only in drawings cannot be ascertained. It has been suggested that the States General, having

commissioned the monument, may also have ordered the present picture and would have given Van Bassen access to the architect's drawings and models. It may have been in the republican government's interest to present an image of the tomb at this politically opportune moment, the impending end of the Twelve Years' Truce.<sup>7</sup> It is equally plausible, however, that Van Bassen had direct access to the building site and the architect's drawings in Delft. In 1650 Van Bassen would receive a commission of a similar kind from the city government of The Hague, for a rendering of the planned Nieuwe Kerk on the Spui.<sup>8</sup>

The importance of the tomb as a symbol of national pride for the United Provinces cannot be overestimated. Soon after its completion it was a celebrated national monument, and other Delft artists frequently included it in their views of the Nieuwe Kerk (see, for example, cat. nos. 37, 93). Its architectural vocabulary (obelisks and Doric columns), its sculptural decoration (personifications of Liberty, Justice, Fortitude, and Religion), and its military accoutrements not only underscored the accomplishments and virtues of William the Silent but also affirmed the foundations of the state and the leading role of the House of Orange in the United Provinces' struggle for independence from Spain. It has even been suggested that the two dogs in the foreground symbolize the two powers, "eycing each other warily" in anticipation of the end of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1621.<sup>9</sup>

In his day Van Bassen's meticulously executed paintings with their sophisticated interiors and luxurious details were highly appreciated. Contemporary documents attest that his paintings commanded high prices and that wealthy burghers in Delft as well as members of the court at The Hague collected his works. The political significance of the

tomb of William the Silent, combined with the exquisite architectural detail, the visual intrigue of the perspective, and the elegantly dressed figures must have made the present picture especially resonant with art lovers and collectors from courtly circles. AR

1. Keyes 1984, pp. 94, 170, no. II. Keyes does not discuss the costume in the pictures. However, Van Suchtelen in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 538, no. 211, and Marieke de Winkel in a recent conversation with the author have suggested that the costumes in the present painting, particularly the floppy broad-brimmed hats, indicate a date after 1620, possibly toward the mid-1620s. This would suggest that the figures were painted sometime after Van Bassen had completed the picture.
2. Hollstein, vol. II, p. 101, no. 75. See also Van Suchtelen in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 538, no. 211.
3. Liedtke has coined the term "realistic imaginary church" for these seemingly realistic church interiors, which represent a "Dutch departure from the Flemish mode." See Liedtke 1982a, chap. 2, especially pp. 22–23, 27.
4. For a detailed account of the history and iconography of the tomb, see Panofsky 1964, p. 97, and E. I. Jimkes-Verkade in Delft 1981, pp. 214–27.
5. For good illustrations of the two figures, see Amsterdam 2000, vol. 1, nos. 8a, b.
6. See Liedtke 2000, chap. 2, p. 82, and De Bray 1631, pls. XXXIX, XL.
7. Van Suchtelen in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 538, no. 211.
8. *The Nieuwe Kerk on the Spui* (1639; Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, inv. no. 2-1901); see Dumas 1991, pp. 94–100, no. 1.
9. Keyes 1984, p. 94.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, pp. 59–60, 62, 158, no. 32; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 22, 23, 28, 30; Keyes 1984, pp. 94, 170, no. II; C. Scheffer 1985, no. 2; Cologne, Utrecht 1987, no. 2; Rotterdam 1991, no. 8; Van Suchtelen in Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 211; Liedtke 2000, pp. 82, 86, 97, 152, 153.

EXHIBITED: Cologne, Utrecht 1987, no. 2; Rotterdam 1991, no. 8; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 211.

EX COLL.: Acquired by Van Eyk at a sale conducted by Van Eyk and Pieneman, The Hague, July 5, 1814, no. 319; [C. I. Wawra Gallery, Vienna]; acquired in 1894 by the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (1106).



## 7. *Renaissance Interior with Banqueters*

ca. 1618–20

Oil on wood, 22 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 34 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (57.5 x 87 cm)  
Signed lower right: B van Bassen

North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh,  
Purchased with funds given in honor of  
Harriet Dubose *Kenan* Gray by her son  
Thomas H. Kenan III; and from various  
donors, by exchange

Van Bassen developed a specialty in lavishly decorated palace interiors with elegant figures. Characteristically, the room here is box-shaped with a tile floor and coffered ceiling lit by rows of windows along the left wall. The general atmosphere is one of sumptuousness and luxury. Ornamental embellishments and decorative objects abound; hardly any space is left uncovered.<sup>1</sup> There are elaborately carved pieces of furniture and doors, a

floral frieze along the top of the walls, two colossal marble columns with composite capitals, and a sideboard with an ostentatious display of precious-metal plates and goblets on a dais beneath a canopy. With the exception of a large triptych with *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, the paintings—several landscapes and a flower painting reminiscent of those by Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder or Balthasar van der Ast (see cat. no. 5)—are of a type one would expect in a well-to-do Dutch household. Similar decorative features can be found in all of Van Bassen's palace interiors.

The effect of wealth and luxury is enhanced by the elegantly dressed men and women who seem to enjoy each other's company. These staffage figures have been attributed to Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630).<sup>2</sup> A native of Amsterdam, Van de Velde had settled in The Hague by 1618, when he joined the local Guild of Saint Luke. George Keyes has identified twenty-eight pictures by Van

Bassen with staffage by Van de Velde, all datable to the first half of the 1620s.<sup>3</sup> The only contemporary document that confirms the collaboration is the lottery of Cornelis van Leeuwen, held in 1626, which mentions three paintings by Van Bassen with figures by Van de Velde.<sup>4</sup> A picture signed by both Van Bassen and Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642) identifies the Antwerp painter as another collaborator.<sup>5</sup> Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573–1647) from Antwerp, the Utrecht painter Cornelis van Poelenburgh (1594/95–1667), to whom Van Bassen eventually became related by marriage, Anthonie Palamedesz, and Jan Martensen the Younger (1609?–after 1647) also occasionally painted staffage for Van Bassen.<sup>6</sup> Given the geographical distribution of these painters, one may easily suppose that Van Bassen developed a network of artists located in the areas where his clients lived. This would have allowed clients to have a more direct influence on the choice

of subject, whether a straightforward Merry Company scene or a biblical story such as The Return of the Prodigal Son or Lazarus and the Rich Man.

The figures in the present painting may also provide hints regarding the date of the picture. The earliest dated palace interior by Van Bassen is from 1622.<sup>7</sup> By this time he had moved to The Hague and registered with the local guild. It has therefore been assumed that he painted palace interiors only in The Hague, in the immediate vicinity of the court. Keyes dates the present picture to the early to mid-1620s. However, the figures' style of dress, particularly the men's tall hats with relatively narrow brims and feathers, as well as the women's hairstyles, make a date between 1618 and 1620 more plausible.<sup>8</sup> It seems improbable that Van Bassen's undoubtedly wealthy patrons, familiar with the latest fashion, would have wanted a picture of an elegant interior with people in old-fashioned attire.

Unlike several other palace interiors by Van Bassen, this painting seems to be an uncomplicated Merry Company scene. Whether moralizing overtones should be read into it is a matter of debate. While the figures at the table in the left background are engaged in polite conversation, the general atmosphere is one of indulgence and idle pleasure; a wine cooler, richly festooned with vines, is on the right; the dandy in the foreground, clearly inebriated, enjoys the attention of two women; and a cushion and playing cards have been tossed to the floor. Keyes has identified an engraving that may have served as a source for the group of three figures; the inscriptions on the print suggest that the young man will pay for his wasteful living, for he is surrounded by parasites who hope to benefit

from his carelessness.<sup>9</sup> The company also includes a dog, a monkey, and a parrot. It has been proposed that these animals, which frequently occur in Van Bassen's palace interiors, carry symbolic significance: among other qualities, loyalty is characteristic of the dog; vanity and lust are associated with the monkey, and an ability to imitate is a talent of the parrot. The suggestion that the animals allude to the Five Senses seems less convincing.<sup>10</sup>

In many paintings by Van Bassen of sumptuous interiors some of the figures act out biblical stories, such as The Return of the Prodigal Son, as moralizing reminders of humility and charity. While the present picture does not follow this practice, it does contain a biblical scene. A large triptych on the back wall shows The Adoration of the Shepherds. The shepherds' humble worship of the Christ Child contrasts sharply with the idle pleasure and wasteful living of the company, whose disregard of the shepherds' example, and by extension of salvation, will eventually lead to their downfall. One should not assume that such pictures were meant only to teach the viewer a lesson, however. They were, rather, laboriously produced luxury items for a small class of sophisticated patrons who appreciated the tension between the disorder of the subject matter and the orderliness of the perspectival construction and the meticulous detail. The grandeur of such interiors must have appealed to the courtly circles in The Hague as well as to the aristocracy and regent classes elsewhere. Van Bassen's court style was in tune with the taste and aspirations of this stratum of society, and he was to work for the Dutch and Bohemian courts both as a painter and as an architect after his move to The Hague.<sup>11</sup>

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1. On this point, see Schneede (1965, p. 179).

2. Keyes 1984, p. 178, no. XXVI.

3. See *ibid.*, pp. 169–79, nos. I–XXVIII.

4. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 1, pp. 321–22.

5. *Interior of a Church* (1624; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 695). A German sale catalogue identifies another picture, *View of an Imaginary Town*, as being signed by both artists; sold by E. E., at R. Lepke, Berlin, April 8, 1913, no. 60.

6. For collaborations with Vrancx, see Schneede 1965, p. 177; for Van Poelenburgh, whose daughter Adriana married Van Bassen's son Arnold in 1651, see Sluijter-Seijffert 1984; for Palamedesz, see Rotterdam 1991, no. 9; and for Martenssen, see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 3, p. 322.

7. *Palace Interior with Dives and Lazarus* (signed and dated 1622; Faust Gallery, London, 1973). See Keyes 1984, p. 172, no. IX.

8. I am grateful to Marieke de Winkel, Amsterdam, for this information, communicated in a conversation in April 2000.

9. Gillis van Breen after Karel van Mander the Elder, *Revelers* (1597). See Keyes 1984, p. 90, n. 65, and fig. 50.

10. Schneede (1965, pp. 254–59) argued that the representation of fewer than five senses may still allude to all the senses. In this case, then, the dog stands for the sense of smell, the monkey for taste, and the parrot for touch, while sight and hearing, the two most important senses, are absent. Since antiquity the Five Senses had been regarded with suspicion, for through them sin and corruption entered the human soul.

11. See Liedtke 1991a, pp. 33, 37.

REFERENCES: Keyes 1984, pp. 90, 178, no. XXVI; C. Scheffer 1985, no. 69; Briels 1987, p. 291.

EX COLL.: Buckowski (sold Stockholm, March 29–30, 1927, no. 50); Buckowski (sold Stockholm, October 24–26, 1945, no. 104); (sold at Galerie Koller, Zurich, March 21, 1996, no. 23); [Raffael Valls, London, and Pieter de Boer, Amsterdam, 1996]; [Jack Kilgore and Co., Inc., New York]; acquired from the latter in 1998 by the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (98.3).

## GILLIS GILLISZ DE BERGH

Delft ca. 1600–1669 Delft

Gillis Gillisz de Bergh was a native of Delft, where his father, a sailmaker from Ghent, arrived about 1590. The younger Gillis joined the painters' guild on November 15, 1624. On April 17, 1638, the "bachelor in the Suyteynde [south end]" married Maria Moreu, who lived on the Oude Delft.<sup>1</sup>

The artist's early work is strongly related to the kitchen still lifes of Cornelis Jacobsz Delff (ca. 1571–1643), who may have been De Bergh's teacher. In the 1630s De Bergh came under the influence of Balthasar van der Ast (see cat. nos. 3–5) and Jan Davidsz de Heem (1606–1683/84); De Heem's Leiden works of the late 1620s and early 1630s were important for other Delft still-life painters as well, such as Evert (1602–1657) and Willem van Aelst (see cat. nos. 1, 2) and the brothers Steenwyck, Harmen (see cat. no. 59) and Pieter Evertz (b. ca. 1615). The tonal palette and objects—silver and silver-gilt tazzas and guild cups—in a few of De Bergh's works from the 1630s are reminiscent of paintings by Pieter Claesz (1597/98–1660). (It may be relevant that Daniel de Bergh, Gillis's uncle, was a silversmith in Delft.)

De Bergh and his brother, the history painter Matthæus de Bergh (d. 1687; joined the guild in 1638), appear to have been respected members of the artistic community in Delft. Still lifes by Gillis are cited in local inventories, especially in the third quarter of the century. In 1657 De Bergh and the wealthy art dealer Abraham de Cooge appraised the collection of Eva Briels, widow of Nicolaes Bogaerts.

WL

1. See Briels 1997, p. 300.



### 8. Still Life with Fruit in a Wan-li Bowl and a Roemer

Probably late 1630s

Oil on wood, 22 1/2 x 27 in. (57 x 68.4 cm)

Signed lower right: G. de Bergh

Gemeente Musea, Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

New York only

In the 1630s De Bergh turned from the production of busy kitchen still lifes in the manner of Cornelis Jacobsz Delff to simpler and more elegant arrangements like this one, which may date from about the late 1630s. Broadly similar compositions were painted in cities ranging from Haarlem, where Pieter Claesz was the leading exponent, to Antwerp, where the fruit still lifes of Jacob van Hulsdonck (1582–1647) offer the closest comparisons. De Bergh was clearly aware of works by numerous specialists, but his greatest

debt was to Balthasar van der Ast, who lived in Delft from 1632 until his death, in 1657 (see cat. nos. 3–5). The graceful if contrived rhythms of the fruit and leaves in the present picture, the studious attention to light, and objects such as the Chinese porcelain bowl and the small shell are familiar from contemporary paintings by Van der Ast. Even the cracks in the stone tabletop and the form of the signature (De Bergh had signed his early works with the monogram GDB) seem inspired by Van der Ast.

That painter's extraordinary refinement was beyond De Bergh's ability, which makes his emulation of the former Middelburg and Utrecht master all the more interesting. When De Bergh traded in his dead fowl and copper pots and pans for imported fruits and fancy vessels, he aligned himself with a different still-life tradition, one that emphasized artistry and description more nuanced than that of Delft (whose kitchenware flashes light effects like signals at sea). However, there



remains in De Bergh a degree of straightforward naturalism not found in the oeuvre of Van der Ast. In this respect De Bergh's style in the 1630s and 1640s may be compared with that of Anthonie Palamedesz's genre scenes (see cat. nos. 47, 48). Vermeer must have paid close attention to still-life painting in Delft: the wicker basket in *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (cat. no. 65), the bowl of fruit in *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67), and especially the fruit slowly descending from a Chinese charger tilted on its side in *The Letter Reader* (fig. 163) — which at first featured a *roemer* (rummer) in the foreground — recall works by De Bergh as well as by Willem van Aelst and others.<sup>1</sup> One wonders whose "fruit painting" was in Vermeer's estate.<sup>2</sup>

Fewer than a dozen works by De Bergh are now known or properly attributed.<sup>3</sup> (Rather unhelpfully, the only dated examples are from 1625 and 1668.) In Michael Montias's list of the twenty most frequently cited artists in Delft inventories between 1610 and 1679, with thirty-seven references, the painter ranks twelfth.<sup>4</sup>

WL

1. See Wheelock 1987, p. 410, fig. 21 (radiograph).

2. See Montias 1989, p. 339 (doc. no. 364, the inventory of movable goods from Vermeer's estate, dated February 29, 1676), under no. 2 (items in the "Voorhuys," or front hall).

3. See Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, pp. 80–82. Works by Johannes Bouman (1601/2–after 1653) have been confused with De Bergh's. Although active in Amsterdam, Bouman, too, was influenced by Van der Ast.

4. Montias 1982, p. 237.

REFERENCES: Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, no. 23/7.

EX COLL.: Private collection, Paris, in 1961; (sale at Christie's, New York, October 15, 1992, no. 145); [Rob Smeets, Milan]; purchased in 1997 by the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 224).

## LEONAERT BRAMER

*Delft 1596–1674 Delft*

*The prolific painter and draftsman was born on Christmas Eve, 1596. His teacher is unknown, but the formative influence on his work was his stay in Rome (where he was called Leonardo delle Notti) from as early as 1615–16 until late 1627. He joined the painters' guild in Delft on April 30, 1629, and was often recorded in the city; in 1637 he was mentioned as one of the select members of the Brotherhood of Knights in the civic guard. In 1643 Bramer paid 2,500 guilders for a house on the Koormarkt (Corn Market) in Delft. During the 1630s and 1640s Bramer painted canvas murals for the princely palaces at Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk, and in the 1650s and 1660s he painted canvas murals and frescoes in Delft residences and public buildings. Bramer was an esteemed member of the painters' guild, which he served as headman in 1644–45, 1660, and 1664–65. In his late years the Catholic artist, who never married, appears to have had difficulties supporting himself. He was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk on February 10, 1674.*

WL

### 9. *The Journey of the Three Magi to Bethlehem*

ca. 1638–40

Oil on wood, 31¼ x 42 in. (79 x 106.7 cm)

Signed lower left, on the rock: L. Bramer

The New-York Historical Society, New York, Durr Collection

This rarely seen picture probably dates from about 1638–40, when Bramer was one of the most successful artists in Delft and was also working at the stadholder's palace at Rijswijk, nearby. The Magi, led by torch-bearing angels, have evidently just arrived at their destination, or are close enough to dismount (Balthasar, the African king, descends from an elephant). Caspar has removed his turban; the younger Melchior seems focused upon presenting his gift. It has been suggested plausibly that the manger was depicted by Bramer in a pendant panel representing The Adoration of the Shepherds.<sup>1</sup> Bramer painted a fair number of pendant pictures. Two panels by him in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig, depict The Adoration of the Shepherds and The Adoration of the Magi; the latter is dated 1636 and includes the royal retinue in the background.

In his mythological and biblical paintings Bramer overlooked few opportunities to pursue his specialty of describing nocturnal dramas. The Catholic painter appears to have read and reread the Old and New Testaments in search of suitable subjects, such as the story of the "wise men from the east" who were guided by a star to the Christ Child in Bethlehem (Matthew 2.1–12). The subject of this picture is comparatively rare in Dutch art but seems almost familiar when set beside others by Bramer, such as Lazarus Brought to Abraham by Angels, and The Reading of the Law before Josiah (which is helpfully inscribed: 2 Kings 22).<sup>2</sup> The artist also restaged normally well-lit events, such as The Coronation of the Virgin, The Dismissal of Hagar (whom Abraham





sent off at dawn), and Saint Luke Painting the Virgin (although she is barely visible) in torchlight, or in celestial illumination resembling that of a thunderstorm or a nightmare. For Bramer, a subject like *The Finding of the Bodies of Pyramis and Thisbe*, which was evidently his own elaboration of Ovid's tale, was a scene not dissimilar to marveling at the infant Jesus lying in a crib.<sup>3</sup>

Bramer painted hundreds of night scenes, which were variously influenced by Agostino Tassi and other Italian artists,<sup>4</sup> or by Hans Jordaens, Esaias van de Velde, Rembrandt, and other northerners, in some cases through engravings. A print Bramer must have admired is Jan van de Velde's etching of 1622 after Willem Buytewech's *Ignis* (Fire), which transformed the Rotterdam artist's drawing, a daylight view of cannons by a river, into a spectacle

set under a starry sky. In doing so, Van de Velde was inspired by Hendrick Goudt's engraving of 1613 after Adam Elsheimer, *The Flight into Egypt*.<sup>5</sup> The same print, and perhaps Goudt's engraving of 1608 after Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel*, were probably in Bramer's mind when he conceived this procession through a nocturnal landscape, with light in the sky revealing clouds and rounded groups of trees (as in Goudt's and Van de Velde's prints).<sup>6</sup>

As these comparisons suggest, small night scenes, painted on wood, copper, or slate, were an international art form, prized by connoisseurs like Bramer's protector in Italy, Mario Farnese. Painters of imaginary architectural pictures, such as Pieter Neeffs the Elder and Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger, also depicted torchlit processions and (like Bramer in other works) figures gathered in temples

illuminated by candlelight; Van Steenwyck worked at the court of Charles I before settling in or near The Hague (perhaps about 1638–39).<sup>7</sup> Anthonie de Lorme in Rotterdam, during the 1630s and 1640s, also painted a number of imaginary church interiors with evening visitors. This many-sided development was related, especially in Bramer's case, with the international Caravaggesque movement, which was established not only in Antwerp and Utrecht but also in Delft, Rotterdam, and Gouda.<sup>8</sup> Another parallel with Bramer's biblical scenes of the 1630s is Rembrandt's series of paintings depicting *The Passion of Christ* (1632–39), which were commissioned by Prince Frederick Hendrick.<sup>9</sup> Bramer was certainly inspired by this example to paint at least one series of *Passion pictures* during the mid-1630s.<sup>10</sup> This is of interest for the style

and mood of the present picture, which Bramer, like Rembrandt, centers upon a miracle's witnesses, whose sense of wonder the viewer might share. WL

1. Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, p. 71.
2. See Delft 1994, p. 55, fig. 9, and pp. 166–67, no. 45.
3. For examples of the Ovidian subject, a Bramer favorite, see Delft 1994, pp. 102–3, no. 16, and pp. 134–36, no. 30.
4. See C. Brown 1995a.
5. See Stechow 1966, pp. 174–75, figs. 345–46, and Rotterdam, Paris 1974–75, nos. 179, 183, pls. 129, 133.
6. On Bramer and Elsheimer, see Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, pp. 9–10, and Plomp and Ten Brink Goldsmith in Delft 1994, p. 51.
7. See Liedtke in Rotterdam 1991, pp. 33–35, and no. 7, for a typical church interior at night by Neeffs, of 1637, with a torchlit procession.
8. See Slatkes 1992–93.
9. For a review of the circumstances and reproductions, see Berlin, Amsterdam, London 1991–92, pp. 156–60.
10. See Delft 1994, pp. 112–14, no. 21 (*Christ Crowned with Thorns* of 1637, in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden), and Michiel Plomp's essay, "Leonaert Bramer the Draughtsman," in Delft 1994, pp. 190–93.

REFERENCES: Bode 1895, p. 15; Wichmann 1923, p. 113, no. 78; Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 15; Delft 1994, pp. 146–47, no. 35.

EXHIBITED: Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 15; Delft 1994, no. 35.

EX COLL.: Louis Durr, New York; his gift in 1882 to The New-York Historical Society, New York (1882.142).

## 10. *Christ among the Doctors*

ca. 1640–45  
Oil on wood, 20 x 15 in. (50.8 x 38 cm)  
Signed lower left, on the book: L. Bramer

Dr. Gordon J. Gilbert and Adele S. Gilbert,  
Saint Petersburg, Florida

New York only

In this panel of the early to mid-1640s the twelve-year-old Jesus sits among the learned doctors of the Temple in Jerusalem, disputing questions of theology (Luke 2.41–51). He confidently points a finger to lines in the large volume on the right. The bald elder, whose shadowy face is just visible enough to reveal his consternation, indicates another passage. A standing elder peers down through spectacles, a familiar sign in Netherlandish art of shortsightedness or stupidity. The doctors to the left attempt to look up or think up responses to the young man's arguments, which astonished his parents when they found him after a three-day search.

Bramer painted the subject perhaps a dozen times.<sup>1</sup> A panel of about the same size and similar composition, *Pilate Washing His Hands* (Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu), has been considered a possible pendant or another work in a series to which the present picture may have belonged.<sup>2</sup> A painting of 1647 by Bramer, *Christ Among the Doctors* (Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick), has been paired since at least the early eighteenth century with one depicting *The Circumcision*,<sup>3</sup> which with *The Presentation* immediately precedes the story of the twelve-year-old's erudition (Luke 2). However, the subject of theological debate would have stood well enough on its own in Holland during the seventeenth century.

Many of Bramer's works dating from about 1640 onward feature figures larger in scale than those in his earlier works. This may reflect his activity as a muralist at the court, and the influence of Gerard van Honthorst (the court's favorite artist) and other Caravaggesque painters, including their Delft adherents Willem van Vliet and Christiaan van Couwenbergh. In contrast to *The Journey of the Three Magi to Bethlehem*

(cat. no. 9), which is organized like works by Adam Elsheimer and other small cabinet pictures of the early seventeenth century, this painting in the Gilbert collection is arranged and illuminated like canvases by Van Honthorst dating from the 1630s. However, two other artists who were favored by the stadholder Frederick Hendrick and his adviser Constantijn Huygens during the same decade—Rembrandt and Jan Lievens—would appear to have been even more influential for this and other works by Bramer of the 1640s. Not only the grouping of the figures but also the exotic costumes with turbans, fur trim, and gold chains (compare Rembrandt's *Man in Oriental Costume*, "The Noble Slave," in the Metropolitan Museum) and the three venerable, oversized volumes (there is one in the left foreground) are reminiscent of the young Leiden painters. The delicate touches describing fur and gold on the back of the figure to the left could be considered a small-scale tribute to Rembrandt, while the two figures in the right background—conceivably, one of the homeliest images of Mary and Joseph in all of Dutch art—are types that could have wandered off Lievens's stage.<sup>4</sup>

WL

1. See Delft 1994, pp. 118–19, no. 23, and pp. 287–88, nos. 96–104.
2. Ibid., p. 194, illustrating a replica of the Sibiu panel (Niedersächsische Landesgalerie, Hanover).
3. See *ibid.*, pp. 59–60, fig. 17.
4. Compare Lievens's *Fortune Teller* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) and *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* (Bader collection, Milwaukee), both of about 1631. The latter may be identical with a work cited as by Rembrandt or Lievens in the stadholder's collection in 1632 (Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 3, no. 1190). Plomp and Ten Brink Goldsmith in Delft 1994, p. 57, discuss Rembrandt's influence on Bramer, who also adopted ideas from Rembrandt's etchings (for example, the Delft painter's *Raising of Lazarus* in Prague; Delft 1994, pp. 122–24, no. 25).

REFERENCES: Miller in Saint Petersburg 1990–91, pp. 33–34; Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, pp. 84, 88, no. 16; Plomp and Ten Brink Goldsmith in Delft 1994, pp. 59, 146, 154–55, no. 39.

EXHIBITED: Saint Petersburg 1990–91; Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 16; Delft 1994, no. 39.

EX COLL.: The Cooper Mullen English Trust (sold at Christie's, London, March 25, 1977, no. 41); [Brian Koetser Gallery, London, 1977]; since 1977 the present owners.



## II. *Musicians on a Terrace*

ca. 1665–70

Oil on canvas, 69 x 85½ in. (175.2 x 217.1 cm)  
Signed bottom center: L. Bramer

Richard L. Feigen and Co., New York

New York only



Fig. 231. Gerard van Honthorst, *The Concert*, 1624. Oil on canvas, 66½ x 70¼ in. (168 x 178 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

The largest known work by Bramer, this thinly painted canvas is probably the only surviving example of his celebrated activity as a decorative muralist. During the 1620s in Italy the artist had become familiar with frescoes by Veronese, Orazio Gentileschi, Agostino Tassi, and others. Musical ensembles were a common subject in Italian palace decoration. By 1622 Gerard van Honthorst had brought the genre to the Netherlands; his *Musical Ceiling* of 1622 (fig. 130) was possibly painted for his own house in Utrecht. It extends a long line of Renaissance and early Baroque models, beginning with frescoes by Mantegna and including murals by Gentileschi and Tassi, who worked for Van Honthorst's patron Cardinal Scipione Borghese.<sup>1</sup> *The Concert* (fig. 231), painted by Van Honthorst in 1624, is most likely the canvas cited in 1632–33 as in the princely palace Noordeinde (the Oude Hof) in The Hague: "In the large hall upstairs . . . A painting for the mantelpiece made by Honthorst which is a concert."<sup>2</sup> In

the mid-1620s musicians and other figures, seen somewhat more strongly foreshortened than in *The Concert*, were placed on the illusionistic balcony running around the coved vaulting of the Great Hall in the palace at Honselaarsdijk (fig. 12). The project, supervised by Jacob van Campen, was executed by Pieter de Grebber and Paulus Bor (from Haarlem and Utrecht, respectively); the Delft painter Christiaan van Couwenbergh produced wall paintings for the same room.<sup>3</sup> The Great Hall in Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, between The Hague and Delft, was also provided with a surrounding gallery of entertainers above all four walls; Van Honthorst and his assistants decorated the room between June 1638 and May 1639.<sup>4</sup> These princely commissions appear to have made a great impression upon both private and public patrons in The Hague and Delft, where Van Couwenbergh in the 1640s (see fig. 66) and Bramer in the 1650s and 1660s painted musical and merry companies



Fig. 232. Radiograph of the upper-left quarter (turned counter-clockwise ninety degrees) of cat. no 11



Fig. 233. Leonaert Bramer, *The Massacre of the Innocents* (copy of the painting underneath *Musicians on a Terrace*), ca. 1652–53. Black chalk on paper, 16 x 12 in. (40.6 x 30.6 cm). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam





on large canvases meant to be hung above fireplaces or fairly high on walls. The Utrecht painter Jan Gerritsz van Bronchorst also flourished in the field, both in Utrecht about 1645–50 and in Amsterdam during the 1650s (see fig. 134).<sup>5</sup>

The present picture, although once dated to the 1640s,<sup>6</sup> is clearly a late work by Bramer; a date in the 1660s is supported by the off-the-shoulder dresses worn by the female viol and violin players.<sup>7</sup> That the painting dates from after the early 1650s is now proven by radiographs and infrared photography, which reveal parts of another composition under the final layers of paint. The original picture did not include the ghostlike soldiers on the left, one of whom leans casually on the balustrade. These helmeted figures, in the same scale as

the musicians, were placed by Bramer in the present composition and then painted out.<sup>8</sup> Much smaller soldiers, two of them on horseback, a turbaned man, and women with children can be discerned when the canvas is stood on its left side and examined with the help of infrared light and radiographs (fig. 232). A few of these figures, such as a horse and rider on the left, two women lying on the ground to the lower left (at least one of whom protects a baby), and a woman fleeing with a baby at the right edge of the composition, coincide fairly closely with a lost painting by Bramer, *The Massacre of the Innocents*. The work is known from a sketch by the artist (fig. 233) made in about 1652–53 as part of a series of drawings after pictures by various masters that evidently were to be auctioned

in Delft.<sup>9</sup> Evidently Bramer retained the painting (or, less plausibly, reacquired it) during the 1650s and in the end sacrificed it when he needed a large canvas for a more salable or commissioned work.

Hofrichter proposed that the *Musicians on a Terrace* was made in connection with Bramer's commission, awarded in 1660, to decorate the Painted Room in the newly renovated civic-guard building (Nieuwe Doelen). However, only the painting over the fireplace in that room was on canvas.<sup>10</sup> Bramer's small triptych in the Prinsenhof, Delft, was likely his *modello* for the Painted Room (figs. 132, 133), and apart from a few figures on a balcony it does not correspond with the canvas exhibited here (especially not in the painting of a drummer over the



mantelpiece). By contrast, large canvas murals that Bramer painted for the Great Hall in the Prinsenhof (figs. 135, 136) show at least one musical company on the end walls and what appears to be *The Rape of the Sabine Women* along the long (north) wall. The unexpected combination of entertainers and military figures also occurred in the present picture before the soldiers on the left were overpainted. Perhaps, then, Bramer made this work for the Prinsenhof, where the walls between the fireplaces and the long wall are a little wider (almost 9 feet [2.7 meters]) than the surviving canvas (which has not been significantly trimmed). The oblique recession of the terrace would be consistent with the painting's location on a side wall, where the viewer might sense some continuity between the depicted and actual architecture. However, nothing very close to this composition appears in Augustinus Terwesten's drawing (fig. 136), and payments are recorded to a merchant for delivering new canvases for the Prinsenhof murals and to a minor artist, Jan Molijn, for sizing them.<sup>11</sup> It remains possible that Bramer painted *Musicians on a Terrace* for the Prinsenhof and then revised his plans, but a more likely explanation would be that the work was executed for yet another location in the late 1660s. It would not be surprising to find such a picture in a large private residence.

Numerous revisions, apart from those already noted, are visible to the naked eye. For example, the left leg of the male lutenist with his back turned to the viewer was moved forward, leaving a now-transparent shoe behind. Just to the left of the figures seated on the steps are traces of a dog, who reacts to a wary cat at the left edge of the composition. A wall seems to be indicated beyond the balustrade, but this and the entire front of the palatial building, with figures looking on from a window and a balcony, were all painted quite thinly. Perhaps Bramer's procedure—some passages could be described as made up as he went along—reflects his experience as a fresco painter. That ill-advised choice of technique in the Dutch climate, and the loss of all the princely, civic, and private murals that were painted in or near Delft, make this canvas a valuable document as well as an entertaining work. WL

1. As noted in Judson and Ekkart 1999, under no. 286. See also C. Brown 1981, p. 53.
2. Judson and Ekkart 1999, p. 207, under no. 273, quoting from the inventory of 1632–33.
3. See The Hague 1997–98a, pp. 40–44, and above, chap. 1, p. 10 and n. 26.
4. Ibid., pp. 45–46, fig. 16 (an engraved view of 1697), 253, n. 66.
5. See Döring 1993, nos. A31–A37.
6. Jansen in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, p. 233.
7. As noted by Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, p. 75.
8. I am grateful to Hubert von Sonnenburg, Dorothy Mahon, and Charlotte Hale of the Sherman

Fairchild Paintings Conservation Center at the Metropolitan Museum for their technical examination of the canvas and many helpful observations. In Delft 1994, p. 179, the soldiers are described as “the last vestiges of another representation under the present one,” implying a total of three different compositions on a single canvas.

9. As discussed in Plomp 1986, where this composition is included as no. 9 on pp. 105–6 (for a useful English summary of the article, see Plomp 1986, pp. 151–53). Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, p. 75, already noted the connection between the small figures in a lower paint layer on this canvas and two (not three, as she says) lost Bramer paintings of *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Plomp 1986, pp. 105–6, nos. 8, 9). However, Hofrichter did not have sufficient technical evidence to realize how close the correspondence is to one of Bramer's drawings.
10. See Delft 1994, pp. 24–25, citing a payment to Bramer on April 26, 1660.
11. Ibid., p. 28.

REFERENCES: Wichmann 1923, p. 154, no. 299; C. Brown 1981, p. 53; Haak 1984, p. 325; Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, under no. 49; Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 17; Delft 1994, pp. 64–65, 179–80, no. 51, p. 306, no. 299.

EXHIBITED: London, Chicago 1990, no. 10; Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 17; Delft 1994, no. 51.

EX COLL.: Schoen collection, Berlin, 1923; (sale at Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, December 4, 1928, no. 12); (sale at Charpentier, Paris, December 7, 1950, no. 8); (sale at Sotheby's, London, November 16, 1960, no. 90B, to K. E. Maison); [Spink, London, 1966]; W. W. Berry, 1981; purchased at Christie's, London, July 8, 1983, no. 31 by the present owner.

# HENDRICK VAN DER BURCH

*Honselaarsdijk or Naaldwijck 1627–1665 (or later) Leiden?*

Hendrick van der Burch was baptized in Naaldwijck, a village about nine miles east of Delft, on June 27, 1627.<sup>1</sup> His parents were the candlemaker Rochus Hendricksz van der Burch and Diewertje Jochmsdr van Vliet, who were living in Honselaarsdijk (next door to Naaldwijck) at the time. Hendrick had at least four sisters: Annetje (who married the silversmith Barent Jacobsz Gast), Jacomina, Maria, and Trijntje. Jannetje de Hooch, wife of the painter Pieter de Hooch, has also been identified as a sister or a stepsister of Van der Burch.<sup>2</sup> In 1633 the family moved to Voorburg, a small town near Delft and The Hague, and sometime later relocated to Delft, where they acquired a house on the Binnenwatersloot. Van der Burch is first documented in Delft in 1642. He must have received his training as a painter there, although the name of his teacher is not known. On January 25, 1649, he joined the local Guild of Saint Luke.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting that Van der Burch, although born outside Delft, paid a registration fee of only 6 guilders, instead of the 12 guilders usually charged to outsiders.<sup>4</sup> Three years later, on August 5, 1652, he signed a notarial

document with Pieter de Hooch — the earliest evidence of De Hooch's residence in Delft.

By September 4, 1655, Van der Burch had moved to Leiden, where he married Cornelia Cornelisdr van Rossum in November of the same year. They had five children; their son Rochus (b. 1658) also became a painter. In January 1656 the couple rented a house on Leiden's most prestigious canal, the Rapenburg, directly across from the university. Although the date of the artist's registration with the Leiden guild is not known, Van der Burch was a member paying regular dues. By May 1659 he and his family had moved to Amsterdam. Documents from 1661 place Van der Burch again in Leiden. The last surviving record that mentions Van der Burch refers, however, to his paying dues to the guild in Delft in 1664. The date of his death remains unknown. His last child was baptized in Leiden in 1666, which suggests 1665 as the earliest possible year of his demise.

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1. Sutton 1980b, pp. 315–20.

2. Ibid., pp. 316–17 and n. 17.

3. Montias 1982, pp. 342, 345.

4. Obreen 1877–90, vol. 1, p. 42; Sutton 1980b, p. 316, n. 10; and Montias 1982, p. 92, n. 11.

## 12. *Woman with a Child Blowing Bubbles in a Garden*

ca. 1660

Oil on wood, 23½ x 19½ in. (59.2 x 49.7 cm)

Inscribed in an unknown hand, to the left of the door: P. de Hoogh

The Betty and David M. Koetser Foundation, Kunsthaus Zürich

Hendrick van der Burch is one of the lesser-known artists of the so-called Delft school — which may be a consequence of the relatively short period that he spent in the city.<sup>1</sup> Only nine works by his hand, none of them dated, can be reliably identified.<sup>2</sup> In general his painting is heavily dependent on that of other Dutch artists, especially De Hooch's. His early guardroom scenes both recall De Hooch's tavern and stable interiors (see cat. nos. 23, 24) and draw on the work of guardroom painters such as Jacob Duck, Cornelis Duyster, and Anthonie Palamedesz. About the late 1650s Van der Burch began to paint outdoor scenes, which, again, are "unthinkable without the inspiration of De Hooch's . . . courtyards."<sup>3</sup> This debt is obvious not only in the present picture but also in his *Woman and Child at a Window*, whose careful perspectival construction and *contre-jour* lighting are hallmarks of Delft painting. Yet, as ever, Van der Burch's work also displays other influences, and the niche motif and still-life details in *Woman and Child at a Window* may have been inspired by paintings the artist saw in Leiden after he had moved there in 1655.<sup>4</sup> While often charming, Van der Burch's eclectic style is on the whole derivative rather than original.<sup>5</sup>

The present picture shows a sunny garden with fenced-in flower beds in the back of a private house. The garden is enclosed by a high wall, which runs parallel to the picture plane. A doorway in the wall allows a glimpse beyond. On the left a woman with a broom in her hand seems to have interrupted her

sweeping, distracted by a child standing in front of her, who holds a straw and a small dish with soapy liquid for blowing bubbles. Both seem to be looking at the bubble floating between them.

Van der Burch places heavy emphasis on the geometric definition of the setting. The different layers of the space are described by pronounced verticals and horizontals; the orthogonals converging along the right-hand side of the door suggest the spatial recession. Yet the painter seems to do all he can to counteract a sense of a deeply receding space.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the picture does not clearly indicate how deep the garden really is; for example, it is impossible to gauge the distance between the far corner of the house and the high wall in the back. Instead, a pronounced horizontal thrust is created by the fence on the right, which seems to extend across the picture toward the woman, who is in the same plane. The visual connection is underscored by the red color of the woman's dress, which is softly echoed by the red vertical line next to the fence post. The bright red shutter gives the composition a curious focal point, drawing the viewer's eye away from the plunging vista through the back doorway. Furthermore, the vista is obstructed by the child, who has been placed squarely in its center.

Courtyard and garden scenes emerged as a specialty in painting toward the mid-1650s, in the wake of the development of townscapes

as a genre. De Hooch started to paint his tranquil courtyard pictures during the late 1650s. In these private outdoor spaces mistresses and maidservants tend to domestic chores, interrupted only by the occasional drink with male companions (see cat. nos. 30, 31, 33).<sup>7</sup> The tranquility and orderliness of the enclosed courtyards underscore the "ideals of domesticity, maternal care and nurturing" that De Hooch presents so compellingly in his depictions of interiors with women at work (see cat. nos. 28, 34).<sup>8</sup> In this context of domestic virtue and dutifulness, it may be that the small child blowing bubbles in the present picture carries some moralizing overtones. The act of blowing bubbles traditionally symbolizes the concept of *homo bulla* (man is but a bubble) and is thus both a reminder of the ephemeral nature of human life and earthly pleasures and an admonition to lead a life of virtue and piety rather than of indulgence.<sup>9</sup>

That Van der Burch's painting is directly indebted to De Hooch's work is easily seen by comparing it with the latter's *Garden Scene with a Woman Holding a Glass of Wine and a Child* (fig. 234).<sup>10</sup> The general atmosphere of the two scenes is rather different—De Hooch allows for more air and space—yet Van Burch's general setting as well as details such as the pose and dress of the woman, the open shutter, the back wall and fence, and the small child in the center bear a striking resemblance to those of De Hooch's picture. Although one can only speculate how Van der Burch might have known the picture, it seems likely that he had seen it. Peter Sutton dates De Hooch's painting to 1658–60, which means that it had been painted while he was still living in Delft.<sup>11</sup> Van der Burch had moved to Leiden in 1655. Yet given the overall similarities between Van der Burch's works and De Hooch's compositions—and the fact that they were probably related by marriage—it is reasonable to assume that the two artists remained in continuous contact.

Thus far only two courtyard scenes besides the present picture have been attributed to Van der Burch.<sup>12</sup> In those works, where he dwells on the rendering of the different buildings, their proper foreshortening, and the lighting of the walls, roofs, bricks, tiles, and beams, the perspectival tour de force often threatens to overwhelm any human action. In

the present picture Van der Burch has followed De Hooch's example more closely—in such compositions De Hooch balances the (equally geometric) enclosure of a courtyard more carefully with the human action occurring within its confines<sup>13</sup>—and thus has achieved a greater integration between setting and figures.

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Fig. 234. Pieter de Hooch, *Garden Scene with a Woman Holding a Glass of Wine and a Child*, ca. 1658–60. Oil on canvas, 24 3/4 x 22 3/4 in. (62 x 58 cm). Private collection

1. He is documented in Delft between 1642 and 1655.
2. An early comprehensive account on Van der Burch is Hofstede de Groot 1921. Sutton 1980b offers additional information on the artist's biography and a more precise assessment of his oeuvre, but does not discuss the present picture. Van der Burch is briefly mentioned in Sutton 1980a, p. 52; Delft 1996, pp. 117–19; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 76, 170–77; Liedtke 2000, pp. 27, 31, 147, 151, 157; and Osaka 2000, no. 25.
3. Sutton 1980b, p. 323.
4. *Woman and Child at a Window* (ca. 1660–65; Prinsenhof, Delft, inv. no. NK 2422), reproduced in Osaka 2000, no. 25.
5. Sutton 1980a, p. 52; Delft 1996, p. 177; and London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 76.
6. By contrast, see the pronounced spatial recession in Pieter de Hooch's *Woman with a Basket of Beans in a Vegetable Garden* (ca. 1661; Kunstmuseum Basel, inv. no. G.1958.22; see Sutton 1980a, no. 85, and London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 50, fig. 49).
7. London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 32.
8. Ibid., p. 30.
9. See, for example, Frans van Mieris the Elder, *A Boy Blowing Bubbles* (1663; Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 106), reproduced in Naumann 1981, vol. 2, no. 58, pl. 58, and the engraving of 1594, by Hendrick Goltzius, *Allegory of Transience* (Strauss 1977, vol. 2, no. 323). See also De Jongh 1967, pp. 80–81.
10. See Sutton 1980a, no. 38, and London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 36, fig. 27.
11. Sutton 1980a, no. 38.
12. See *Young Woman in a Court* (ca. 1657–60; Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign), reproduced in Delft 1996, p. 119, fig. 107. See also *Woman at a Laundry Tub in a Courtyard*, Innes sale, London, December 13, 1935, where it was attributed to H. van der Burch (attributed to De Hooch in Sutton 1980b, p. 323, fig. 49).
13. Compare cat. nos. 30, 33 and *Woman with Servant in a Courtyard* (date 1660–61; National Gallery, London, inv. no. 794).

REFERENCES: Klemm 1988, no. 36; Delft 1996, p. 117.

EXHIBITED: London 1929, no. 327; London 1945, no. 24; London 1946, no. 24; Paris 1950–51, no. 54; Delft 1996.

EX COLL.: H. ter Colville, Bristol (sold Market Drayton, date unknown, no. 918); [Colnaghi, London, 1929]; Sir Harold A. Wernher; The Betty and David M. Koetser Foundation, Kunsthaus Zürich (K536).



## JOHANNES COESERMANS

active Delft 1660s

*Coesermans joined the painters' guild in Delft as an out-of-towner on August 22, 1661. His few known works bear dates of 1660, 1663, and 1664. Two of his undated oil paintings, derived from compositions by Gerard Houckgeest and Hendrick van Vliet, represent interior views of the Oude Kerk in Delft. The rest of his identified oeuvre consists of pen paintings in grisaille: two small marines, an ideal townscape, and three church interiors. The artist's eclecticism and (for an architectural painter) unexpected technique suggest that he may have been an amateur pursuing a gentlemanly interest in drawing and architecture.*

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### 13. *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft*

1663

Pen painting in grisaille (pen, pencil, and brown ink with gray and white washes) on wood, 20<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 17<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (52.3 x 44.5 cm)

Signed and dated lower left, on the column base: J.Coesermans / fecit / 1663

Private collection

New York only

The nave and aisles of the Nieuwe Kerk are surveyed from a vantage point near the western entrance to the church. In the background, the pennants and grave boards hanging above the tomb of William the Silent are visible beyond the choir screen (compare Hendrick van Vliet's view in the opposite direction; cat. no. 83). As in approximately contemporary works by Vermeer (compare fig. 168), the interior space is luminous, the shadows finely observed, the floor tiles invented, and the figures placed carefully with regard to the architecture and furnishings. The Magritte-like movements of the secondary figures foil the graceful poses of the fashionable young couple in the foreground, who greet the viewer like hosts at a posh event. Coesermans's study of costume details is more than matched by his admiration of carpentry, noticeable especially in the gracefully arching vaults (constructed after the great fire of 1536).

Two rather stale oil paintings of the interior of the Oude Kerk in Delft are Coesermans's only other known representations of actual architecture. His three other grisaille architectural views depict an imaginary Gothic church with a Baroque choir screen (1660; formerly Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans); an imaginary Gothic church with motifs from the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam (1664; Musée Jacquemart-André, Abbaye de Chaalis, Fontaine-Chaalis); and an ideal townscape generally reminiscent of the town

hall and its situation in Delft (fig. 142).<sup>1</sup> The other church interiors by Coesermans seem to survey alternatives found in Houckgeest, Van Vliet, and De Witte, so it seems almost fitting that the closest comparison possible in the case of the present picture is with a painting by Cornelis de Man, the undated *Nieuwe Kerk* in Delft in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.<sup>2</sup> These two views to the east in the Nieuwe Kerk are much alike but were recorded from opposite sides of the nave. An even more similar work by De Man may have existed, but there are also similar views by Van Vliet (see cat. no. 84) and, for that matter, Pieter Saenredam.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Coesermans was clearly capable of composing architectural views independently. The strong recession and naturalistic expansion of space in this picture, which flows convincingly away from the perfectly placed couple in the foreground (their heads are coincident with the area of the vanishing point), focus the viewer's attention and put his feet on the floor. One has not felt quite so on the spot in Delft since the early 1650s, when Houckgeest, De Witte, and Van Vliet first set figures in accessible spaces, embracing at once the near and the far (compare cat. no. 37).

Apart from its beautifully balanced composition, its earnest craftsmanship, and its slightly naive serenity, the most remarkable aspect of this work—surely the artist's most accomplished—is its curious technique. Pen paintings are fairly familiar to enthusiasts of Dutch art, although the most common examples represent seascapes (two by Coesermans are known). Here, however, the artist took yet another step beyond the ordinary by employing fine patterns of parallel and hatched lines, and extensive areas of stippling—that is, minute dots that model forms, soften contours, and suggest atmosphere. These specialized conventions are borrowed from engraving, and it appears likely that Coesermans intended his grisaille architectural views to resemble prints (which collectors, including Samuel Pepys, often had





varnished and attached to boards).<sup>4</sup> Hendrick Goltzius was famous for drawings that imitated engravings, and other artists attempted similar effects, but Coesermans's examples appear unique among Dutch and Flemish architectural views. When one compares works like De Witte's *Tomb of William the Silent in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with an Illusionistic Curtain*, Louys Elsevier's *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft* with its painted wood archway, and Carel Fabritius's *Goldfinch* (see

cat. nos. 93, 16, 21), to say nothing of his *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18), Coesermans's small panel may be recognized as another work from Delft that celebrates artifice as well as truth.

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1. Coesermans's known oeuvre was assembled for the first time in Liedtke 1992, where all the works cited here are illustrated.

2. Liedtke 1982a, p. 123, no. 290, fig. 104.

3. A virtually identical composition is found in Saenredam's drawing *Nave and Choir of the Domkerk*,

*Utrecht*, dated September 3, 1636 (Gemeentearchief, Utrecht; see Schwartz and Bok 1990, fig. 184). He often took this approach, as Anthonie de Lorme and Daniel de Blicke also did.

4. See Pepys 1985, p. 1014 (entry for April 30, 1669): "to Lillys the varnisher about my prints, whereof some are pasted upon the boards, and to my full content."

REFERENCES: Liedtke 1992, pp. 193–94, 196; Liedtke 2000, p. 139.

EX COLL.: [Johnny Van Haeften, London, 1989]; the present owner.

# CHRISTIAEN VAN COUWENBERGH

Delft 1604–1667 Cologne

Delft's leading history and genre painter of the 1630s and 1640s, Van Couwenbergh was the son of a silversmith from Mechelen (Malines), Gillis van Couwenbergh (ca. 1572–1633). The painter's mother, Adriaantje Vosmaer, was the daughter of a silversmith and the sister of the flower painter Jacob Vosmaer. Van Couwenbergh studied with the well-to-do Van Miereveld disciple Jan Dircksz van Nes (d. 1650) and then probably spent some time in Utrecht between 1624 and 1626. Genre paintings inspired by Gerard van Honthorst and other Utrecht painters date from 1626 onward, but Van Couwenbergh did not join the Delft guild until October 25, 1627. In July 1630 he married Elisabeth van der Dussen, whose father was a prominent brewer and East India Company officer who also held the civic offices of burgomaster and sheriff in Delft.

Whether or not the artist ever went to Italy, as Houbraken claims, is uncertain; Van Bleyswijck says that he did, but no trace of the experience can be found in his work.<sup>1</sup> Van Couwenbergh's style was international insofar as it was inspired by cosmopolitan painters like Rubens and Van Honthorst; this sufficed to bring him a number of enviable commissions at the princely palaces in and around The Hague and in public buildings in the southern part of Holland. In addition to mythological pictures for the palaces at Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk, Van Couwenbergh painted illusionistic friezes of hunting motifs and military trophies on the piers of the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch (about 1650–51).<sup>2</sup> It was probably in connection with this court project that the prosperous

painter and his large family moved from Delft to The Hague in 1647–48. Despite a substantial inheritance from his wife, who died in 1653, Van Couwenbergh accumulated debts in the court city. In 1654 he withdrew to Cologne, where he continued to produce history and genre paintings until his death, on July 4, 1667.

Van Couwenbergh also painted tapestry cartoons and fashionable family portraits. His command of anatomy and other descriptive qualities does not stand up to close scrutiny and his designs are often formulaic or clumsy. However, he had a flair for broad effects and mild-mannered eroticism, whether in biblical scenes or genre subjects in the light vein of Van Honthorst.

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1. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 236, and Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 859. In Maier-Preusker 1991 (pp. 165, 233, n. 13) an Italian journey is strongly doubted, but Van Bleyswijck's information is overlooked.

2. An unpublished document dating from 1651 and possibly involving this project at the Huis ten Bosch was kindly brought to my attention by W. Maier-Preusker in a letter dated August 8, 2000. Especially noteworthy is the artist's description of himself as Constantijn Huygens's friend. The letter (Koninklijk Bibliotheek, The Hague, KA. XL1aa, no. 138), dated Delft, May 21, 1651, reads as follows: "Mijn heer Huygens, Het jacht tuijgh, doen ick het geschildert hadt, is altemael in een koffer geslooten die de kasteleyn ons daer toe geleent hadt en is geleverd aen mijn heer van Campen en die heeft het ontfangen. Vort en heb ick daer van noeit meer gehoort. Can ick uEdele vorder eenigen dienst doen, uEdele hoeft maer te kommandeeren. UEdele dienst willigen vrint, Christiaen van Couwenberch[.] Uit Delft, den 21 meij." The letter says that the artist has sent his painting(s?) of hunting gear "all together" in a crate to [Jacob] van Campen, but has heard nothing more about it. If he can be of further service, Huygens need only command it. The letter is signed "Your lordship's willing-to-serve friend."

## 14. The Capture of Samson

1630

Oil on canvas, 61½ x 77¼ in. (156 x 196 cm)

Signed and dated upper left: C.B F. / A° 1630

Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht

New York only

This painting was purchased by the city of Dordrecht in 1632 and installed in the meeting room of the town hall. The city council and the *kamer judiciël* (municipal law court) deliberated in that chamber.<sup>1</sup>

The two main figures and the general arrangement of the interior in Van Couwenbergh's picture are based upon an engraving of about 1613 by the Haarlem artist Jacob Matham (1571–1631; fig. 235) after Rubens's large panel *Samson and Delilah* in the National Gallery, London.<sup>2</sup> Van Couwenbergh referred to engravings after Rubens on several occasions. His father, Gillis, was an engraver and art dealer as well as a silversmith in Delft, so that the painter probably had access to a large stock of prints. Rubens's tour of the northern Netherlands in July 1627<sup>3</sup> — he visited Delft and was honored at a banquet given by Van Honthorst in Utrecht — and the Flemish master's stature at the Dutch court must also have made an impression upon the young history painter, whose work in the 1620s was mostly confined to amusing genre scenes.<sup>4</sup>

No other painting of Samson or Delilah (or *The Capture of Samson*; Judges 16.1–21) has been connected with a town hall in the United Provinces. Just why the worst moment of the warrior's career, his seduction by Delilah and capture by the Philistines (of whom he had slain a thousand, presumably with a jawbone larger than the one depicted here), should be considered a fitting image for a city council chamber has not been satisfactorily explained. Gary Schwartz suggests that Van Couwenbergh's canvas, and the much smaller and slightly earlier paintings of the subject by Jan Lievens and Rembrandt,



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Fig. 235. Jacob Matham after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Capture of Samson*, ca. 1613. Engraving,  $14\frac{1}{4} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$  in. (37.6 x 44 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951



Fig. 236. Gerard van Honthorst, *Granida and Daifilo Surprised by Artabanus's Soldiers*, 1625. Oil on canvas,  $57\frac{1}{4} \times 70\frac{1}{2}$  in. (144.7 x 179 cm). Centraal Museum, Utrecht

may have been intended as commentaries upon the prospect of pursuing peace with Spain.<sup>5</sup> This was one of the most contentious issues in national politics at the time.<sup>6</sup> It would not be surprising to come across a contemporary pamphlet comparing the stadholder or his army with Samson, and Delilah with the Archduchess Isabella (regent of the Spanish Netherlands) or with Philip IV's smooth-talking diplomatic corps (which secretly included Rubens). Descriptions of the Dutch as a "chosen people" and comparisons of their struggle for liberty with that of the ancient Jews were fairly common in Dutch art and literature during the first half of the seventeenth century. However, Gabriël Pastoor doubts Schwartz's hypothesis and sees the Jewish hero Samson in Van Couwenbergh's canvas simply as an example of manly virtue, despite the unsuitable situation in which he finds himself.<sup>7</sup>

The circumstances surrounding the commission of Rubens's *Samson and Delilah* may be relevant. That spectacular work, executed in the aggressively Caravaggist style Rubens brought back from Rome to Antwerp late in 1608, was painted for the wealthy collector Nicolaas Rockox, probably in 1609. In 1608 and 1609 Rockox was at the head of Antwerp's administration (as *buitenburgemeester*), which commissioned two paintings to decorate the Hall of States in the town hall: Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* (Prado, Madrid), and Abraham Janssens's *Scalds et Antverpia* (*The River Scheldt and Antwerp*; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp). The Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21) between the Spanish Netherlands and the United Provinces was negotiated in that chamber, and the Antwerp magistrates considered the subjects of the two large canvases pertinent to the matter at hand. Rubens's *Capture of Samson* was made as the chimney piece for the "great salon" of Rockox's house. Here again, the subject seems an unusual choice for the most public room in the residence of Antwerp's "mayor," who was generally known for his work on behalf of civic and religious institutions, and his antiquarian interests. Christopher Brown raises the question of meaning, only to dismiss it; in his view, the subject of a muscleman and a prostitute was "chosen by the burgomaster—perhaps even suggested to him by Rubens himself—as one

most appropriate to show off the painter's extraordinary gifts."<sup>8</sup> Is it merely a coincidence, then, that Van Couwenbergh, at the age of twenty-six and with no comparable gifts to speak of, was selected by the burgomasters of another city to paint the same subject for their most public room? Van Couwenbergh may have been recommended by a burgomaster of Delft, namely, his father-in-law, Dirck van der Dussen. The whole question deserves closer examination. In the period 1630–32 the city of Dordrecht was generally in favor of peace with Spain.<sup>9</sup>

That one of Rubens's most powerful inventions was the model for such a languorous composition is a measure of Van Honthorst's influence upon Van Couwenbergh. One might compare the Utrecht master's canvas *Granida and Daifilo Surprised by Artabanus's Soldiers* of 1625 (fig. 236), which was evidently painted for Prince Frederick Hendrick and installed in his palace at Honselaarsdijk.<sup>10</sup> Van Couwenbergh's lovers look like Van Honthorst's an hour later, having retreated from their pastoral setting to a private room (featuring the new fashion of floor tiles). The next ten or twelve years after the Dordrecht commission would be the Delft artist's most successful, bringing him fees five or six times higher than the one he received for this picture (75 guilders and 17 stuivers) and a fair amount of work for the Dutch court.

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1. As noted in Amsterdam, Jerusalem 1991–92, no. 23, where the Dordrecht treasurer's account book is cited (1632, fol. 582). Maier-Preusker 1991, no. A8, correctly records the artist's initials and a date of 1630 on the canvas, and this was recently confirmed by Peter Schoon, curator at the Dordrechts Museum. Final payments are often the only known records of public commissions. It is entirely possible that Van Couwenbergh was awarded a commission by the city of Dordrecht in 1630 and that he completed the picture in that year but was not paid until 1632. However, he may also have sold the city fathers of Dordrecht a picture he had painted earlier with another commission or no patron in mind.
2. See Schwartz 1984, p. 83, figs. 70, 71 (Van Couwenbergh and Matham). The engraving reverses Rubens's design; his panel is similar in size (72 1/4 x 80 1/4 in. [185 x 205 cm]) to Van Couwenbergh's canvas.
3. See Rubens 1955, pp. 163–64, on Rubens's visit to various Dutch cities. On July 21, 1627, Rubens met in Delft with the painter Balthasar Gerbier, who was the agent of the duke of Buckingham and the British ambassador to The Hague, Sir Dudley Carleton. The purpose of the trip was entirely political but was disguised as an artistic tour.
4. See Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 187, 189 (on Van Couwenbergh's responses to designs by Rubens), and fig. 227

in this catalogue (for a print by Rubens with a dedication to the Delft collector Boudewijn de Man).

5. Schwartz 1984, p. 83. On Lievens's monochrome picture of about 1627–28 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and Rembrandt's painting of about 1629–30 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, see Bruyn et al. 1982–89, vol. 1 (1982), p. 6 and no. A24.
6. See Israel 1995, pp. 506–23.
7. Pastoor in Amsterdam, Jerusalem 1991–92, p. 238.
8. Brown in London 1983, p. 14.
9. Israel 1995, pp. 509, 517, 521–22. Thus, Schwartz's hypothesis (1984, p. 83) would imply that Van Couwenbergh's picture expressed a minority view. Alternatively, one might wonder whether prostitution was an issue frequently considered by the authorities in Dordrecht at the time.
10. Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 189, pls. 101, XIV.

REFERENCES: Brière-Misme 1955, pp. 231–37; Schwartz 1984, p. 83; Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 187, 209, no. A8; Pastoor in Amsterdam, Jerusalem 1991–92, no. 23.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, Jerusalem 1991–92, no. 23.

EX COLL.: Purchased in 1632 by the city of Dordrecht and deposited in the Stadhuis (town hall); in the custody of the Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht (DM/975/502).

## 15. *Woman with a Basket of Fruit*

1642

Oil on canvas, 42 1/2 x 36 1/4 in. (107.5 x 93 cm)

Signed and dated upper right: CB [F?] 1642

Gemäldesammlung der Universität Göttingen

A ripe young woman stands in a doorway holding a tapestry aside with the back of her



Fig. 237. Christaen van Couwenbergh, *Merry Musician*, 1642. Oil on canvas, 42 1/2 x 37 in. (108 x 94 cm). Private collection, Vienna





hand. She carries a basket overflowing with fruit, quite as her bodice seems about to spill its abundant contents. Although the woman presumably is entering the room in which the viewer finds himself (that he is male need not be debated), it also seems that she has paused in the doorway, inviting him to withdraw to a private space. The smile and the stare are memorable and recall Samuel Pepys's personal record of an inn in Delft where the waitress was "an exceedingly pretty lass and right for the sport."<sup>1</sup>

The painting has also been said to represent Pomona, the Roman goddess of fruit.<sup>2</sup> While classical and even biblical references often served as pretexts for including sexy pictures in seventeenth-century collections, there are few works for which such a claim is less convincing. Van Couwenbergh's canvas is

an exceptionally straightforward version of a type of painting that first flourished in Utrecht during the 1620s and became popular in court circles at The Hague between about 1635 and 1650.<sup>3</sup> Gerard van Honthorst and Paulus Moreelse often painted courtesans dressed as shepherdesses; a bird in the hand (like the nest of doves held in Van Honthorst's *Shepherdess* of 1652, in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht) or an offer of fruit (as in Van Honthorst's *Shepherdess Holding Apples* of about 1622–23; private collection, England) may recall Venus, Eve, Pomona, or some other ancient prototype, but the costumes, with tantalizingly low necklines, and the blond tresses framing Dutch faces must have made contemporary viewers feel right at home.<sup>4</sup>

Venetian pictures of courtesans, by Titian and Palma Vecchio, were known in the

Netherlands and inspired Rembrandt, several artists in his circle (in particular Willem Drost), and other Dutch painters to depict similar figures.<sup>5</sup> Rembrandt, modifying a pose found in a painting by Palma Vecchio, placed his model (probably his companion, Hendrickje Stoffels) in a Dutch doorway in *Woman at an Open Door* of about 1656–57 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).<sup>6</sup> Also of interest in a broad survey of this seductive theme are Rembrandt's *A Young Woman in Bed* of about 1643–45 (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) and *Girl Leaning on a Windowsill*, dated 1645 (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London); *Young Woman at an Open Half-Door* attributed to Samuel van Hoogstraten (Art Institute of Chicago); and similar works painted by other artists in Amsterdam during the 1640s.<sup>7</sup> Van Couwenbergh's painting recalls these compositions in the use of a doorway, the woman's gesture, and her billowy chemise, which ultimately derives from Venetian fashions.

However, as one would expect of a Delft picture, the works most comparable with this one in style are from Utrecht and Antwerp. In addition to his paintings of female figures, Van Honthorst's *Merry Violinist* of 1623 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) comes to mind, since the convivial musician leans through a window partly covered by a tapestry.<sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Maier-Preusker suggested in a recent letter to the present writer that Van Couwenbergh's *Merry Musician* of 1642 (fig. 237) is probably a pendant to the present picture.<sup>9</sup> This seems entirely plausible, given the identical sizes and dates of the two canvases, and the apparent importance for both of them of Van Honthorst's *Merry Violinist*. One of the most similar works by a Flemish artist is Jacob Jordaens's *Young Woman and an Old Man with a Parrot* (ca. 1640; Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein), where the woman and her aging suitor are seen through a window.<sup>10</sup> That painting and another canvas by Jordaens, *Maid-servant with a Basket of Fruit in Front of an Open Door* (ca. 1635; Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow) — where an amorous couple appear just inside the doorway — are closely connected with his tapestry and mural designs of the 1630s. These feature figures standing on balconies or coming through doorways, and



reveal more clearly than Van Honthorst's, Van Couwenbergh's, or Bramer's compositions (see fig. 136) their ultimate debt to Veronese.<sup>11</sup> Thus this large canvas in Göttingen must have been even more intimately related to Van Couwenbergh's tapestry designs (see fig. 65) than it would first appear. Despite his technical limitations he is an artist who deserves closer attention for several of Delft's most important artistic pursuits: mural painting, tapestry design, history pictures, and genre scenes. WL

1. Pepys 1985, p. 47 (entry for May 19, 1660).
2. Brunswick 1983, no. II.
3. As noted in Judson and Ekkart 1999, p. 164. See also Utrecht, Frankfurt, Luxembourg 1993–94, nos. 26, 43.
4. Utrecht, Frankfurt, Luxembourg 1993–94, nos. 193, 197, pls. 103, 104, XXVII; see also no. 198 for a lost *Shepherdess with a Basket of Fruit* by Van Honthorst.
5. See Kettering 1983, pp. 33–55, "Courtesan Portraiture." This and other pertinent references are cited by Blankert in Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, under no. 9 (Salomon de Bray's *Young Woman in an Imaginary Costume* of 1652, in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem), where Palma Vecchio's *Blond Woman* (formerly called *Flora*; National Gallery, London) is illustrated.
6. See Berlin, Amsterdam, London 1991–92, no. 45, where Kelch discusses the composition's sources.
7. Ibid., nos. 36 (the canvas in Edinburgh, in which the young woman, sometimes identified as Tobias's wife Sarah, pushes the bed curtain aside with the back of her hand), 72 (the painting in Chicago, where Rembrandt's famous painting in the Dulwich Picture Gallery is discussed, along with other relevant works). See also Jan Victors's *Young Women at a Window* of 1640, in the Louvre; see Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 4, no. 1785.
8. Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 241, pl. 138; see also Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 177–78, fig. 16.
9. See Maier-Preusker 1991, p. 183 and no. A49.
10. Ottawa 1968–69, no. 62 (then in a New York collection), as datable about 1638. The arched stone window painted into the picture in the middle of the eighteenth century was removed in the late 1980s, revealing a simple rectangular window frame and the artist's signature. See also Ottawa 1968–69, nos. 60, 63, for half-length pictures of female figures holding baskets of fruit.
11. See *ibid.*, nos. 195, 206, 278 (note also the doorway in no. 57), and D'Hulst 1982, pp. 158, 300, fig. 126 (Jordaens's painting in Glasgow).

REFERENCES: Van Gelder 1948–49, p. 161, no. 65; Brunswick 1983, no. II; Plomp 1986, p. 115, n. 3; Maier-Preusker 1991, p. 205, no. A21; Delft 1996, pp. 28, 40, n. 32.

EXHIBITED: Brunswick 1983, no. II.

EX COLL.: [Haberstock, Berlin, 1938]; Göring, 1940; Munich Collecting Point, 1945; on loan since 1966 from the German government to the Universität Göttingen.

## LOUYS AERNOUTSZ ELSEVIER

Leiden 1618–1675 Delft

*The son of a painter and innkeeper in Leiden, Elsevier joined the guild there in 1645. In the same year he married Helena Waelpot, the daughter of a prominent printer in the university town. On September 3, 1646, Elsevier registered in the painters' guild of Delft; he served as headman in 1669 and 1673.<sup>1</sup> In 1648 the artist, who also dealt in dyes and pigments, bought a house, called "The Blue Dog," at 1 Voorstraat, just beside the choir of the Oude Kerk, for 2,050 guilders.<sup>2</sup> He was buried in the Oude Kerk on December 3, 1675.*

*In addition to the work exhibited here, only three other paintings by Elsevier are known. A view of the interior of a stable, and a landscape, both of 1647, are reminiscent of Hendrick Sorgh and of Jan van Goyen, respectively. Another landscape dates from 1648.<sup>3</sup>*

WL

1. According to Obreen 1877–90, vol. 1, p. 6, Elsevier also joined the Delft guild on an earlier occasion, in 1637 (brought to my attention by Kees Kaldenbach). For other biographical information and sources, see Rotterdam 1991, p. 227.
2. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 6, p. 2138.
3. These works are mentioned in Rotterdam 1991, p. 229. The only known painting by Elsevier's father, Aernout, is *Mountainous Landscape* of 1638 (formerly in the collection of Emile Wolf, New York; see Briels 1987, fig. 401).

### 16. Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, Seen through a Stone Archway

1653

Oil on canvas pasted on panel, the archway painted on wood, 21½ x 17½ in. (54.5 x 44.5 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left: L. Elsevier / 1653

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon

New York only

On a piece of canvas set into a wood panel the artist painted a view from the northern aisle of the Oude Kerk to the east. The Mariakoor (Mary's Choir), with the tomb of Elisabeth van Marnix Morgan (erected in 1609), is seen in the background, flanked by stained-glass windows that were blown out in the Delft explosion of the following year. The palette and composition recall slightly earlier works by Gerard Houckgeest, although only his lost panel of 1651, *The Jacobskerk at The Hague* (formerly Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf), approaches the interior of an existing church frontally, as here.<sup>1</sup> Almost the same view in the Oude Kerk was painted by Hendrick van Vliet in about 1665 (Gemäldegalerie der Akademie, Vienna), and it is possible that he had treated the subject earlier.<sup>2</sup> The fall of sunlight and the silhouetting effect of the shadowy archways set against the opposite transept wall are strongly reminiscent of works by Van Vliet. Comparison with his later version of the view also suggests that the cut of the fictive archway against the nearest arches of the church was suggested by the shape of the barrel vault over this aisle in the church itself.

The stone archway—which bears the crest of Delft—and the pavement of the street are painted on wood with a flat surface, except for the rounded molding of the threshold. The nearest end of the bone lying in the doorway is slightly raised, unlike the bones closer (but not really) to hand. This litter is less unexpected than it might appear, since



knucklebones (from sheep) were used in games of chance (and, in some cultures, divination), which Dutch writers often compared with earthly existence.<sup>3</sup> The pooch in the foreground pees on the archway, as if to extend the thought to secular architecture, or to tip off connoisseurs that the motif is fictive. Just above the dog, a child's drawings of a boy and a bird embellish the base of the pier; similar sketches (of a boat and a bird) appear above the artist's signature on the left. Houckgeest also placed childlike drawings above his monogram on the base of the nearest column in a church interior dated 1651 (fig. 115).<sup>4</sup> While such innocent signs of desecration could no doubt be discovered in Dutch churches, they also draw attention here to the notion of artistic ability.

Elsevier's invention was a new twist in the development of illusionistic framing devices for architectural pictures. The fictive frame in Houckgeest's painting in Hamburg (cat. no. 37) and the one in the *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft* (cat. no. 40) resemble architectural

motifs, not picture frames. As discussed in chapter 4, De Witte placed his *Oude Kerk* view of 1651 (fig. 120) in an ebony frame with doors, which when closed depicted a still life.<sup>5</sup> Elsevier may have intended a similar contrast of worldly and spiritual images, but with the additional nicety of comparing civic and ecclesiastical architecture. As with contemporary genre pictures one of the main points of the artwork was to stimulate conversation.

It has been suggested that the rusticated archway was "probably copied from the famous Hammenpoort Gate in Delft."<sup>6</sup> However, the resemblance is very general, and stone gates of this approximate style were fairly common at the time.<sup>7</sup> A more important point concerning the archway is that its cool, dark color wonderfully contrasts with the bright architecture of the church, considerably enhancing the illusionism of the whole at a normal viewing distance. In this one work the little-known Elsevier seems a worthy colleague of Fabritius and the architectural painters of Delft, all of whom were

especially concerned with *trompe-l'oeil* effects in the early 1650s. WL

1. Liedtke 1982a, p. 100, no. 5, fig. 26, and Liedtke 2000, fig. 150.
2. Liedtke 1982a, p. 108, no. 85, fig. 58, and Trnek 1992, no. 128.
3. Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 229, suggests that the bones would have been used by the children in the church to play jacks.
4. See the detail reproduced in Liedtke 1982a, fig. 3a.
5. See chap. 4, n. 75.
6. Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, pp. 229–30, fig. 1.
7. Hendrick de Keyser (inspired by Sebastiano Serlio) was one of the principal designers of rusticated gates. For seventeenth-century classicist gates by various architects, see Kuyper 1980, fig. 66, and Kuyper 1994, vol. 2, figs. 540, 541, 578–80, 584, 586–87. Compare also the drawing of a garden house built behind the Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland in 1655 in Delft 1994, p. 24, fig. 9.

REFERENCES: Bille 1951, pp. 122–24; Haak 1984, p. 154; Rotterdam 1991, no. 47.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam 1991, no. 47; Bonn 1999, no. 87.

EX COLL.: Purchased in 1933 from a private collection in Lisbon by the Museu Nacional de Arte Antigua (1721).

## CAREL FABRITIUS

Midden-Beemster 1622–1654 Delft

The son of a teacher, sexton, and minor painter, Carel Fabritius was baptized on February 27, 1622, in the town of Midden-Beemster, near Hoorn, north of Amsterdam. The name Fabritius (derived from the Latin *faber*, or workman) was adopted by his father, Pieter Carelsz, probably as a reference to scholars who had used the name. When Carel and his younger brother, the future painter Barent Fabritius (1624–1673), joined a local church in 1641 they were each called “Timmerman,” indicating that they worked as carpenters or builders. In September of the same year Carel married the girl next door, Aeltje van Hasselt. The couple evidently moved shortly thereafter to Amsterdam, where Fabritius became Rembrandt’s pupil (as described by Samuel van Hoogstraten, who studied with Rembrandt from about 1642 until about 1646–47).<sup>1</sup> Fabritius lost his first child in August 1642 and his second a year later; his wife died in April 1643, leaving behind paintings and other possessions of some value.<sup>2</sup> By June 1643 the artist was back in Midden-Beemster and remained there until about 1650. When his forthcoming marriage to Agatha van Pruyssen, a widow originally from Delft, was registered in August 1650 the couple was said to be living on the Oude Delft in her hometown.<sup>3</sup> Fabritius did not join the painters’ guild in Delft until October 29, 1652.

Earlier in the same month he borrowed 200 guilders, and a few other debts are recorded in 1653 and 1654. It was probably not long after his father-in-law’s death, in January 1653, that the painter and his wife moved to the Doelenstraat, where he was killed in the munitions explosion on October 12, 1654.<sup>4</sup>

In February 1655 Fabritius’s widow testified that her late husband had been “painter to his Highness the Prince of Orange.”<sup>5</sup> This claim and other evidence concerning the artist’s reputation in Delft are discussed in chapter 4.<sup>6</sup>

WL

1. Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 11; see also C. Brown 1981, pp. 16, 18, 160, and Liedtke 1995–96, pp. 26–28.
2. See C. Brown 1981, pp. 17–18.
3. The documents are described in greater detail in chap. 4, p. 116.
4. See C. Brown 1981, p. 23, and, for Van Bleyswijck’s account, pp. 159–60. The latter records (1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 852) that the collapse of Fabritius’s house also killed his mother-in-law, his brother (in-law, presumably), his pupil Mathias Spoors, and Simon Decker, former sexton of the Oude Kerk, whose portrait was being painted by the artist at the time.
5. See C. Brown 1981, p. 152 (doc. no. 23).
6. The best account of Fabritius’s life and art remains C. Brown 1981 (see chap. 1 for a detailed biography). Irene Haberland’s entry in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 10, pp. 730–32, is unreliable. For example, Fabritius’s first wife was his neighbor’s sister, not a daughter, and the marriage took place in September, not October, 1641 (see p. 730). Scholars will eagerly await documentation for the claim that Fabritius’s “widow reported that he was also commissioned to paint some large-scale perspective murals for the Prince of Orange” (p. 732). This is precisely what never happened, according to Van Hoogstraten’s self-serving account (1678, p. 274; see also C. Brown 1981, p. 161).

### 17. Self-Portrait

Probably 1648–50  
Oil on wood, 25½ x 19½ in. (65 x 49 cm)  
Signed upper right: fabritius / f

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen,  
Rotterdam

A recent exhibition of Rembrandt’s self-portraits featured, as a sort of epilogue, self-portraits by his pupils. Several of these works, as well as some that were not included in the exhibition, offer striking testimony to Rembrandt’s influence, and particularly to the influence of his confident *Self-Portrait* of 1640. Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674), Govert Flinck (1615–1660), Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678), and Philips Koninck (1619–1688) all depicted themselves on one or more occasions in a pose similar to Rembrandt’s and in comparable fanciful attire with à l’antique overtones.<sup>1</sup>

The present self-portrait by Fabritius is somewhat different in character from those by his colleagues from Rembrandt’s studio.<sup>2</sup> The generally accepted identification of the painting as a self-portrait is based on the unusually low placement of the figure within the picture, the sitter’s direct gaze and intense expression, and the unconventional clothing.<sup>3</sup> The sitter is identical, moreover, to the person shown in the 1654 self-portrait by Fabritius (cat. no. 19). Unlike most contemporary artists, who depicted themselves in formal attire, Fabritius presents himself in what have erroneously been called work clothes, with a half-open shirt and without a hat or beret.<sup>4</sup> Fabritius’s attire is not so everyday as it may appear, however. Besides a *tabbnaard*, the house gown that had originated in the sixteenth century and was still worn by artists in the seventeenth, Fabritius is outfitted in a garment with a horizontal neckline, which is reminiscent of a sixteenth-century jerkin, and what may be a doublet with an upturned collar underneath.<sup>5</sup> Fabritius’s dress is thus indeed





inspired by early-sixteenth-century attire of the sort worn by Rembrandt and his pupils in their self-portraits. The somewhat casual air of the costume—the white shirt, for example, would normally have been fastened at the neck—and the absence of Rembrandt's trademark beret make it appear that Fabritius is downplaying any association with depictions of artists in à l'antique costume, though stopping short of showing himself as a *homo faber*, or common workman, in a play on his surname.<sup>6</sup>

Fabritius portrays himself against a greenish brown, crumbling plaster wall. Both figure and background are executed in bold, broad brushstrokes with a dry impasto technique, and the ground is occasionally left visible. The palette ranges from warm flesh tones to dark brown. Fabritius's facial features are thrown into relief by the bright light that falls on his forehead and the stark shadows that are cast across his face; some curls have been scratched into the wet paint, probably with the tip of a brush. Because of its bold execution, color range, and dramatic chiaroscuro the picture was once considered to be by Rembrandt—whose signature was even added. Conservation performed in the nineteenth century revealed that the signature was false and that a genuine signature by Fabritius had been scratched into the wet paint.<sup>7</sup>

Scholars are divided about the date of the picture. Frederik Schmidt-Degener's supposition of an inscribed date of 1645 has proven inaccurate. Christopher Brown dated the picture to about 1648–50, arguing that it is a “more assured work” than the *Portrait of Abraham de Potter* (1648–49; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), yet still “quite distinct in palette and technique” from Fabritius's Delft style.<sup>8</sup> According to others, the picture should be dated to about 1645, because of the evident influence of Rembrandt in the brushwork and the color harmonies, which have all but disappeared in *Abraham de Potter*.<sup>9</sup> Werner Sumowski, while agreeing that the Rembrandt-*esque* coloring has been abandoned in the Amsterdam portrait, implies that Fabritius alternated between styles in the late 1640s and that the present self-portrait may therefore

have been painted after *Abraham de Potter*.<sup>10</sup> Ariane van Suchtelen asserts that the Amsterdam picture “displays a smoother finish” than the Rembrandt-*esque* *Raising of Lazarus* (ca. 1643; Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw), probably Fabritius's earliest work, and the present self-portrait.<sup>11</sup> Walter Liedtke, in this catalogue and elsewhere, supports Brown's dating of the self-portrait to about 1648–50 yet leaves open the question whether it was completed slightly before or after the “more formal” *Abraham de Potter*.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the profoundly different character of the two portraits suggests that their stylistic differences have little to do with when they were painted. The Rijksmuseum picture is a formal portrait made for a patron and therefore adhering closely to contemporary conventions and fashions. By contrast, the self-portrait, created outside the constraints of a client's commission, may have been painted with the intent to experiment with aspects of composition, brushwork, and costume.<sup>13</sup>

This self-portrait probably predates Fabritius's Delft period, and the picture's style and technique differ considerably from those of the artist's Delft pictures (see cat. nos. 18–21). In Delft, Fabritius was to move away from his earlier painterly technique with its thick impasto and Rembrandt-*esque* drama and toward a style featuring a smooth finish and subtler, more generalized effects of light and space. The present painting may be seen as an early indicator of the artist's general interest in the “visual experience,” which in the early 1650s was to lead him to develop “a technique . . . similar to the approaches of Potter and De Witte in other genres.”<sup>14</sup>

AR

1. For the most recent discussion of Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait at the Age of Thirty-four* (National Gallery, London, inv. no. 672), see London, The Hague 1999–2000, no. 54. The impact of this self-portrait is probably due as much to its technical qualities and air of self-confidence as to Rembrandt's emulation of past masters such as Dürer, Raphael, and Titian. For examples of his pupils' works, see nos. 87, 88, 91, 94. For a discussion of the costume, see also Marieke de Winkel's essay in the same catalogue, especially pp. 67–72.

2. Samuel van Hoogstraten says (1678, book 1, p. 11) that Fabritius was his *meedeleerling* (fellow pupil) in Rembrandt's workshop. It is generally assumed that Fabritius worked with Rembrandt between 1641 and 1643.
3. C. Brown 1981, p. 38; Rotterdam 1988, p. 35; London, The Hague 1999–2000, no. 92; and in this catalogue, chap. 4, pp. 116–17.
4. C. Brown 1981, p. 39, accepted in Chapman 1990, p. 87; and Sutton in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, p. 280, under no. 57, and most recently in Amsterdam 2000, p. 209.
5. Van Suchtelen (London, The Hague 1999–2000, p. 241) mentions the “imaginary garment with a horizontal neckline that recalls sixteenth-century fashion.” The black line across the sitter's right shoulder is difficult to interpret, however. While it seems unlikely that it would be part of a workman's apron, as has been suggested previously, it is not clear whether it belongs to the jerkin or is a shoulder seam of the doublet. This may be an indication that the artists in Rembrandt's circle did not fully understand the structure of the historical costumes in which they depicted themselves. I am grateful to Marieke de Winkel, Amsterdam, for these observations, communicated in a conversation in June 2000.
6. This suggestion is made in C. Brown 1981, p. 39.
7. The real signature was published for the first time in Lamme 1859.
8. On the date proposed by Schmidt-Degener, see C. Brown 1981, p. 38, and on Brown's suggested dating, p. 39.
9. Rotterdam 1988, p. 35.
10. Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, p. 980.
11. Van Suchtelen in London, The Hague 1999–2000, p. 242.
12. See chap. 4, p. 116, and Liedtke 1995–96, p. 26.
13. Van der Veen in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, pp. 69–80; and Van de Wetering in London, The Hague 1999–2000, especially pp. 19–22. On the use of self-portraits for study purposes, see the discussion under cat. no. 19.
14. The quotation is from Walter Liedtke's discussion of Fabritius in chap. 4, p. 117.

REFERENCES: C. Brown 1981, no. 4; Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, no. 603; Rotterdam 1988, no. 7; Chapman 1990, p. 87; Van Suchtelen in London, The Hague 1999–2000, no. 92.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1921, no. 6; London 1929, no. 332; Rotterdam 1935, no. 17; Amsterdam 1935, no. 148; Brussels 1946, no. 27; Dijon 1950, no. 21; London 1952–53, no. 110; Leiden 1956, no. 44; Delft, Antwerp 1964–65, no. 48; Brussels 1971, no. 32; Rotterdam 1988, no. 7; London, The Hague 1999–2000, no. 92; Amsterdam 2000, no. 143.

EX COLL.: Boijmans collection, Utrecht, by 1811; E. J. O. Boymans' bequest in 1847 to the Boymans Museum, now the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (1205).

## 18. *A View in Delft*

1652

Oil on canvas,  $6\frac{1}{16} \times 12\frac{1}{16}$  in. (15.4 x 31.6 cm)

Signed and dated, on the wall to the left:

C. FABRITIUS./1652.

The National Gallery, London, presented by the National Art Collections Fund, 1922

This small painting is the only known visual evidence of the artist's famous expertise in the use of linear perspective. It depicts the center of Delft, with the Nieuwe Kerk seen from the southeast, facing the town hall in the distance (the gray building beyond the bridge in the left background). The Oude Langendijk recedes on the left, the Vrouwenrecht on the right. These streets and their canals (now filled in) meet at an acute angle (see city map, fig. 344). On the right, a bridge arches steeply over the Oude Langendijk's canal, which continues straight on to the east (toward the lower right corner of the composition). The houses on the Vrouwenrecht still exist, except for the one on the corner. The church looks much the same (see fig. 239), although it gained a taller steeple in 1872.<sup>1</sup>

The left-hand part of the composition is imaginary. A man bearing some resemblance to the artist himself (see cat. no. 19) sits at a table beside a weathered wall. A lute leans against the building, casting a shadow on the wall, where the artist's signature clarifies the receding plane and draws attention to the spatial effect of the instrument. A viola da gamba lies on the cloth-covered tabletop. There is some kind of awning overhead (a larger one extends from the house seen across the bridge). The instruments, the trellis and vine, and especially the sign with a swan identify the locale as a tavern or inn. Taverns called "The Swan" seem to outnumber all others in images dating from the time of Hieronymus Bosch to that of Jan Steen.<sup>2</sup> Music and other sensual pleasures were pursued in such establishments, despite the frequent objections of civic and church authorities.

The picture compares worldly and spiritual values, symbolized by the inn and musical instruments (which give transitory pleasure) and the church (which offers eternal life). The same juxtaposition is found in almost countless Netherlandish images,



Fig. 238. Reconstruction of *A View in Delft* by Carel Fabritius, as it would have been mounted on a curved surface inside a perspective box, with the floor painted (computer simulation of the floor by Christine Hiebert, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

going back to pictures such as Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Peasant Dance* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), where a bagpiper and drinkers sit at a table in front of an inn, and couples celebrate a saint's day by dancing in view of the village church. Later versions of the subject were painted by Hans Bol, David Vinckboons, Jacob Savery, Adriaen van Ostade, Jan Steen, and many other artists.<sup>3</sup> A formulaic example by the Delft painter Hans Jordaens (fig. 81) looks back to Bruegel in the figures and forward to Fabritius in the architecture: a tavern and church, linked together visually by a sign with a swan.

Fabritius pared the theme down to its essentials for a special purpose: to represent an actual site with extraordinary verisimilitude. In his concise invention, the leap in thought from tavern to church becomes a leap in space. The picture's content—as opposed to its subject—may be described as the painter's own artistry, knowledge, and ingenuity. His ability to expertly employ perspective, to transcribe topography, and to master the inherent difficulties of wide-angle viewing, the projection



Fig. 239. The Nieuwe Kerk, Delft



18

of shadows, and various optical effects were aspects of the work meant to be appreciated by contemporary amateurs. However, their immediate response to the painting as it was originally presented would have been to marvel at its remarkable illusion of actual space.

It is now generally agreed that *A View in Delft* was meant to be displayed in a special viewing case or "perspective box," the distinctively Dutch art form best known from Samuel van Hoogstraten's example in the National Gallery, London (fig. 125).<sup>4</sup> In addition, most scholars have maintained that the canvas—which until recently was glued to a later support—must have been mounted originally on a bent or curved surface. E. P. Richardson opened the discussion in 1937 when he proposed that the composition's "striking peculiarities" could be reconciled with "strict naturalness of appearance" only by bending it.<sup>5</sup> He compared the perspective box attributed to Van Hoogstraten in the Detroit Institute of Arts, which has a V-shaped back and depicts a domestic interior.<sup>6</sup> Richardson never compared Fabritius's picture with the site itself or considered the effect that creasing would have had on the paint layer. However, he did cite a relevant document of the period, John Evelyn's diary

entry dated February 5, 1656: "Was showed me a pretty perspective and well represented in a triangular box, the great Church of Haarlem in Holland, to be seen through a small hole at one of the corners, and contrived into a handsome cabinet. It was so rarely done, that all the artists and painters in town flocked to see and admire it."<sup>7</sup>

Richardson's hypothesis was refined by later writers. In 1944 Wilhelm Martin suggested that the canvas was probably a "study for a half-round wall alcove, as the perspective relationships become immediately correct when the photograph is bent into a semi-circular, concave shape."<sup>8</sup> K. E. Schuurman (in 1947) synthesized the earlier theories, proposing on the basis of a discussion with Martin that the canvas was originally bent backward in the middle and installed within a perspective box, with light admitted from above and a peephole placed centrally opposite. In their reconstruction, Martin and Schuurman maintained, the composition's distortions (the oddly extended pavement to the right, the underscaled church, and the too-distant view down the Oude Langendijk to the market) would be corrected, and the image would become "an unprecedented and surprising illusion of space."<sup>9</sup>

In 1966 Heinz Roosen-Runge, referring to a map of Delft, suggested that the painting was meant to be strongly curved (with a "parabolic groundline") and viewed in a perspective box. Looking through a peephole, the viewer's eye is forced to "rove from left to right as in an actual visual experience."<sup>10</sup> The present writer's reconstruction, first published in 1976, is consistent with these earlier opinions.<sup>11</sup> It suggests that the canvas was mounted on a semicircular curve—that is, on a hemicylindrical support made of wood or a sheet of copper—within a perspective box (figs. 240, 241). The image would have continued onto the floor of the box (as in most surviving examples), thus diminishing one's awareness of the canvas's shape and enhancing the three-dimensional effect (see fig. 238). The peephole would have been located centrally opposite the painting, at a distance established empirically (where it seemed to work best). The triangular shape of the box reproduced here, with "a small hole at one of the corners," corresponds with Evelyn's description in 1656 of another example (assuming his identification of "the great Church at Haarlem" was correct); three of the six surviving Dutch perspective boxes are triangular, but with the peephole located

centrally in one of the sides.<sup>12</sup> The exact shape of the curved mounting, the form of the box (triangular, rectangular, or otherwise), the distance from the painting to the peephole, and the angle of view allowed (which depends upon the aperture's diameter and depth) are all variables secondary to the conclusion that the canvas was designed to be seen in a perspective box.

That constructions of this kind were made by Fabritius (a former carpenter) is suggested by seventeenth-century sources. The leading authority on the subject, Van Hoogstraten, mentions "the wonderful perspective box" in his book of 1678 immediately after citing the illusionistic murals that Fabritius painted in Delft.<sup>13</sup> "A small case by Fabritius" was recorded in the estate of Aernout Eelbrecht of Leiden (1683), along with other works by the artist; as with the reference to a "piece by Fabritius being a case [or box]" in the will of Gerrit Jansz Treurniet (signed in Delft on May 2, 1661), it is not certain that the item was a perspective box rather than a picture frame with shutters.<sup>14</sup> Finally, "a large optical piece standing on a pedestal made by a distinguished Master Fabricio at Delft" was listed in the 1690 inventory of the Danish royal collection.<sup>15</sup>

None of the three Dutch perspective boxes remaining in Copenhagen (now in the Nationalmuseum) can be ascribed to Fabritius. Such a work by him may have been acquired by the Danish court, but it is also possible that the attribution to "Fabricio of Delft" simply reflects his reputation in this field. As noted in chapter 4, two of the perspective boxes in Copenhagen (see figs. 140, 141, for one of them) may be by another artist from Delft, and Leonaert Bramer appears to have been interested in "peepshows" as well (see cat. no. 108).

Until recently, the conclusion that *A View in Delft* was meant to be mounted on a curved surface depended mainly upon two points: the image seems more faithful to the actual site when it is bent concavely; and its distortions of forms and space are largely corrected. In the flat mounting the paved street is stretched like a hammock between trees; the instruments, trellis, and wall to the left collapse together within a shallow zone of space. Similarly, on the right, the tree spreads

laterally, and its shadow (cast by a sun high in the west) seems to fall in the wrong direction, onto the corner house. The latter's facade, roof, and side wall are flattened, as if they were drawn by a naive artist who could not have constructed the two-point perspective projection of the church.

All this changes with a curved mounting. As conservationist Larry Keith observes, "the left wall recedes along, not across, the Oude Langendijck, and the trellis projects in a clear right angle to form a coherent space in which the figure sits, and before whom the lute now functions as an effective three-dimensional repoussoir. Furthermore, the lack of binocular depth perception afforded by the single eyepiece intensifies the illusionism of the constructed space, a deception that is difficult to appreciate to full effect without a three-dimensional model."<sup>16</sup>

When cleaning the painting in 1992–93, Keith discovered a few *pentimenti*; the man was not seated but standing at the same location, and "the breadth of the lute's cast shadow [was] reduced from its drawn shape — perhaps an example of an intuitive adjustment of a more mathematically correct but visually awkward anamorphic projection."<sup>17</sup> Cleaning also resulted in a subtler and richer color scheme than the painting was known to have. The bright blue sky, vivid blue tablecloth (which contrasts with the warm tone of the viol), and many small blue reflections in the cobblestones and on the wall to the left — a superb painterly passage — have all newly emerged. Visible for the first time in decades are "a pale blue highlight, painted on the belly of the lute as a reflection of the sky, [and] surface textures like the gloss of the viola da gamba soundboard." Keith stresses that "the illusion of spatial depth implied by the subtle diminution of the receding cobblestones, and the fine details of figures and architecture on the distant canal were all heightened as a result of cleaning, with the result that, in this picture, Fabritius emerges as more of a *fijnschilder* (fine painter), in the general sense of the degree and sophistication of finish, than had been apparent earlier."<sup>18</sup>

In my article of 1976 I maintained that curving the image, in addition to producing generally more convincing spatial relationships overall, restored the church to its compara-

tively tall proportions and allowed the viola da gamba to be projected below the bottom edge of the painting with a convincing shape.<sup>19</sup> These geometric results seemed to support the subjective impressions of earlier writers, to the effect that the townscape proper looked undistorted and more three-dimensional when the picture was bent or curved. The National Gallery's study of the work now adds strong physical evidence to the argument. Raking light "clearly shows a series of raised parallel vertical ridges, which are the high points of a pattern of concave scalloping of paint and canvas . . . the sum of the individual deformations would produce a general curve of the canvas and paint with the lateral edges pushed toward the viewer."<sup>20</sup>

Secondly, "removal of repaint during restoration showed it to have been painted completely only up to the bottom border, which itself would be in keeping with [the] hypothesis that the foreground would have been continued on the base of the box in an extreme anamorphic projection."<sup>21</sup> Thirdly, two distinct layers of animal glue were discovered on the back of the canvas, one used to attach the canvas to a walnut panel at a later date, and one used to fix the canvas to its original support. Analysis of the older glue, which has an unusual green color, revealed it to be "a copper-protein complex, the result of long-term contact between animal glue and copper, most plausibly explained by the picture's having been glued to a copper panel." Keith observes that "the use of canvas would allow the best combination of flexibility and strength necessary for the curved configuration," while "copper would be a good choice of material since it is easily bent or hammered into the desired shape [see fig. 241], and certainly would have been readily obtainable in this size at the time of painting."<sup>22</sup>

This is something of an understatement since many Dutch landscape prints — copperplate engravings — are almost identical in size to *A View in Delft*. For example, each of Jan van de Velde the Younger's thirty-six engravings entitled *Playsante lantschappen ende vermakelijcke gesichten* (Pleasant Landscapes and Enjoyable Views) measures 6¼ x 12 inches (15.8 x 30.5 cm).<sup>23</sup> The comparison raises two elementary questions that have been overlooked (like the dog in the Sherlock





Fig. 240. Exterior, reconstruction of a triangular perspective box with a peephole at the near corner and translucent paper glued into the top

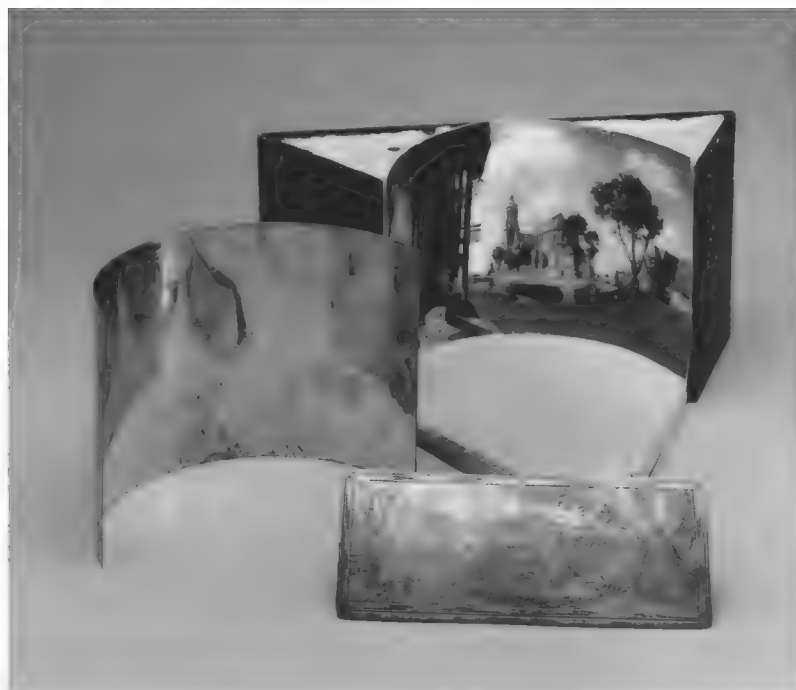


Fig. 241. The perspective box in fig. 240 opened, showing a curved copper plate (modern) and an engraved copper plate of the 17th century

Holmes story that did not bark in the night): if Fabritius's townscape was originally meant to be seen as it is today, under normal viewing conditions, why should it be so small; and, given its modest dimensions, why would such a meticulously described image be painted on canvas rather than on wood or copper? Every known Dutch or Flemish painting that is reasonably comparable in subject, size, and technique is executed on a more sympathetic surface, such as a hardwood panel or, in a few cases, on copper or another metal support.<sup>24</sup>

In mounting this small canvas on a curved surface in a perspective box Fabritius simultaneously created an illusionistic masterpiece and offered one solution to the problem of wide-angle viewing: that is, space as it is normally experienced. This combination of diversion and instruction was familiar to sophisticated patrons of the day; Fabritius's invention would have been at home in a gentleman's study (*studiolo*) or collector's "cabinet," in which one might also find a variety of natural and artistic curiosities, optical instruments, musical instruments, drawing devices, celestial and terrestrial globes, and so on.<sup>25</sup> The flavor of these interests is conveyed

by diarists such as Evelyn (quoted above) and Samuel Pepys,<sup>26</sup> and by illustrations in contemporary perspective treatises (fig. 243). As John Wren observed in 1663 about experiments staged by the Royal Society for the benefit of William III, they should "surprise with some unexpected effect and be commendable for the ingenuity of the contrivance," and they should not require a lecture.<sup>27</sup>

In the early 1650s Van Hoogstraten at the court in Vienna and Fabritius, Houckgeest, De Witte, Elsevier, and other artists in Delft painted some of their most illusionistic pictures. Novel forms were introduced (as in Elsevier's *Interior of the Oude Kerk*, cat. no. 16), probably in a spirit of artistic competition. When designing *A View in Delft* Fabritius appears to have accepted a challenge or at least to have benefited from Houckgeest's example in the panoramic view of the Nieuwe Kerk's interior dating from the previous year (see the discussion under cat. no. 39).

The two compositions are surprisingly similar: Fabritius's church occupies a position comparable with that of the tomb monument in the church interior, and the cobblestone street has a panoramic sweep quite like that

of Houckgeest's checkerboard floor. No earlier work by Fabritius demonstrates perspective expertise, and it is possible that the older artist was helpful to him. However, the painters achieved different effects. Houckgeest sacrificed a naturalistic impression in favor of artfully distorted forms and spatial relationships; the small scale of the tomb and choir in the center of his composition is an unavoidable aspect of wide-angle perspective views. Fabritius started with a somewhat less



Fig. 242. Centralized view through the peephole of the reconstructed perspective box in fig. 240



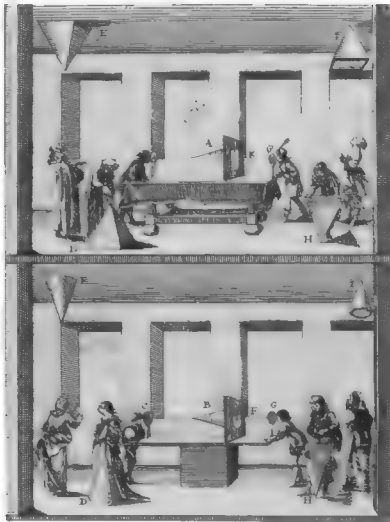


Fig. 243. Jean Dubreuil, *La Perspective pratique nécessaire à tous peintres, graveurs, sculpteurs, architectes* . . . Paris, 1642-49. Treatise V, lesson XIII, depicting amateurs viewing a variety of anamorphic images. Engraving, 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> x 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (17.6 x 12.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

sweeping prospect (90 degrees) and a subject—separate buildings in an open space—that is much more forgiving to draftsmen than the interior of an actual church. The Nieuwe Kerk, which seems too distant when one compares the site, dominates the view from the peephole in the perspective box (fig. 242) and constantly draws the eye back to it as one explores the scene. Some contemporary viewers might have deemed this significant, a meaning hidden right before one's eyes (like the skull in Holbein's *Ambassadors* of 1533, in the National Gallery, London).<sup>28</sup>

More than that, Fabritius's townscape, especially to citizens of Delft, must have seemed like an image seized from their daily lives. The simple pleasure of recognition was probably important to the original viewers of realistic townscape paintings, church interiors, and landscapes, and was actually not so simple when the subject was one's own church, community, or homeland.<sup>29</sup>

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1. See C. Brown 1981, no. 5, and MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 137-38, no. 3714. On the church itself, see *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland* 1969, pp. 394-96.

2. See *The Wayfarer* by Bosch in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. For two examples by Steen, see Washington, Amsterdam 1996-97, no. 22. In an illustration to a legal text of 1549 a sign with a swan serves to identify an inn; see Van Deursen 1991, p. 228, fig. 32. Similarly, in his scene of Saint Agnes being forced into a brothel (Palazzo Reale, Genoa) the Master of the Adoration of the Magi of Turin (about 1500) identifies the building simply with the sign of a swan.
3. Many are illustrated in Briels 1997, pp. 116-32. See also Moxey 1989, chap. 3 ("Festive Peasants and Social Order"), and Goossens 1977 on Vinckboons (for example, fig. 36).
4. See Liedtke 2000, chap. 2, for an extensive discussion of the design of Fabritius's picture and its relationship to other works of art. See also MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 137-38, no. 3714, and pp. 204-6, no. 3832, pls. 176a-i, for Van Hoogstraten's *Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House*. The latter is also discussed in C. Brown et al. 1987; Brusati 1995, chap. 5; and Bomford 1998.
5. Richardson 1937, p. 152.
6. See Brusati 1995, p. 364, no. 87, figs. 58, 59, 124-26, pl. VII. The box, dated 1663, is painted on six interior surfaces.
7. Evelyn 1952, p. 314.
8. Martin 1944, pp. 392-93, modifying Martin 1935-36, vol. 2, p. 178.
9. Schuurman 1947, p. 53. Schuurman even calls for the painting's prompt restoration to "its first state," so that it would form a "worthy pendant" to Samuel van Hoogstraten's perspective box in the National Gallery, London.
10. Roosen-Runge 1966 (synopsis of a lecture). In 1975 G. Q. Williams and P. Kemp, who at the time were lecturers in art and navigation, respectively, at Brunel Technical College, Bristol (U.K.), wrote an unpublished paper on the "distorted perspective" of *A View in Delft*. They concluded that the picture must have been curved in a line that is slightly flatter in the center than a circular arc, but bent more strongly forward as in Roosen-Runge's and (presumably) Richardson's schemes.
11. Liedtke 1976a, which responded to Wheelock 1973. The latter article maintains that *A View in Delft* was always meant to be mounted on a flat surface, and that the apparent distortions of distance and the flattening effects in the townscape proper were created by Fabritius's use of a double-concave lens to record the site. Thus the artist expressed his awareness of wide-angle vision, as opposed to the restrictive assumptions of artificial perspective. While this hypothesis has generally been rejected, many of the issues relevant to the painting and to the broader interest of Delft artists in questions of optics and perspective were brought into discussion by Wheelock's article and especially by his earlier dissertation (Wheelock 1977a, on which see Liedtke 1979c).
12. These are the pair (depicting church interiors) in the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen (see figs. 140, 141), and the box representing a domestic interior in the Museum Bredius, The Hague. See Koslow 1967; Blankert 1991, no. 57; The Hague 1996b, pp. 24-25; and Bomford 1998. Bomford in C. Brown et al. 1987, pp. 71-72, makes the point that the rectangular box in London by Van Hoogstraten (fig. 125) resembles two triangular boxes with peepholes at the corners.
13. Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 274. See above, chap. 4, p. 120, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 64-65, for all the documents relevant to lost perspective boxes and illusionistic murals by Carel Fabritius.
14. See C. Brown 1981, pp. 154, 157-58 (doc. nos. 30, 47), and Liedtke 1976a, p. 65 and n. 11. On picture frames with doors, see the discussion in cat. no. 16.
15. See C. Brown 1981, p. 124, and no. R17.
16. Keith 1994, pp. 57-58.
17. Ibid., p. 63, n. 24, and, for the standing man and underdrawing revealed by an infrared reflectogram mosaic, fig. 7.
18. Ibid., p. 55.
19. Liedtke 1976a, p. 69, figs. 8-13 (fig. 11 shows how the viol would look if it were extended below the painting in its flat form).
20. Keith 1994, p. 61, and p. 56, fig. 1.
21. Ibid., p. 60.
22. These quotes are all from ibid., pp. 60, 62.
23. See De Groot 1979, figs. 75-78, for a few of these prints reproduced in actual size.
24. The dog that did not bark was noted by Sherlock Holmes in Arthur Conan Doyle's short story of 1894 "Silver Blaze." On the availability of copperplates for painting and printmaking, see Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague 1998-99.
25. Among the many publications on the subject are Hanover, Raleigh, Houston, Atlanta 1991-93; Raggio and Wilmering 1996; Thornton 1997; and Washington 1998.
26. See Liedtke 1991b, pp. 229-32; Brusati 1995, pp. 92-95; and Liedtke 2000, p. 79.
27. Brusati (1995, p. 93) compares Wren's remark with Pepys's reaction to Van Hoogstraten's *View down a Corridor* of 1662 (fig. 138).
28. See London 1997-98, where the crucifix partly visible behind the curtain is also discussed (pp. 50, 55).
29. Other aspects of the picture's conception cannot be considered here, but are discussed at length in Liedtke 2000, chap. 2. It is suggested, for example, that Fabritius used a perspective frame to record the townscape and to draw the foreshortened musical instruments in separate operations. Both tasks were standard subjects in contemporary perspective treatises, as were demonstrations of how to transfer images from flat planes to surfaces of various shapes.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907-27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 574, no. 4; Holmes 1923, pp. 87-88; Wijnman 1931, pp. 121, 124; Martin 1935-36, vol. 2, p. 178; Richardson 1937, pp. 141-52; Martin 1944, pp. 392-93; Schuurman 1947, p. 53; MacLaren 1960, pp. 127-28; Roosen-Runge 1966, pp. 304-5; Schwarz 1966, p. 175; Koslow 1967, p. 37; Wheelock 1973; Liedtke 1976a; Wheelock 1977a, pp. 191-220; Liedtke 1979c, pp. 492-93; Veltman 1979, pp. 81-82; C. Brown 1981, pp. 40, 43-44, no. 5; Wheelock 1981, pp. 25-26; Sumowski 1983-[94], vol. 2, no. 605; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 137-38, no. 3714; Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995-96, p. 19; Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 91-92; Liedtke 2000, chap. 2 (with additional literature).

EXHIBITED: London 1909-10, no. 52; London 1945-46, no. 46; London 1976, no. 40; Delft 1996.

EX COLL.: "Bought at Naples/ 1836," according to a label on the back of the painting's support; Sir William Eden, Bart., Ferry Hill, Durham, about 1907-10; his son, Sir Timothy Eden, Bart., 1922; purchased from him in 1922 by the National Art Collections Fund and presented to the National Gallery, London (3714).

## 19. Self-Portrait

1654

Oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (70.5 x 61.5 cm)  
Signed and dated bottom right:

c. fabritius. / .1654

The National Gallery, London

While no documented likeness of Fabritius is known, it is generally agreed that this painting is a self-portrait. As in the case of another picture by the artist (cat. no. 17), the sitter's insistent gaze, the pose, and the unusual costume are cited in support of this contention. The present painting shows the sitter at bust length, in three-quarters profile, with his head turned toward the viewer. The figure is silhouetted against bright clouds—an unusual feature.<sup>1</sup> He is wearing a black cap and a breastplate over a brown undergarment.

Scholars have pointed out that the costume recalls seventeenth-century military attire. Rembrandt, as well as his pupils, frequently painted both self-portraits and *tronies* (anonymous heads) in which the sitters wear breastplates or gorgets. Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* (ca. 1629; Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg) in which he shows himself with a gorget and a *cadenetze*, or lovelock, often worn by courtiers and senior officers, is an early example.<sup>2</sup> Such images of soldiers were popular in seventeenth-century Holland; however, for Rembrandt and his pupils the military costume may have represented merely a type of fanciful dress.<sup>3</sup>

The origin of Fabritius's black cap remains elusive. Peter Sutton finds it reminiscent of the fur caps worn by the sitters in Rembrandt's *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts* (1631) and *Portrait of a Polish Nobleman* (1637).<sup>4</sup> Yet the headgear in these portraits is very different from the cap that Fabritius wears. Ruts's fur-lined hat is of a sort that is often found, alongside fur-lined *tabbaards* (gowns), in seventeenth-century inventories and that was typically worn by older men. The Polish nobleman's cap is a characteristic Russian boyar's hat. Fabritius's much smaller cap, by contrast, may be made of either fur or wool (its curly appearance suggests lamb's wool). It may be a cap known as a *karpoes*, with flaps that could be folded down to protect one's ears and neck in the

event of a storm. These practical hats are known from inventories of journeymen and sailors, and one may only speculate that they were worn by soldiers as well.<sup>5</sup> It is interesting that in the nineteenth century Fabritius's sitter was identified as Masaniello (1623?–1647), the almost mythical popular hero who led a citizens' insurrection in Naples in July 1647.<sup>6</sup> Portraits of Masaniello are scarce, and it is not clear what prompted this identification other than the warrior-like appearance of the sitter.

While the costume and pose still refer to a tradition established by Rembrandt, to whom Fabritius was apprenticed between 1641 and 1643, in the present painting Fabritius has abandoned the Rembrandtesque tonality and painterly qualities of his earlier pictures. Here, he uses a more refined technique: the paint is more thinly applied and the palette is much lighter. The intense lighting and dramatic chiaroscuro of the earlier pictures have also disappeared. As a result the face, modeled with soft light and subtle gradations of the flesh tones, is more precisely described. The shift is immediately apparent when one compares the present picture with the earlier self-portrait (cat. no. 17). Elsewhere in this catalogue it has been argued that this change of emphasis “from tactile to visual qualities” reduces the “sense of volume and of texture . . . in favor of more generalized effects of light and space”—qualities that can also be found in other Delft paintings of the 1650s, for example, Emanuel de Witte (see p. 117; cat. nos. 91–93). Indeed, this difference in style and technique, likewise perceptible in two other pictures by Fabritius from the same year (cat. nos. 20, 21), is generally considered to be a consequence of the artist's move to Delft in 1650. It has proved difficult to define precisely Fabritius's relationship to the so-called Delft school, however. Both Christopher Brown and Walter Liedtke rightly dismiss the notion that Fabritius was in some way responsible for the innovations and approaches of local painters such as Pieter de Hooch and Vermeer. It would be equally inappropriate, however, to regard him as an isolated genius whose work did not intersect with the art produced around him. Fabritius's elusive links with Delft painting were probably based on “a common interest in daylight effects and in the expressive possibilities of

the use of space,” which are “essentially technical matters.”<sup>7</sup>

The nature of Fabritius's self-portraits is perhaps best revealed in the context of Rembrandt's. The large number of images Rembrandt made from his own likeness, and the different mediums he employed, suggest that the pictures had manifold functions.<sup>8</sup> Rembrandt seems to have used the self-portraits to advertise his skills and versatility to potential clients. A case in point is the *Self-Portrait with Wide-Brimmed Hat* (1632; Burrell Collection, Glasgow), which he painted shortly after his move from Leiden to Amsterdam; it is probably no accident that Rembrandt shows himself here for the first time in the elegant formal attire worn by the Amsterdam burghers whose portraits he was keen to paint.<sup>9</sup> Rembrandt also appears occasionally to have used his own portraits to study and practice the painting of facial expressions, the modeling of a face under different lighting conditions, and the depiction of different costumes.<sup>10</sup> Technically, these self-portraits could be called *tronies*.<sup>11</sup> Normally done from models, *tronies* were produced either as study material for pupils or for the open market. (Rembrandt's pupils were involved in the production of *tronies* as part of their training. Besides copying existing examples, they practiced their skills by painting directly from models as well as from their own features.) A common characteristic of *tronies* is the relative unimportance of the identity of the sitter.

The absence of any indicators regarding the sitter's profession or social position suggests that Fabritius's self-portraits either were painted as *tronies* for the open market—possibly not much different from the seven *tronies* listed among Fabritius's possessions upon his death in 1654—or were used by Fabritius to practice his skills as a portrait painter.<sup>12</sup> In either case the sitter's identity in these pictures may indeed have been secondary to contemporary collectors, whose main interest was to acquire a work from the master's hand.

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1. Sumowski (1983–[94], vol. 2, p. 979) suggests that a similar feature occurs in works by Govert Flinck in the 1640s, but he cites no examples. One might consider Flinck's *Diana* (1647; William Humphrys Art Gallery, Kimberley), reproduced in Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, no. 647. Sutton compares the



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present picture with Anthony van Dyck's *Self-Portrait with a Sunflower* (1633; Duke of Westminster Collection) yet acknowledges that Van Dyck's symbolic content has no parallel in Fabritius's painting; see Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, p. 282.

2. London, The Hague 1999–2000, no. 14a; for further examples, see nos. 8, 35, 37, 40, 52. Pupils who painted comparable works include Ferdinand Bol, Gerard Dou, Govert Flinck, Paulus Lesire, and Jan Lievens.

3. For the possible patriotic connotations, see Chapman 1990, pp. 36–45. A recent catalogue of Rembrandt's self-portraits (London, The Hague 1999–2000) makes no mention of nationalistic overtones.

4. Sutton in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, p. 282. Rembrandt, *Portrait of Nicolaes Ruts* (1631; Frick Collection, New York), and *Portrait of a Polish Nobleman* (1637; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).
5. I am grateful to Maricke de Winkel, Amsterdam, for sharing this information in a recent conversation. On Ruts's fur hat, see De Winkel 1993, pp. 145, 148.
6. A letter from Burton Frederickson of the Getty Information Institute, Los Angeles, dated January 2, 1998, in the National Gallery (London) curatorial file suggests that the painting, described as "Fabricius (Charles) Portrait du célèbre Mazaniello, qui fit la révolution de Naples" in the catalogue of a sale held in Brussels on August 18, 1823, no. 182, is identical to the present picture. For information on Masaniello, see Katia Fiorentino, "La rivolta di Masaniello del 1647," in Naples 1984–85, vol. 2, pp. 43–49.
7. C. Brown 1981, pp. 59–60, also quoted by Liedtke, chap. 4, p. 117, in this catalogue.
8. For a more detailed account, see Van de Wetering's essay in London, The Hague 1999–2000, pp. 10–37.
9. *Ibid.*, no. 33.
10. See, for example, *Self-Portrait as a Young Man* (ca. 1628; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A4.691) and a related version of 1629 in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. no. 11427); the drawing *Self-Portrait, Open-Mouthed* (1627–28; British Museum, London, inv. no. Gg.2-253); and the four etchings with different facial expressions of 1630 (B./Hollstein 10, 13, 316, 320).
11. On *tronies*, see, most recently, Van der Veen's essay in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, pp. 69–80.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

REFERENCES: London 1976, no. 41; C. Brown 1981, no. 6; Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, no. 609; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 139–40, no. 4042; Sutton in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, no. 57.

EXHIBITED: London 1976, no. 43; Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, no. 57.

EX COLL.: Possibly Catharina Scharpens, widow of Cornelis Schout, Amsterdam, December 7, 1654, inventory; Fabre or Faber (probably sold Brussels, August 18, 1823, no. 182, for 150 francs to Marneffe, presumably the dealer and auctioneer P. J. de Marneffe); acquired about 1824 in Bruges from "Marneffe" by George Rimington, Tynefield, Penrith; passed to Reginald Rimington; thence by descent to T. A. Brewerton, Manchester; in 1924 acquired from him by The National Gallery, London (4042).

## 20. *The Sentry*

1654  
Oil on canvas, 26¼ x 22¼ in. (68 x 58 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left: C. FABRITIUS:  
1654.

Staatliches Museum, Schwerin

Fabritius's *The Sentry* is probably the most enigmatic work in the artist's small oeuvre. No one has yet been able to offer a fully convincing interpretation of its iconography. The main focus of the peaceful scene is a soldier or sentry sitting on a bench in front of a sunlit wall. Hunched over a musket that rests in his lap, he seems to be sleeping. With open coat and unbuttoned shirt, his bandolier off the shoulder and one knee exposed, he has a somewhat disorderly appearance. By contrast, the dog in front of him is wide awake and looks attentively at its master. The wall behind the sentry ends at a column in the center of the composition. Vines or ivy growing down from the capital and bills affixed to the shaft indicate that it has long since lost its original function. Behind the column, a gateway with a raised portcullis opens toward a narrow path and a wall that largely obscures the view of the scenery beyond. Above the arch of the gate a relief of Saint Anthony Abbot with his attribute, a pig, is set into the wall. Next to the relief one can make out a doorway opening into a darkened interior.

One reason why the painting's meaning has proved difficult to decipher is the perceived ambiguity of the soldier's occupation: is he sleeping or busy working on his gun? Théophile Thoré referred to the picture as the *Chasseur en repos* (*Hunter at Rest*), perhaps because he had only seen an engraving after it. Friedrich Schlie, in an early catalogue of the Schwerin collection, suggested that the sentry is cleaning the wheel lock of his musket.<sup>1</sup> Christopher Brown in his 1981 monograph on Fabritius emphatically stated that "the soldier is not sleeping" but "may have just primed the pan" of his muzzle-loading gun. Further, Brown ventured to suggest that the soldier may "stand for the watchfulness of the young [Dutch] Republic," although the pose and slovenly appearance hardly make him "a model of military efficiency."<sup>2</sup>

More recent authors have tended to interpret the pose of the sentry as one of resting or sleeping, which, although hardly clarifying the artist's intention, can be more successfully related to other elements of the composition.<sup>3</sup> One scholar has observed that a seventeenth-century soldier would have stood erect and held the gun differently while performing the complicated tasks of cleaning and priming it.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the picture was painted in 1654, six years after the end of the Dutch war with Spain and the signing of the Treaty of Münster, when interest in military affairs had abated in the republic.<sup>5</sup> Instead it has been argued that Fabritius was deliberately contrasting the sentry's implied delinquency and lack of self-discipline with the image of Saint Anthony Abbot, the hermit monk, who famously spent most nights meditating and praying for grace to withstand the devil's temptations, and who was therefore seen as a model of responsibility and self-control.<sup>6</sup>

The gates of Dutch towns were usually guarded both during the day and at night, when they were closed. The *nachtwacht* (night watch) consisted of members of the town's *schutterij* (civic guard), often assisted by paid soldiers, whereas the day watch was largely assigned to paid guardsmen who had no formal connection with the town's militia companies.<sup>7</sup> One possible interpretation of the present scene may thus be that the sentry is off duty and enjoying a well-deserved rest in the morning sun after a nightlong vigil. But, paid guardsmen, who were in fact municipal soldiers, had a rather questionable reputation in the seventeenth century. Contemporary documents indicate that they were considered unreliable and untrustworthy because they allegedly spent more time in inns and brothels than in their guardrooms (the topic was evidently popular with Dutch painters, who often depicted military debauchery).<sup>8</sup> Soldiers were not the only members of the contemporary labor force who were criticized for laziness and dereliction of duty. Housemaids and servants were also commonly portrayed in plays and paintings as lazy and also deceitful toward their mistresses.<sup>9</sup> Whether pictures of slumbering maids were intended as sour reminders of the deadly sin of sloth or bemused commentary on human shortcomings is a matter of debate (the latter seems

more probable).<sup>10</sup> Although Fabritius's *Sentry* may merely be the representation of a soldier dozing in the warm light of a sunny day, it certainly seems to reflect the generally low opinion of soldiers.<sup>11</sup>

*The Sentry* belongs to a small group of works painted by Fabritius in Delft during the last year of his life (see also cat. nos. 19, 21), in which concerns with visual experience and the role of light seem to have assumed center stage. Rather than using precise drawing and complicated perspectival systems in those works, Fabritius increased the emphasis on carefully balanced contrasts of light and shadow, bold geometric forms, and thin, fluid brushstrokes in order to define both the pictorial space and the individual forms within it.<sup>12</sup> For example, in this painting the contrast between the bright wall and lower half of the column in the foreground and the brown wall behind draws the viewer's eye to the darker recess of the gateway and the glimpse of the sky and the scenery beyond; at the same time, the sunlit column effectively arrests the otherwise powerful orthogonal thrust of the bench, the gun, and the wall behind the soldier. An elegant curved line, which extends from the dog and the outstretched foot of the sentry up through the man's body to a subtle grayish streak on the column and the relief of Saint Anthony, joins the most important elements in a single plane. Local colors have been reduced to subtle tonal values, ranging from light beige to dark browns, grays, and black, except for two carefully placed accents—the soldier's yellow bandolier and the red trellis above him. The presence of the sentry is underscored by the stark contrast between his dark figure and the dazzlingly lighted wall.<sup>13</sup> Fabritius created a similar effect in his *Goldfinch* and to a lesser degree in his *Self-Portrait* of 1654 (cat. nos. 19, 21). In short, through the close observation and acute understanding of the relationship between light and space, the artist achieved in the present picture what Walter Liedtke has characterized as "perhaps the most naturalistic corner of space to date from before De Hooch's views of courtyards in Delft."<sup>14</sup>

It is difficult to determine how immediate was Fabritius's influence on other painters in Delft. As has been pointed out elsewhere, it

would be an exaggeration to see in him the "essential catalyst in the development of Delft painting."<sup>15</sup> Instead, Fabritius's "Delft style" reveals a pictorial language that was as much informed by the work of earlier Delft painters as it was influential for his contemporaries and subsequent artists. Clearly, his naturalism, treatment of light, and brushwork have echoes in the painting of Pieter de Hooch and Johannes Vermeer. Obvious parallels also exist between Fabritius and the architectural painters Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, and Emanuel de Witte. De Witte's "optical" approach to church interiors—his use of light and shadow and a limited range of tonalities and minimized drawing is particularly close in effect to Fabritius's (see cat. nos. 91–93).<sup>16</sup> But the phenomenon also extends to the painters of other subjects. Already in his scenes of merry companies from the early 1630s (see cat. nos. 47, 48) Anthonie Palamedesz gave more emphasis to atmospheric effects and a consistent color scheme than to the mathematical definition of space and the precise rendering of details. Delft's townscape and landscape painters—not only Paulus Potter (see cat. nos. 54, 55) but also Egbert van der Poel, whose approach in *Barneyard Scene* (cat. no. 52) is in certain respects parallel to Fabritius's in *The Sentry*, Adam Pynacker (see cat. nos. 56, 57), and Daniel Vosmaer (cat. nos. 86, 87)—also helped to shape the common artistic language prevalent in mid-century Delft, to which Fabritius so vitally contributed. Yet Fabritius's paintings—not least *The Sentry*—display a sense of experimentation and an elusiveness that remained unique in Delft painting of the seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup>

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upon. Revered as a protector against a variety of human and animal illnesses, and the patron saint of butchers, tenants, basket weavers, and brush makers, Anthony Abbot was also venerated by artillerymen and Dutch militia companies; see Doyé 1929, vol. 1, p. 74; Trebbin 1994, p. 26; and Van der Linden 1999, pp. 79–80. Is it therefore possible that *The Sentry* makes an oblique reference to the military professions—and, by extension, to a patron of the artist? Incidentally, Fabritius would have known the Sint Antonispoort (Saint Anthony's Gate) at the end of the Jodenbreestraat in Amsterdam from the days of his apprenticeship with Rembrandt, who lived on that street; see Liedtke 2000, p. 37. Jürss (1982, p. 9) has suggested that the gate in the present painting, much like the column in the center, has in fact lost its function altogether because the town has grown beyond its original borders (note the wall and houses immediately beyond the gateway); Jürss further suggests that the depiction of Saint Anthony without his head—a symbolic decapitation—can be seen as a comment by Fabritius, a member of the Reformed Church, on Catholicism. It seems more likely, however, that the partial depiction of the saint, who is clearly identifiable by his attribute, was intended to underscore the incidental character of the view.

7. Haarlem 1988, pp. 29–30, 42–44; Knevel 1994, pp. 227–32; and Naarden 1996, p. 24.
8. On the behavior of soldiers and guardsmen, see Knevel 1994, pp. 232–33. For a discussion of paintings on the subject, see Naarden 1996, pp. 13–21, 31, and Kersten in Delft 1998, pp. 182–217, and especially 212–13.
9. De Winkel 1998, p. 328, especially nn. 14, 15. I am grateful to the author for pointing out this reference. See, for example, Nicolaes Maes's *Interior with a Sleeping Maid and Her Mistress (The Idle Servant)* (1655; National Gallery, London, inv. 207); on Maes's painting, see Amsterdam 1976, no. 33, and MacLaren/Brown 1991, vol. 1, pp. 241–42, no. 207. See also Vermeer's *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67 here). Wheelock (1995a, p. 40) suggested that the woman in Vermeer's picture is the mistress of the house rather than a maid because of her luxurious costume, but De Winkel (1998, p. 328) has convincingly shown that maids and other servants wore expensive and ostentatious clothes at that time, for which they were frequently criticized.
10. Amsterdam 1976, no. 33; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 66; and MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 241.
11. On the suggestion that the picture may simply represent what meets the eye, see C. Brown 1981, p. 48; compare Liedtke 2000, p. 37 (where it is compared with Barent Fabritius's *Seated Soldier with a Pipe*; see Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, no. 594). Sumowski (p. 980) suggests that the anecdotal character of the genre scene has been treated "against the grain" by the artist, who effectively turned the different elements into parts of a still life.
12. Sumowski (1983–[94], vol. 2, p. 980) calls this rather grandly the "triumph of painting over mathematics." Liedtke (2000, p. 37) suggests more prudently that this must be seen in the context of the "local tradition of close observation to see forms and space more in terms of light and color, of visual incident rather than of tangible detail."

1. Thoré 1858–60, vol. 2, p. 173, and Schlie 1882, p. 12.

2. C. Brown 1981, p. 48.

3. See, for example, Jürss 1982, p. 9; Wheelock 1995a, p. 36; Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 28, n. 29; Liedtke 2000, pp. 35–37; and also Schuurman 1947, p. 55. Sumowski (1983–[94], vol. 2, no. 607) does not discuss the issue in his account of the painting.

4. Liedtke 2000, p. 35, especially n. 113. On the complex handling of seventeenth-century firearms, see Jacques de Gheyn the Younger's contemporary handbook *Wapenhandelinge van roers, musquetten ende spiessen* (1607) and Knevel 1994, p. 218.

5. C. Brown 1981, p. 48.

6. *Book of Saints* 1921, p. 26, and Trebbin 1994, pp. 24–25. In this context one may consider another aspect of Saint Anthony's role, which has not yet been remarked





13. Note the similarity between the composition of the present painting and that of Jacob van Velsen's *Fortune Teller* (fig. 87) or Barent Fabritius's *Anna and the Blind Tobit* in the Tiroler Landesmuseum, Innsbruck; see C. Brown 1981, fig. 61.
14. Chap. 5, p. 142.
15. C. Brown 1981, p. 60.
16. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 14, 19, and Liedtke 2000, p. 127.
17. C. Brown 1981, p. 61.

REFERENCES: C. Brown 1981, pp. 48–49, no. 8; Jürss 1982, pp. 8–9; Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, p. 980, no. 607; Schatborn 1985, under no. 63; Liedtke 2000, pp. 14, 32, 35–37.

EX COLL.: Possibly identical with a picture of a hunter (*een jager*) mentioned in a document dated December 5, 1677, and in another of April 19, 1678, both in Leiden archives; entered the collection of the House of Mecklenburg between 1725 and 1792; possibly taken out of Germany by Napoleon's troops and deposited in the Louvre after 1806; at Ludwigslust in 1821; since 1882 (the year the museum opened) in the collection of the Staatliches Museum, Schwerin (605).

## 21. *The Goldfinch (Het Puttertje)*

1654

Oil on wood, 13¼ x 9 in. (33.5 x 22.8 cm)

Signed and dated bottom center:

C FABRITIUS 1654

Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen  
Mauritshuis, The Hague

This much-admired painting represents a goldfinch, which in Dutch is called a *distelvink* (thistle finch) or *putter* (water-drawer; *het puttertje* would be literally translated as “the little water-drawer”). The bird was a popular pet in the Netherlands, where the nickname was already used in the sixteenth century. In a painting by Gerard Dou (figs. 244, 245) a goldfinch is chained, as here, to a perch in front of its food box (below the bird's little Dutch house). One of the pet's tricks was to lift up the hinged lid of the box and peck at the seeds inside. But the trick that earned the *puttertje* its name was to draw water from a glass by using a tiny bucket on a chain. In the arrangement shown by Dou, the bird would drop down to the platform from which a glass of water and a bucket are suspended on chains. There is a hole in the platform, so that the task was quite like drawing water from a well. However, using a beak rather than hands called for some dexterity.<sup>1</sup>

Considerable conjecture has been devoted to the question of how this picture was originally displayed, especially since it is painted on a panel of unusual thickness for a work of its size and the back of the panel is not beveled, as it would be if it had been meant to fit into a conventional frame. Nail holes on all four sides indicate that the painting was fixed to a solid surface at some time in its history. This evidence would appear to speak against the hypothesis that the panel once served as a painted shutter or door for another painting or for a cabinet or cupboard.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that the picture had been used as a shop sign by a wine merchant in The Hague, Cornelis de Putter, who could have described himself as a *putter* of wine.<sup>3</sup> However, the level of quality exhibited here would be surprising in a shop sign, where one might also expect to find the vendor's, not the artist's, name.<sup>4</sup>

Recent writers have stressed the work's illusionism,<sup>5</sup> which accords with what is

known of Fabritius's murals and perspective boxes (see cat. no. 18).<sup>6</sup> The impressionistic execution of *The Goldfinch* and its deceptive space are meant to be perceived from a certain distance, but the signature, rendered in a rather light color, can be discerned only when one is close enough to appreciate the painting's true nature and exceptional artistry.<sup>7</sup> Similar moments of discovery occur in Samuel van Hoogstraten's cabinet-door and letter-rack still lifes of the mid-1650s and in his trompe-l'oeil painting of an animate being, *Head of a Bearded Man at a Window*,



Fig. 244. Detail, fig. 245



which is inscribed (as if chiseled into the stone) with the artist's monogram and the date 1653 (fig. 246).<sup>8</sup> In the latter work Van Hoogstraten demonstrates his ability to imitate various materials and a relieflike space, as in letter-rack still lifes. The artist also defines the viewer as the one who is being scrutinized,<sup>9</sup> as he does in later pictures with watchful dogs (see fig. 131).

It seems characteristic of Fabritius to raise the stakes, going beyond the imitation of solid forms and textures (although they are wonderfully described in *The Goldfinch*) to suggest the behavior of light and an actual movement—a twitching response—of the bird. In a manner less coy than that of Vermeer's girl with a pearl earring (fig. 285) the goldfinch seems to suddenly turn and look at us as we enter a room. Rembrandt had indulged in this kind of staging—for example, in *Portrait of a Scholar* of 1631 (fig. 172).<sup>10</sup> Like Vermeer, Fabritius had a knack for seeming to do what had never been done before (as scholars have noted) by doing several things that had been done before all at once.

Thus it is not necessary to split hairs (or feathers) when describing the broader context of the work. The relevant images include pictures of dead birds as well as live birds;<sup>11</sup> murals depicting people with dogs, cats, parrots, and so on perched on balconies and terraces (see fig. 12; cat. no. 11); and motifs such as musical instruments hanging on or leaning against sunlit walls (compare the lute in cat. no. 18, where a strong shadow and Fabritius's signature help to define the wall plane and to set off the instrument). Of course, the pedigree of these motifs goes back to Italy: for example, the menagerie one finds in illusionistic frescoes by Mantegna, Veronese, and others; easel paintings like Antonello da Messina's *Saint Jerome in His Study* of about 1474 (National Gallery, London), where two birds strut on the step in the foreground; the "real" horses in the Sala dei Cavalli, painted about 1530–35 by Giulio Romano and his assistants in the Palazzo del Tè, Mantua; Ambrogio Borgognone's *Monk at a Window* of about 1490, in the Certosa at Pavia (an obvious antecedent of Van Hoogstraten's *Head of a Bearded Man at a Window*); the caged parrot perched in the Gubbio Studiolo (fig. 247); and Jacopo de'



Fig. 245. Gerard Dou, *A Young Woman with a Bunch of Grapes*, 1662. Oil on wood, 15 x 11 1/4 in. (38 x 29 cm). Galleria Sabauda, Turin

Barbari's *Sparrowhawk* (National Gallery, London), which dates from the early sixteenth century.<sup>12</sup> The majority of these works may be described as typical of court taste, or at least as works of art meant for experienced amateurs of illusionism. Such a viewer might have remarked that whereas Zeuxis (according to the famous story told by Pliny) painted grapes so realistically that birds tried to peck them, Fabritius deceived human observers by depicting a living bird.<sup>13</sup>

It seems possible that *The Goldfinch* was originally more deceptive than it now appears because of some added element. Ben Broos asks the obvious but generally neglected question of where the *puttertje's* usual bucket and glass might be.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps Fabritius, in a construction physically (if not conceptually) similar to the design of a perspective box (see figs. 125, 240, 241), fixed another panel at a right angle below this one, or in some other way created an ensemble like the (surely more elaborate) one seen in Dou's picture in Turin (fig. 244). This is not a farfetched notion, considering the number of contemporary works that attempt to blur the border between representation and reality by combining two- and three-dimensional elements, such as actual and painted architecture (see fig. 67), fictive curtains within actual frames (see cat. no. 93), and frames that have been transformed into part of the picture (cat. no. 16). When Samuel



Fig. 246. Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Head of a Bearded Man at a Window*, 1653. Oil on canvas, 44 1/4 x 34 1/4 in. (112 x 88 cm). Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Pepys, in 1660, saw in Charles II's cabinet of paintings "a book upon a deske which I durst have sworn was a reall book," the real desk was an important part of the deception. And in 1663, when the diarist was shown Van Hoogstraten's *View down a Corridor* (fig. 138) in Thomas Povey's house in London, the canvas mural was revealed by opening an actual door.<sup>15</sup>

However, comparison with contemporary trompe-l'oeil pictures also makes it clear that *The Goldfinch*, like *A View in Delft*, goes beyond conventional illusionism. The impressions of movement and of light and shadow are optical, not narrative, effects. The artist must have been interested in more than merely creating an illusion that would delight connoisseurs. The subject is painted broadly like a landscape—and like *The Sentry* (cat. no. 20), where there is also, in the figure seated against a wall, a range of definition extending from the sword and gun to the soldier's shadow, and a similar juxtaposition of bright and muted tones. Other Dutch painters shared Fabritius's interest in how things actually appear—Paulus Potter's *Cattle and Sheep in a Stormy Landscape* (cat. no. 55) offers analogies—but rarely does the record of visual experience seem to preoccupy the artist to the extent it does here. The description of the ring and chain, for example, dwells upon how these thin metal objects look under certain conditions, not how they were made.



The two smooth wood perches cast different shadows on the box and on the wall, as do the bird's tail and body. The shadows cast by the box itself could illustrate a page in one of Leonardo's notebooks,<sup>16</sup> except that here one takes it all in at a glance. When seen from a certain distance the bird's displacement from the wall looks more pronounced; the body stands out obliquely and the stronger colors on the wing and head (wedges of black and yellow) contrast with the duller, less well defined feathers in a way that enhances the impression of a soft, rounded form. Viewing distance is also crucial in paintings by De Witte and Vermeer.

In the end, what links *The Goldfinch* to the other pictures Fabritius is known to have painted in Delft, especially the townscape, is its concern with perception, not deception. But it would be naive to compare this work of art with contemporary studies in natural science. The two fields are both grounded in direct observation but diverge in goals,

the one attempting to explain, the other only to wonder.

WL

1. Various kinds of perches designed for *puttertjes* are described in Tóth-Ubbens 1969; see also Broos 1987, p. 136.
2. On this idea, first advanced in Boström 1950, see C. Brown 1981, p. 127, and fig. 25 for a radiograph revealing nail holes (evidently three on each side).
3. See Wurfain 1970. The idea is wrongly credited to a later author in The Hague 1998–99a, p. 51, n. 5.
4. As noted in C. Brown 1981, p. 127, and Broos 1987, p. 137.
5. See C. Brown 1981, pp. 47–48; Broos 1987, pp. 137–38; Brusati 1995, p. 63; and Liedtke 2000, pp. 34–35.
6. See chap. 4, pp. 119–21, on Fabritius's murals, and Liedtke 2000, chap. 2, for a fuller account of his illusionistic works. As noted by De Jongh (1967, p. 49), Fabritius's painting of a goldfinch alone was "highly exceptional," to the point where it might have been omitted from that author's discussion of symbolic birds.
7. Broos (1987, p. 139), made the point about the signature's tonality and legibility.
8. See Brusati 1995, pp. 361–64, nos. 75–85.
9. See *ibid.*, pp. 65, 285, n. 30.

10. See also Rembrandt's *Portrait of a Young Woman with a Fan* (Metropolitan Museum, New York) and the pendant, *Portrait of a Man Rising from His Chair* (Taft Museum, Cincinnati), both of 1633; discussed by the present writer in New York 1995–96, vol. 2, pp. 52–54.
11. Cornelis Liebenberg's *Still Life of Finches* (Philadelphia Museum of Art) is compared with *The Goldfinch* in C. Brown 1981, pp. 47–48, fig. 37. It was painted in the same year, 1654, in The Hague and shares Fabritius's "predilection for *trompe-l'œil* effects" (p. 47). See also the undated *Still Life with Hunting Gear* (and a live bird in a cage) by Philips Angel (1616–ca. 1683) in the Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (Trnek 1992, no. 6). A number of relevant works are illustrated in Haak 1984, figs. 262–67, and in Sullivan 1984 (many plates, mostly of paintings with dead birds).
12. Most of these examples are illustrated in Mastai 1975: see figs. 85, 90, 100, 103, 109. The comparison with Jacopo de' Barbari's painting in London was made in C. Brown 1981, p. 47, fig. 36.
13. After Zeuxis fooled the birds, Parrhasios painted an illusionistic veil over the still life. When Zeuxis subsequently tried to pull the veil aside, he lost the contest. The story, told in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia* (Natural History), was very familiar to Dutch artists. See Mastai 1975, p. 35; Sluiter 1993, pp. 19–20; Brusati 1995, pp. 11, 158, 161; and especially Sluiter 2000, pp. 209–10. Kloss in Columbus, West Palm Beach 1985–86, pp. 20–21, discusses Pliny's account and emphasizes that it goes on to consider the problem of including animate beings (people, dogs, and so on) in *trompe-l'œil* pictures.
14. Broos 1987, p. 136.
15. On these two incidents described by Pepys, see chap. 4, p. 126, nn. 119, 120.
16. Leonardo da Vinci's optical observations are related to Fabritius in Liedtke 1976a, pp. 72–73.

REFERENCES: Thoré 1859, p. 29; Thoré 1865, p. 81; Havard 1879–81, vol. 4, p. 61; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 577, no. 16; Valentiner 1932a, p. 218; Martin 1935–36, vol. 2, pp. 180, 182; Schuurman 1947, p. 55; Boström 1950, pp. 81–83; Swillens 1950, p. 174; Plietzsch 1960, p. 48; Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1966, pp. 116, 201; De Jongh 1967, pp. 47, 49; Tóth-Ubbens 1969, pp. 155–59, 346–49; Wurfain 1970, pp. 233–40; C. Brown 1981, pp. 47–48, no. 7, pls. 25, 26 (radiograph and detail); Haak 1984, pp. 440–41; Hoetink et al. 1985, no. 31; Paris 1986, no. 21; Broos 1987, no. 24 (with additional literature); Brusati 1995, p. 63; Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, no. 123/1; Liedtke 2000, pp. 34–35.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1921, no. 9; London 1929, no. 325; Amsterdam 1945, no. 22; Brussels 1946, no. 30; London 1952–53, no. 129; The Hague, Paris 1966, no. 22; Washington and other cities 1982–84, no. 16 (no. 17 in Tokyo); Paris 1986, no. 21; Amsterdam 2000, no. 135.

EX COLL.: Chevalier Joseph-Guillaume-Jean Camberlyn, Brussels, by 1859; his gift to Théophile Thoré, according to Thoré's personal correspondence (sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 5, 1892, no. 10); Martinet (sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 27, 1896, no. 16); bought at that sale by Abraham Bredius for the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague (605).



Fig. 247. Francesco de Giorgio Martini, *Studiolo from the Palace of Duke Federico da Montefeltro at Gubbio* (detail), 1478–83. Wooden intarsia. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1939



## JACOB VAN GEEL

*Middelburg? 1584/85–1637 (or later) Dordrecht?*

*The landscape painter Jacob van Geel was probably born in Middelburg in 1584 or 1585. Nothing is known about his training as a painter. At some time about the turn of the century he became a member of the Middelburg Guild of Saint Luke, in which he served as both beleeder (1615–17) and deken (dean) (1617–18).<sup>1</sup> Most of the surviving documents from his Middelburg period refer to Van Geel's mounting debts. By 1626, possibly in an attempt to escape his creditors, the artist had moved to Delft, where on October 18 he witnessed the baptism of Adriaen van der Poel, brother of the painter Egbert van der Poel.<sup>2</sup> One year later Van Geel—then apparently a widower living on the "Ouden Varckenmarct" in Delft—married the widow Lisbeth Schraven. The marriage was evidently not very successful, for the couple initiated divorce proceedings in 1629. Nevertheless, they were still living together at the time of Lisbeth's death in 1632. Van Geel was accepted into Delft's Guild of Saint Luke in 1628.<sup>3</sup> Five years later, in 1637, he is documented as a member of the painters' guild in Dordrecht. We do not know where and when he died; his last dated painting was executed in 1637.*

A R

1. Dordrecht 1992–93, p. 189.

2. Goldschmidt 1922, p. 65.

3. The precise date is unknown; see Montias 1982, p. 340.

## 22. Landscape

ca. 1633

Oil on wood, 19 1/4 x 28 3/4 in. (49.5 x 72 cm)

Signed: Jacob v geel

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The renown of Adam Pynacker, Egbert van der Poel, and Paulus Potter, who were active in Delft beginning about 1645, has cast the work of earlier Delft landscape painters, of whom Jacob van Geel is probably the most important, into relative obscurity.<sup>1</sup> Van Geel came to Delft from Middelburg in 1626 and stayed on until 1633, when he moved on to Dordrecht.

The present painting is an excellent example of Van Geel's idiosyncratic later works, which he executed in Delft and Dordrecht. In the right foreground the scene is dominated by a solid mass of trees. Below the canopy of dense foliage a few wanderers follow a path that winds past twisted trunks into the deeper recesses of the wood. Toward the left of the picture we are allowed a glimpse into a flat landscape that recedes rapidly past a clearing with trees and a few diminutive figures in the middle ground. The division of the composition into two distinct vistas reflects the Flemish tradition of landscape painting, dating back to the end of the sixteenth century. The strong local coloring and Van Geel's manner of treating the foreground, middle ground, and background as planes of brown, green, and blue are Flemish techniques that he had long relied upon; however, there is in this painting a noticeable increase in tones of brown and green, a trend that would continue throughout the artist's late work.

The protagonists in this picture—as well as in many other works by Van Geel—are trees with dramatically contorted trunks and gnarled branches, in places heavily overgrown with moss and vines. In the foreground one dead tree leans across the path painfully bent by the weight of its crown and a mass of

vines. In an attempt to draw a parallel between the artist's problem-ridden life and his art, one author described such specimens as the "tortured trees of a tormented painter,"<sup>2</sup> but so direct a relationship between the artist's personal fortune and his art appears to be both unprovable and incongruent with the realities of his social and artistic environment.<sup>3</sup> It would be more accurate to say that Van Geel's idiosyncratic woodland scenes are usually characterized by an atmosphere of fantasy and wonder that on occasion turns gloomy and oppressive, and, when pushed too far, seems even grotesque.<sup>4</sup>

Since only a handful of the works Van Geel executed during his last years in Dordrecht are dated it is almost impossible to determine which ones were painted in Delft. The present picture bears striking resemblances to another *Landscape* by Van Geel, now in Hanover, which is dated 1633 (fig. 248)<sup>5</sup> and which was probably executed just after the artist's move to Dordrecht. Considering the close parallels in composition and execution, it seems plausible that the two pictures were painted about the same time.<sup>6</sup>

Walter Liedtke has observed elsewhere in this catalogue that in Northern European painting the tradition of depicting primeval forests goes back to Albrecht Altdorfer (before 1480–1538) and found its continuation in the works of Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1606), Joos de Momper (1564–1635), Jan Brueghel (1568–1625), Roelant Savery (1576–1639), and Van Geel's contemporaries Hercules Seghers and Alexander Keirincx.<sup>7</sup> This tradition, and particularly Van Geel's interpretation of it, stands in marked contrast to the developments in landscape painting that took place elsewhere in Holland in the 1620s and 1630s, particularly in Haarlem. While Van Geel continued to paint his eerie fairy-tale forests, Esaias van de Velde, Pieter Molijn, Salomon van Ruysdael, and Jan van Goyen began to focus on their native countryside and its naturalistic portrayal. Although not necessarily topographically accurate,

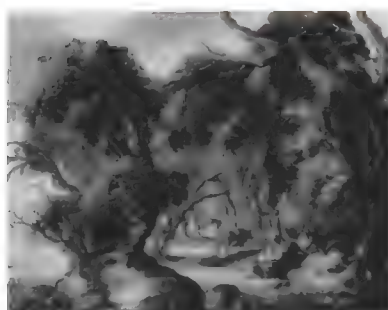


Fig. 248. Jacob van Geel, *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1633. Oil on wood, 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (30 x 38.5 cm). Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hanover

these landscapes with their dunes, waterways, windmills, slight elevations, and expansive views would have been instantly recognized as home ground by the artists' fellow countrymen. The reason why Van Geel did not feel compelled to explore this new avenue seems to have been a matter of taste. His patrons most likely belonged to the courtly and patrician circles of Delft, The Hague, and

Dordrecht, and, not unexpectedly, they preferred the expensive, precious-looking, and finely executed idealized landscapes of the Antwerp tradition to the naturalistic landscapes of the young painters from Haarlem and Amsterdam.<sup>8</sup>

A R

1. See chap. 3, pp. 83–89, where Van Geel and other landscapists active in Delft during the first half of the seventeenth century are discussed by Walter Liedtke.
2. The thought was first expressed in Bol 1957, p. 25, and reiterated in Bol 1969, p. 116, and Bol 1982, p. 110.
3. Buijsen in Tokyo, Kasama, Kumamoto, Leiden 1992–93, p. 148, under no. 13.
4. Bol (1982, p. 108) refers to them as “Stimmungslandschaften” (landscapes of mood), which are the “Traumbild eines Waldebens, in dem Gärung und Auflösung brüten, in dem das Holz unter den Wucherungen des Schwammes verdirbt.” A characteristic example is *Landscape with a Big Tree* (State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, inv. no. 2052). See also Müller and Van Regteren Altena 1931, p. 190.
5. See Hanover 1985, no. 15. Bol (1957, p. 33, no. 20) read the date on the painting as 1638, which would make it Van Geel's last dated work. Both Gmelin (1982, p. 69) and the authors of Hanover 1985, however, prefer a reading of 1633. Assuming the latter are right, Van Geel's last known work is the landscape in the Herzog Anton

Ulrich-Museum in Brunswick dated 1637; see Klessmann 1983, pp. 69–70, no. 777.

6. Gmelin (1982) calls the picture in Hanover a “fresh preparation” (*frische Vorbereitung*) for the present work because in the latter the group of trees is less dominant, the view into the distance is balanced by the clearing in the middle ground, and the details are more carefully worked out.
7. See Bol 1957, p. 23. As Bol points out (1982, p. 107), Keirinx probably did not influence Van Geel, as he was only fifteen when Van Geel started to paint; but Van Geel's late paintings reveal some parallels with Keirinx's gnarled trees; see Stechow 1966, pp. 68–70.
8. The Hague 1997–98a, p. 59.

REFERENCES: Bol 1957, pp. 25, 34, 38, no. 19; Bol 1969, p. 115; Bol 1982, p. 109; Gmelin 1982, p. 71; Tokyo, Kasama, Kumamoto, Leiden 1992–93, p. 148.

EXHIBITED: Eindhoven 1948, no. 20; Amsterdam 1955, no. 55; Breda, Ghent 1960–61, no. 28; Laren 1963, no. 73.

EX COLL.: Fedor Zschille, Cologne, 1889; Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, later Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen; on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1948–60; entered the museum's collection in 1960 (A3968).

## PIETER DE HOOCH

Rotterdam 1629–1684 Amsterdam

This artist is usually considered the second most important representative of the Delft School after Johannes Vermeer, although the slightly older De Hooch lived in Delft only from about 1654 or 1655 until about 1660. He was born in Rotterdam on November 20, 1629. His father, Hendrick, was a mason, his mother a midwife. Arnold Houbraken records that De Hooch was “for some time” a pupil, along with his fellow Rotterdammer Jacob Ochtervelt (1634–1682), of Nicolaes Berchem in Haarlem.<sup>1</sup> In the same passage the biographer observes that De Hooch, “who was excellent in the painting of interior views,” followed the older Rotterdam artist Ludolf de Jongh (1616–1679).<sup>2</sup> De Hooch was also closely linked with another specialist in genre scenes, Hendrick van der Burch, who was almost certainly the brother of the woman, Jannetge van der Burch, whom De Hooch married on May 3, 1654. The Van der Burchs lived in Delft, while De Hooch was said to be a resident of Rotterdam at the time.<sup>3</sup> However, both De Hooch and Van der Burch were recorded as residents of Delft when they witnessed a will on August 5, 1652, and they both had contacts in Leiden.<sup>4</sup> In May 1653 “de Hooch, schilder [painter],” was described as in the service of Justus de la Grange (also called Justinus de la Oranje), a linen merchant who lived in Delft and Leiden, and who in 1655 owned eleven pictures by the artist.<sup>5</sup>

Children born to De Hooch and his wife were baptized in Delft in February 1655 and in November 1656. He joined the painters’ guild on September 20, 1655, and paid dues in the following two years. Although paintings by De Hooch have been dated as early as

about 1650 and a fair number have been placed in the mid-1650s, the earliest known works to bear dates are of 1658.<sup>6</sup> Two of them in this exhibition (cat. nos. 30, 31) and other pictures by De Hooch of about the same time include architectural details that derive from buildings in Delft.<sup>7</sup>

Like several Delft and Leiden painters in the 1650s, De Hooch moved to the flourishing art center of Amsterdam (probably in 1660, and before April 1661, when his daughter was baptized there in the Westerkerk).<sup>8</sup> Burial records of two children dating from 1663 and 1665 cite modest addresses for the De Hoochs, but by May 1668 they lived on the more respectable Konijnenstraat. Nothing is known of their lives after the birth of their seventh child in May 1672, except that the painter was buried on March 24, 1684, and that he had died in the Dolhuys (madhouse). WL

1. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, pp. 34–35.

2. On this point, see Fleischer 1978 and Kuretsky 1979, p. 4.

3. Sutton 1980a, pp. 9, 145–46 (doc. nos. 18, 19, 21).

4. See *ibid.*, p. 145 (doc. nos. 14, 17). De Hooch and his future wife attended a baptism in her family on November 30, 1653, in Leiden.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 145–46 (doc. nos. 15, 16, 23).

6. *Ibid.*, nos. 26–28, 30, 33, 34.

7. *Ibid.*, nos. 33, 34 (see also MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 199–200, under no. 835), and nos. 20–22, 35, 36.

8. See MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 196, on this point. Delft motifs in paintings of the Amsterdam period are virtually irrelevant to the question, as the oeuvre of Emanuel de Witte (ca. 1616–1691/92) demonstrates.

### 23. *Two Soldiers and a Serving Woman with a Trumpeter*

Probably ca. 1654–55

Oil on wood, 30 x 26 in. (76 x 66 cm)

Signed lower right: P-de-hooch

The Betty and David M. Koetser Foundation, Kunsthaus Zürich

Three soldiers in a country tavern are about to depart, as is announced—presumably to others—by the regimental bugler. The pair who have been drinking, smoking, and ogling the waitress have their hats in hand but are in no hurry; the one wearing a steel cuirass seems to be contemplating his return. Behind the figures is a horse stall with a slight trace of an occupant, from whose rump the space recedes implausibly to a room with a few figures in the background at right.

Military life was a topical subject during the first half of the seventeenth century, especially after 1621, when the Twelve Years’ Truce with Spain expired. Battle scenes were painted by many Dutch and Flemish artists, Esaias van de Velde and Palamedes Palamedesz being two of the most prolific representatives (see cat. no. 49). During the 1630s and 1640s, when Frederick Hendrick was conducting or threatening campaigns against the Spanish Netherlands, numerous troops, many of them mercenaries, spent months in the United Provinces simply occupying border areas and waiting for orders to come from The Hague. The soldiers’ interaction with the local population ranged from robbery and extortion to heroic protection and from rape to romance.<sup>1</sup>

The Amsterdam artists Pieter Codde (1599–1678) and especially the short-lived Willem Duyster (1598/99–1635) depicted idle groups of soldiers in a more nuanced manner than their predecessors, such as David Vinckboons (1576–ca. 1632). Jacob Duck (ca. 1600–1667) followed their example in Utrecht,<sup>2</sup> and Anthonie Palamedesz in Delft





Fig. 249. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Guardroom with Soldiers*, ca. 1650. Oil on wood, 11  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 14  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (29.8 x 37.8 cm). Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York

painted numerous guardroom pictures between about 1645 and 1655 (see fig. 249). From the early 1630s onward in Dutch art, soldiers often served in the theater of human comedy, with infantrymen seizing the roles of drunken louts and impetuous Romeos, and officers commanding the stage like roosters and peacocks.

De Hooch's inn scenes descend from many works in this tradition, but above all from recent pictures by the Rotterdam artist Ludolf de Jongh (1616–1679). As noted in chapter 5 (and discussed at length elsewhere),<sup>3</sup> De Hooch's early figure groups, with their energetic gestures and glances and their diagonal claims of space, could just as well have been painted in De Hooch's native Rotterdam as in Delft; indeed, the description of the interior, with its strongly receding wall on the left and sequence of sketchy rectangles, is obviously adopted from tavern and barn interiors by De Jongh and Hendrick Sorgh (see fig. 145). These compositional guidelines complemented De Hooch's natural gifts (no doubt nurtured by his training in Haarlem) for employing color and describing light, which here floods through the doorway like a call back to duty and to reality.

WL

1. See Sutton, "The Guardroom Painters," in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, pp. XXXVI–XXXVIII, and Delft 1998. Jacob van Geel's landscape of 1610 in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 96 here) includes a typical scene of pillaging.
2. See the superb example in Delft 1998, no. 36, and Salomon 1998a.
3. See Liedtke 2000, chap. 4. On De Hooch's development, see Sutton 1980a, pp. 11–19, and Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 16–18 (p. 92 on this picture and for a reproduction of a comparable work by De Jongh).

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 553, no. 278; Sutton 1980a, pp. 11, 13, 14, 43, no. 7; Klemm 1988, no. 35; Delft 1996, pp. 136–37; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 3; Dordrecht, Enschede 2000, p. 129; Liedtke 2000, p. 161.

EXHIBITED: London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 3 (shown in London only).

EX COLL.: H. A. Bauer (sold Amsterdam, September 11, 1820, no. 55, to Meusardt); P. J. de Marneffe (sold Brussels, May 24, 1830, no. 148, to De Schrijver); probably the Dunford sale, London, April 28, 1855, no. 87; (sale of Lord Blackford and others, Christie's London, May 24, 1957, no. 113, bought by Sabin); Hare collection, Woking, Surrey, from which it was acquired by D. M. Koetser, Zurich; The Betty and David M. Koetser Foundation, Kunsthau Zürich (KS 35).

## 24. *A Man Offering a Glass of Wine to a Woman*

Probably ca. 1654–55

Oil on wood, 28 x 23  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (71 x 59 cm)

Signed lower left: P. De-hooch

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

A kitchen maid receives the gallant attentions of a young gentleman whose attire suggests his fresh commitment to fashionability. The fancy wineglass and the schooled manner in which it is held are charmingly incongruous with the rustic interior. The lady is delighted, the boy entertained, and the seated man with a pipe effaced by the visitor's gesture. He makes the sort of impression a young man can make when passing quickly through town.

Although the picture was misattributed to Gabriël Metsu as recently as 1974,<sup>1</sup> it strongly resembles works by De Hooch's Rotterdam colleague Ludolf de Jongh. The brisk recession of the architecture, which is more precisely defined than in most pictures by De Hooch dating from the first half of the 1650s, and the way it is used to focus attention on the gap between gazing eyes (as Vermeer does more discreetly in the slightly later *Cavalier and Young Woman*, fig. 165), are so reminiscent of paintings by De Jongh, such as *Hunters in an Inn* of the early 1650s (fig. 250), that it may be assumed De Hooch closely studied that or



Fig. 250. Ludolf de Jongh, *Hunters in an Inn*, ca. 1650. Oil on wood, 28  $\frac{1}{2}$  x 24  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (72 x 62.5 cm). Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel







Fig. 251. Gerard ter Borch, *Tavern Scene*, ca. 1650. Oil on wood, 13 x 10 1/4 in. (33 x 26 cm). Brooklyn Museum of Art, New York

a similar work. Even the firm (and somewhat wooden) modeling of the figures and to some extent their facial types recall nearly contemporary works by De Jongh, a few of whose paintings of the early 1650s have been taken for De Hooch's in the past.<sup>2</sup>

None of this is very surprising, given De Hooch's association with the older De Jongh in their native Rotterdam (see De Hooch's biography above). The point of interest is that De Jongh helped De Hooch become current with styles and subjects more of the moment than those found in his earlier tavern interiors, which may be traced back through Rotterdam artists like Hendrick Sorgh (see fig. 145) to peasant scenes of the 1630s by the Antwerp painters Adriaen Brouwer and David Teniers the Younger.<sup>3</sup> In the early to mid-1650s De Jongh and the Amsterdam artists Jacob van Loo and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout transformed the tradition of guardroom scenes into more polite Merry Companies; the mood is generally quieter, and the women, when they are present, appear to be there voluntarily. Gerard ter Borch was important for this development, as has often been remarked.<sup>4</sup> Some of his genre scenes of the early 1650s (works similar to the panel in Brooklyn; fig. 251) were known in the vicinity of The Hague, where he was recorded in 1649. His signing of a document together

with the young Vermeer in Delft on April 22, 1653, is now a widely reported incident.<sup>5</sup> A gifted portraitist (perhaps significantly, of diplomats and government officials), Ter Borch was an incisive student of human emotions and relationships. This made a distinct impression upon a number of genre painters during the 1650s and 1660s, including De Hooch and Vermeer. For the type of interior depicted in the present painting, artists in Delft, The Hague, and Rotterdam were on home territory.<sup>6</sup> De Hooch has been credited with very nearly inventing the kind of cubical space that is found in this picture and appears further evolved in works like *The Visit* (cat. no. 25) and the National Gallery's tiled interior of about 1658 (cat. no. 29; see the discussion there). It was the enthusiasm of a convert, and of contemporary connoisseurs. WL

1. F. W. Robinson 1974, p. 55, n. 97.

2. For example, *Paying the Hostess* of the early 1650s, formerly in a private collection, New York (fig. 256); see Sutton 1980a, no. D20. The signature "L. De Jongh" is easily modified to "P. De Hoogh" as it was in that work.

3. See the discussion and comparative illustrations in London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 1.

4. See, for example, Sutton 1980a, pp. 13–14.

5. Montias 1989, p. 308 (doc. no. 251).

6. See the discussion in chap. 5, pp. 134–36, nn. 21–23, and Liedtke 2000, chap. 4.

REFERENCES: *Les Trésors d'art en Russie* 1904, p. 17; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 551, no. 271; Brière-Misme 1927, pp. 370–71; Valentiner 1929, no. 184 (as by Metsu); Plietzsch 1936, p. 11, n. 1; F. W. Robinson 1974, p. 55, n. 97 (as by Metsu); Sutton 1980a, p. 12, no. 6; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 2; Liedtke 2000, pp. 161, 173, 282, n. 101.

EXHIBITED: London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 2.

EX COLL.: L. ten Kate, Amsterdam (sold May 29, 1776, no. 55, to J. Spaan); P. Calkoen, Amsterdam (sold September 10, 1781, no. 65, to Nijman); Duke of Leuchtenberg, Saint Petersburg, until 1912; [art market]; Pushkin Museum, Moscow; State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (6316).

## 25. *The Visit*

ca. 1657

Oil on wood, 26 3/4 x 23 in. (67.9 x 58.4 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1929

*The Visit*, which has also been titled *A Merry Company with Two Men and Two Women*,<sup>1</sup> is one of the first genre scenes by De Hooch in which the figures rise above the level of soldiers visiting inns and in which the setting makes tentative claims to gentility. Anthonie Palamedesz and Jacob van Velsen in Delft (see fig. 252; cat. nos. 47, 48, 60) and many painters in other cities could have supplied De Hooch with ideas. The paring down to four, three, or two figures is typical of the 1650s and a sign of interest in individual rather than group behavior. Gerard ter Borch, Frans van Mieris, and Vermeer painted some of the more intriguing examples, whereas other artists tended to rely upon standard situations and types.

The drama here is familiar but interesting. Two young women, one of whom wears a revealing bodice and a knowing smile, entertain two gentlemen whose mood is suggested by discarded items of outerwear and by their hands, which grip a clay pipe, the back of a chair, and a woman's wrist. The Delftware dish on the table contains oysters or some other delicacy; what appear to be a silver fork and a slice of lemon invite the visitors to help themselves. The harbor scene on the wall must be meant to suggest worldly sophistication, since the city resembles Venice, which had a reputation for courtesans and luxury goods.<sup>2</sup> Like other pictures of the late 1650s by De Hooch, Ludolf de Jongh, Gabriël Metsu, and other genre painters, *The Visit* represents the domestication of a social theme that had earlier been set mostly in taverns and bordellos.<sup>3</sup> In slightly later years—for example, in the interior with figures in the Lehman Collection (fig. 160)—De Hooch would depict more luxurious rooms and superficially more polite behavior than he did in this key work of his early maturity.

Compared with almost any earlier painting by De Hooch, this one is more successful in its suggestion of an interior space that is established primarily by the architecture





Fig. 252. Anthonyon Palamedesz, *Cavaliers and Ladies Making Music*, ca. 1650–55. Oil on wood, 20 1/4 x 26 1/4 in. (52 x 66.5 cm). Formerly Richard Green Gallery, London

rather than by figure groups and furniture. The ceiling beams, the window, and an arbitrary seam in the floor establish main lines of recession, which are assisted by the bench and the raised shutter to the left, the nearest chair (which is aligned orthogonally), and to some extent the covered table. However, the underscaled bed and the rather sudden shift of scale within the figure group reveal that the artist adopted devices he had yet to master. Similarly, the watercolor view of a Mediterranean port and the conservative portrait of a man would not quite manage to define the wall plane even if the bed were hauled away. The progress in depth from the hat on the floor through the dark shadow (laid down like a rug) to the man's coat thrown over a chair seems like a naive response to schemes Hendrick van Vliet and Emanuel de Witte had employed (compare the steps into space on the right in cat. no. 91). Still clearly recognizable is the composition's development from De Hooch's inn scenes of a few years before (compare cat. no. 23), not only in the outline of space but also in the interplay of light and shadows.

Vermeer made bolder progress in constructing interior space at about the same time. The window and slightly ambiguous corner in *The Letter Reader* (fig. 163) are handled in a manner similar to that found in *The Visit*, where the reflection of the woman's head and red jacket in the window glass to the left and the highlights on the red jacket itself (compare fig. 165) are among several indications that De Hooch absorbed impressions, some of them perhaps unconsciously, from his slightly younger and visually quicker colleague. Especially curious are the diagonal encounters

of couples (or paired-off people) in the present picture, both of which recall the *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165). But the same stage directions had been assigned by Palamedesz (see fig. 252) and artists outside of Delft, indeed as far away as Joos van Craesbeeck in Antwerp.<sup>4</sup> The impressive aspect of De Hooch's achievement in this painting is not the old bottle but the new wine. WL

1. Sutton 1980a, no. 19, and London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 8.

2. See De Roever 1991, especially pp. 16–17 for Willem Jansz Blauw's engraved profile view of Venice (1614). Compare the engraved view of Amsterdam on the wall in De Hooch's *A Woman Drinking with Two Men* of 1658 (fig. 254; see Sutton 1980a, no. 26, pl. 23, and London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 12). The inscription above the cityscape in the present picture was probably never meant to be decipherable, apart from generally appropriate words such as "city" and "[year] of Our Lord."

3. This process is described correctly in the title of F. Scholten 1994–95 and of Salomon 1998a, as well as on perceptive pages in those volumes.

4. See my discussion of Van Craesbeeck's *The Lute Player* of the early 1650s (Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein) in New York 1985–86, no. 194, where Vermeer's *Cavalier and Young Woman* is compared. The latter is compared with a composition by Anthonyon Palamedesz in Liedtke 2000, p. 210, figs. 265, 266.

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 229, no. 34; Thoré 1864, p. 313 (as by Vermeer); Thoré 1866, pp. 316–17, 551, no. 14 (as by Vermeer); Blanc 1869, pp. 202–4; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 104–5; Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 87; Bode 1895, p. 72; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 529–30, no. 192; Cortisoz 1909, pp. 166–67; Valentiner 1926–27, pp. 47, 61, 74, 76, no. 7; Brière-Misme 1927, p. 60; Valentiner 1929, pp. XIII, XVII, no. 62; Valentiner 1932b, p. 317; Sutton 1980a, pp. 23, 55, no. 19; Weitzenhoffer 1986, pp. 58, 66, 77, 224, 254; Liedtke 1990–91, p. 46; New York 1993, pp. 65, 90, 91, 95 (app., no. 5), 209, 214, 252, 283, 349, no. 326; Delft 1996, pp. 143–45; Jowell 1996, pp. 123–24; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 8; Liedtke 2000, pp. 178–79.

EXHIBITED: New York 1909, no. 53; New York 1930, no. 71; Little Rock 1963; Berkeley, Houston 1969–70, no. 7; New York 1993, no. A326; Delft 1996; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 8.

EX COLL.: Probably Jacob Odon (sold Amsterdam, September 6ff., 1784, no. 10); Baron François Delessert, Paris, by 1833 (sold Paris, March 15–18, 1869, no. 36, to Narischkine for 150,000 francs); B. Narischkine, Paris (sold April 5, 1883, no. 16, to Cedron for 160,000 francs); Secrétan, Paris (sold July 1–7, 1889, no. 128, to Durand-Ruel for 276,000 francs); Mr. and Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, New York, 1889–1907; Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 1907–29; her bequest in 1929 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 29.100.7).

## 26. *Soldiers Playing Cards*

ca. 1657–58

Oil on wood, 19 1/4 x 18 in. (50.5 x 45.7 cm)

Signed left, on the chair back: P.D.H.

Private collection, Zurich

London only

This rarely seen picture has received various attributions in the past, beginning in 1866, when Thoré-Bürger (Théophile Thoré) ascribed it to Vermeer.<sup>1</sup> Wilhem R. Valentiner, in 1929, catalogued the work as by De Hooch and considered its design derived from the composition of Vermeer's *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165). More recent writers have been inclined to see Vermeer as the debtor, distilling with typical economy an invention of De Hooch's. Lawrence Gowing praised the painting as "one of the many fertile arrangements which he lighted on during his remarkable period of vitality," and implied that it had influenced Vermeer. At the same time, however, the historian wisely stressed that the evidence was inconclusive and that in any event "the Delft painters may have drawn the suggestion from many sources."<sup>2</sup> Peter Sutton pronounced his opinion with even greater caution in 1980,<sup>3</sup> but then threw it to the wind in 1998 by crediting "the essential components of the design" to De Hooch and by dating the Vermeer at least two years later than it usually is, to about 1660.<sup>4</sup>

A closer look at the two pictures indicates that they are not so similar as they might at first appear, while a broader view of Dutch genre painting in the period about 1645–60 suggests that both designs are rather conventional, with the impressive exceptions of the closeness of view and the behavior of light.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the tempest in a teacup (or wineglass) does a disservice to De Hooch, whether or not he arrived independently at a composition with no clear precedent in his oeuvre. For despite a corner of space with a window, a flood of light, and (in the corner itself) shadows reminiscent of Vermeer (compare figs. 163, 165; cat. no. 68), and despite a subject inspired by Gerard ter Borch or Gerbrand van den Eeckhout—Vermeer, incidentally, never represented gamblers, or a soldier in a cuirass—De Hooch has painted a







composition consistent with his earlier works and with his own temperament. The smiles and gestures, in particular the bold and awkward act of flinging down a card—all the figures, even those in the painting on the wall,<sup>6</sup> are busy in this picture—have little to do with the work's most obvious sources: they are De Hooch's own baggage, by this date carried in concert with his former source of inspiration, Ludolf de Jongh.<sup>7</sup>

The red herrings dragged in by historians have also turned discussion away from the sheer quality of this painting, which admittedly is not evident in any previously published reproduction. The beveled glass mirror to the upper left wonderfully contrasts with the textured fields of light in the window (which reveals bricks outside) and on the tabletop. The mirror may have to do with worldly vanity, but its more immediate function appears to be informing the viewer that a Chinese vase and bowl stand on a sideboard out of view to the right. There are more reflections to admire in the armor and on the ebony frame and subtler light effects like the illumination of the wall on the left and the green and gray weave of the tablecloth.<sup>8</sup> The picture also stands apart from most earlier works by De Hooch in its rich and nuanced accord of colors, with a theme of reds and yellows introduced by the hat and pillow on the chair and continued in the soldiers' salmon-colored sashes, and in the cuff by the hand holding the ace. The chalk marks on the table and other diverting details add up to much less than the picture's general effect, which despite its angular activity has qualities one is more accustomed to discovering in Vermeer.

WL

1. Thoré 1866, p. 550, no. 12.

2. Gowing 1970, p. 108, for both quotes; see the qualifications in n. 59.

3. See Sutton 1980a, under no. 25; on p. 23, the closeness of the view and the "resulting formal concentration" in both pictures are considered Vermeer-like qualities no matter who introduced them.

4. Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 38.

5. For a few similar designs and a discussion of the issues, see Liedtke 2000, chap. 4, and figs. 204 (Quiringh van Brekelenkam in 1653), 207 (Hendrick Sorgh in 1643), 266 (Anthonie Palamedesz about 1655). Many other pictures could be brought into the discussion—for example, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout's *Trictrac Players*, dated 1651 (art market, 1992; see London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 96, fig. 2).

6. The subject of the painting on the wall appears to be soldiers gambling, not Christ and the Adulteress. The similar picture on the wall in De Hooch's *Woman Drinking with Two Men* of 1658 (fig. 254) has been so identified; see Sutton 1980a, no. 26, and London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 12.

7. See Fleischer 1989, figs. 83, 84, for contemporary works.

8. The tablecloth repeats in the Louvre painting cited above in n. 6.

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 226, no. 26; Thoré 1866, p. 550, no. 12 (as by Vermeer); Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, p. 131; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 548–49, no. 264; Brière-Misme 1927, pp. 372–74; Valentiner 1929, p. XVI, no. 32; Valentiner 1932b, p. 318; Gowing 1970, pp. 108–9, n. 59; Fleischer 1978, p. 56; Sutton 1980a, pp. 23, 63, n. 52, no. 25; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 218; Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 38; Liedtke 2000; pp. 177–78.

EXHIBITED: Los Angeles 1933, no. 16; Hartford 1934, no. 25; Rotterdam 1935, no. 34; Amsterdam 1935, no. 152a; Kansas City 1940–41, no. 28; Zurich 1958, no. 80; Munich 1958–59, no. 86.

EX COLL.: (Probably sale, Amsterdam, November 24, 1806, no. 30, purchased by Roos); (sale, London, 1819, purchased by Woodburn); (P. van Cuyck sale, Paris, February 17, 1866, no. 47); (Auguiot sale, Paris, March 1, 1875, no. 12); Péreire collection, Paris, by April 1911 to 1929; [Wildenstein, New York, 1933–41]; acquired by E. Bührle from a French dealer in 1953; the present owner.

## 27. *Portrait of a Family in a Courtyard in Delft*

ca. 1658–60

Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 38 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (112.5 x 97 cm)

Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna

This portrait of a prosperous family in a private garden is one of the most distinctive works of the Delft school. In the figures as well as in the setting, the painting is remarkable for its synthesis of naturalism and formality. Like a number of Delft pictures dating from the 1650s—for example, Fabritius's *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18), Houckgeest's view in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk of 1650 (cat. no. 37), and Vermeer's *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68)—De Hooch's composition has been said to have few if any precedents.<sup>1</sup> And once again, essentially the opposite is true. De Hooch's invention had deep roots in the past, but it dates from a period when artists in various genres, not least formal portraiture, were

introducing numerous variations within the limits of certain compositional types. De Hooch was obviously very much aware of these innovations and was inspired by them to modernize a traditional form.

The process is analogous to that employed by Rubens in his self-portrait with Helena Fourment and one of their children (Metropolitan Museum). Like De Hooch a generation later, Rubens borrowed the setting and (in his case) the arrangement of the figures from genre scenes, ranging from a print by Dürer to his own *Garden of Love* (Prado, Madrid).<sup>2</sup> And like Van Dyck and many other portraitists of the time (compare Frans Hals's *Married Couple in a Garden* [Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen?] of about 1622, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Rubens was breathing new life—or rather, the new fashion of graceful informality—into the conservative tradition of full-length group portraiture. The garden setting also allowed for the natural presence of symbols: in De Hooch's canvas the roses on the left stand for love (as in Rubens's family portrait), the fruit on the table for fecundity, and the vine on the trellis either for the state of marriage itself or for its progeny, a notion going back to the simile in Psalm 128 describing a wife as a fruitful vine at the side of a man's house.<sup>3</sup>



Fig. 253. Pieter de Hooch, *A Woman and a Maid in a Courtyard*, ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 29 x 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (73.7 x 62.6 cm). The National Gallery, London



Private gardens also had strong associations with wealth and aristocracy and with the imagery of medieval cloister gardens (like those that were replaced in Delft by gardens such as this one). Among the symbolic themes of those monastic enclaves were the Garden of Eden, or Paradise, and virginity, as represented by certain flowers and by the *hortus conclusus*, or walled garden (see the model designed by Delft's own Master of the Virgin among Virgins, fig. 29). The tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in the background may underscore these well-established conventions of marriage and family portraiture, and of course it associates the sitters with Delft (one could, "at a stretch" of a mile or two, compare Petrus Schenk's view of the palace at Rijswijk, with its gardens and, in the background, the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk, fig. 8). The church probably represents this family's place of worship as well. Finally, the church and the garden setting encourage the conjecture that the gateways in this picture may refer to death and entry into heaven (as in Psalms 9 and 24). Could it be that the departing figure in the background commemorates a family member who died?<sup>4</sup>

De Hooch need not have come up with all of these ideas on his own. Quite as for Hendrick van Vliet's portrait of the Van der Dussen family dating from about twenty years earlier (cat. no. 80), the patron would have suggested or at least approved the details of iconography (which in that painting includes the lifted bunch of grapes). However, De Hooch was an appropriate choice of painter once the general program was decided, given his contemporary views of Delft gardens and courtyards, a few of which feature the tower of the Oude Kerk or the Nieuwe Kerk in the background. It is true that he was not established as a portraitist, which must be one reason that this painting was ascribed to Gerard ter Borch and even to Carel Fabritius in the past.<sup>5</sup> Although there seems no obvious reason to doubt that the figures are by De Hooch, one might wonder whether a recognized portraitist, say, Jacob Willemsz Delft the Younger (see figs. 49, 50), provided some assistance.

As discussed in chapter 5, one of the most revealing precedents for De Hooch's composition is Claes Jansz Visscher's dynastic portrait print *The Widely Famed Family of*

*Orange-Nassau* (fig. 155), which dates from the late 1620s. By the time the smallest sitter, Louisa Henrietta, was born, in 1627, the four figures on the right—William the Silent, his widow, and his two eldest sons—were dead. Despite their stiff postures, one would not expect that any of De Hooch's sitters on the right were in the same condition; the conventions of dynastic portraiture were generally not carried over into commemorations of mere mortals without some clear sign. A dog next to the chair of Louise de Coligny and the one at the feet of a seated woman in De Hooch's painting presumably stand for fidelity in marriage. Also found in the engraving are the motif of a fruitful vine (behind Amalia van Solms) and a "garden" terrace with pavement leading the eye to a church tower in the background (labeled "Den Hage").

Approximately contemporary with Visscher's print are Van Dyck's portraits of Genoese families on terraces and various drawings, prints, and paintings of court personalities strolling or riding in The Hague (see fig. 6).<sup>6</sup> Painted portraits were generally more resistant to innovation than were works on paper, but from about 1630 onward many new forms were introduced, the most relevant for De Hooch being the Flemish fashion of depicting families on garden terraces or in similar surroundings. Between Van Dyck's regal *Philip, Fourth Earl of Pembroke, and His Family* (Earl of Pembroke Collection, Wilton House, Wiltshire) and De Hooch's in every way less elevated example there is an entire generation of analogous compositions by Jan Boeckhorst, Theodoor Boeyermans, Jacob van Oost the Elder, David Teniers the Younger, and others, including most notably Gonzales Coques, who worked for the Dutch court in the mid- to late 1640s.<sup>7</sup> It was especially Dutch artists in and near The Hague who responded to these models; portraits of families on terraces, in gardens, or in parklike landscapes by Jan Mijtens, Anthonie Palamedesz, and Christiaan van Couwenbergh were mentioned in chapter 3 (see fig. 53). Some of the most naturalistic versions of the type date immediately before or about the same time as the present painting: for example, Ludolf de Jongh's *Family Group on a Terrace* of the mid-1650s (private collection) and the Brussels painter Gillis van Tilborgh's

*Group Portrait: A Wedding Celebration* of about 1660, in the Metropolitan Museum.<sup>8</sup> Compared with Van Tilborgh's representation of a middle-class family banqueting by a rustic country inn, De Hooch's canvas might be mistaken for a state portrait.<sup>9</sup>

These precedents sketch in an artistic background to De Hooch's picture, but they still do not quite account for its immediacy, the impression that he has represented an actual site in Delft. To a great extent this is the artist's own contribution; indeed, approximately the same arbor and stone steps leading through the Delft city wall (but without the wood railing) occur in two of his contemporary genre scenes, *Woman and Child in a Courtyard* of about 1658–60 (National Gallery of Art, Washington) and *A Woman and a Maid in a Courtyard* of about 1660 (fig. 253).<sup>10</sup> The fact that the painter moved these motifs around in other pictures, together with paths, gateways, and houses, suggests that the setting in the present painting is a plausible fiction, not the family's property. However, De Hooch's creation still deserves to be compared with paintings of actual sites in Delft, including Daniel Vosmaer's picture of a fashionable couple (quite like De Hooch's pair on the left) walking through the ruins left by the explosion of 1654 (fig. 299), and of course Jan Steen's *Burgher of Delft and His Daughter* (cat. no. 58). The latter, which is set on the street for specific reasons (the theme of charity and the inclusion of the church), recalls some of the more straightforward examples of family portraiture set on terraces<sup>11</sup> and Ludolf de Jongh's lost canvas of about 1655, *Officers of the Rotterdam Civic Guard* (fig. 272; in the distance is the tower of the Fransche Kerk).<sup>12</sup> These works of the same decade cannot be considered sources for De Hooch's composition, but they do illustrate the artistic climate in which he formulated his own ideas.

No reasonable identification has ever been proposed for the family in the present picture. They have been described as middle class and as representing three generations.<sup>13</sup> Their clothing and bearing suggest riches and reserve.<sup>14</sup> One scholar questions whether the man on the steps is really a relative rather than a visitor who has happened by.<sup>15</sup> In the present writer's opinion, it seems likely that he is the husband of the woman with the

dog and that the young man behind her is their son. The man to the left may be another son of the family (he resembles the man on the steps), with his new wife or fiancée.<sup>16</sup>

Numerous *pentimenti* indicate that the artist was somewhat less sure of precisely where to place the figures than they were of their position in society.

WL

1. Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 110, states that this “naturalistic portrayal of a middle class [?] family in a courtyard was unprecedented,” although he perceptively observes at the same time that the setting, in its use of perspective, may be traced back through “palatial courtyard” scenes by Dirck van Delen and other artists to plates in Hans Vredeman de Vries’s *Perspective* of 1604–5.
2. On Rubens’s family portrait, see Liedtke 1984a, pp. 176–87, and the present writer’s entry in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, no. 66.
3. See Trnek 1992, p. 234, n. 17, and London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 110, where additional literature is cited. In Sutton 1980a, p. 48, the fruit held by the woman on the left is said to be an apple, but Trnek (1992, p. 230) calls it a peach. This must be the case, considering that the usual symbolism of the peach is love and sincerity (see below, n. 7).
4. The tomb of Elisabeth van Marnix Morgan (1611) in the Oude Kerk employs a similar symbol (added to the tomb in 1655): see Lawrence 1994, pp. 341–43, fig. 20.
5. And to Vermeer in the 1860s and 1870s. See Sutton 1980a, no. 24.
6. See, for example, the page in Adriaen van de Venne’s album of 1625–26 representing Frederick Hendrick receiving a peasant’s petition; see Royaltan-Kisch 1988, no. 32.
7. See Vlieghe 1998, pp. 142–48. Coques’s *Portrait of a Family in a Landscape* (Wallace Collection; Vlieghe 1998, fig. 196), where the fountain suggests that the subjects are on their own estate, dates from 1647, the year in which Frederick Hendrick awarded Coques a gold chain. On Van Oost’s well-known *Portrait of a Bruges Family* of 1645 (Groeningemuseum, Bruges), where the Bruges skyline is visible from the family’s terrace, see Wieseman’s entry in Boston, Toledo 1993–94, no. 383. Commenting on the peaches offered by the young man to a young woman, she notes that traditionally the peach (because of its shape) referred to the heart, indicating love and sincerity (see also Boston, Toledo 1993–94, no. 53, on the same motif in Cornelis de Vos’s *Anthony Reyniers and His Family* of 1631, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art).
8. See, respectively, Fleischer 1989, fig. 29, and Liedtke 1984a, pp. 268–70.
9. A number of middle- and upper-class family portraits with comparable settings are discussed in Haarlem 1986: see no. 27 for a discussion of Dutch princes and their spouses on terraces; nos. 29, 30, 33, 36, 49, 54, 59. In the last entry a *Family Group* attributed to Abraham Willaerts (Museo d’Arte Antica, Castello Sforzesco, Milan; Haarlem 1986, fig. 59d) shows a line of six figures standing in a cow pasture with the (hitherto unidentified?) Cunerakerk and Koningshuys at Rhenen in the distance.

10. As noted in Wheelock 1995b, pp. 136–39. In the London picture these motifs are at the end of the path.
11. For example, the Van Oost cited above, in n. 7.
12. See Fleischer 1989, pp. 34–37, fig. 28. The idea of placing members of the civic guard on the steps of their headquarters had been used before, but without including a view down the street. See Haarlem 1988, p. 132, fig. 106 (Jan van Ravesteyn, 1616), nos. 171 (attributed to Hendrick Pot, 1630), 193 (Frans Hals, between 1636 and 1639).
13. The latter observation is offered unflinchingly in Trnek 1992, p. 230.
14. Peter Sutton’s oral suggestion (1983; recorded in Trnek 1992, p. 234, n. 1) that this might be the family of De Hooch’s brother-in-law, Hendrick van der Burch, can be dismissed on the grounds of wealth alone.
15. Trnek 1992, p. 230.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 234, n. 1, for a similar interpretation.

REFERENCES: Waagen 1862, p. 110 (as by Vermeer); Schwemminger 1866, p. 47, no. 435 (as by Vermeer); Thoré 1866, pp. 317, 550, no. 13 (as by Vermeer); Vosmaer 1874, pp. 145–46; Havard 1888, no. 14 (as by Vermeer); Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 87; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 565–66, no. 321; Eisler 1916, p. 253; Bode 1919, p. 306; Eisler 1923, p. 255; Brière-Misme 1927, p. 57; Valentiner 1929, p. XVI, no. 31; Valentiner 1932b, p. 319; Martin 1935–36, vol. 2, p. 202; Van Gelder 1942, pp. 62–63 (as by Fabritius); Plietzsch 1956, p. 182; Akademie der Bildenden Künste 1972, no. 78; De Jongh 1974, p. 168; Sutton 1980a, pp. 25, 48, 64, n. 61, no. 24; C. Brown 1981, no. R22; Haarlem 1986, p. 188; D. Smith 1990, pp. 167ff.; Trnek 1992, no. 79; Wheelock 1995b, p. 138; Delft 1996, pp. 113–14; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 32, 36, 44, 51, no. 11; Liedtke 2000, p. 175.

EXHIBITED: Brussels and other cities 1947–52, no. 55 (Brussels), no. 78 (Amsterdam), no. 80 (London), no. 46 (Washington, New York, Chicago, San Francisco), no. 70 (Oslo); Vienna 1953, no. 181; Zurich 1953, no. 63; Rome, Milan 1954, no. 62; Brussels 1977–78; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 11.

EX COLL.: Graf Lamberg; his gift (as a Ter Borch) in 1821 to the Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna (715).

## 28. *A Woman with a Baby in Her Lap, and a Small Child*

1658  
Oil on wood, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (60 x 47 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left: P·D·H·A 1658  
  
Aurora Art Fund, New York (courtesy of Stiebel, Ltd.)

A woman sits next to a wicker crib and talks to the baby on her lap. She points to an older child who, to judge from her jacket

and especially the situation, must be a girl. The puppy willingly suspended in the girl’s embrace is hers to love and nurture, following her mother’s example.<sup>1</sup> The fruit still life on the wall may hint at fecundity, one of the several qualities a man like the one portrayed in the background would have admired in a wife.

While hardly unknown earlier, pictures extolling or affectionately describing the virtues of motherhood and the responsibilities of the housewife flourished remarkably on the Dutch art market during the third quarter of the seventeenth century. The development was anticipated in literature, above all in the ethical writings of “Father” Jacob Cats—for example, his book *Houwehlyck* (Marriage), published in Middelburg in 1625 and illustrated by the Delft-born Adriaen van de Venne—and in portraits of parents with their children. However, the rise of mostly warmhearted domestic images in the 1650s, in the hands of artists such as Gerard ter Borch, Quiringh van Brecklenkam, Gerard Dou, Nicolaes Maes, Gabriël Metsu, and a host of lesser painters creating memorable works (London readers will know one of the later and most beautiful examples, Caspar Netscher’s *The Lacemaker* of 1662, in the Wallace Collection), was an extraordinary social as well as artistic phenomenon, which must have been stimulated partly by relative (if fragile) prosperity and peace.<sup>2</sup>

De Hooch could be considered the foremost representative of this development, especially in the late 1650s and early 1660s, when his finest domestic scenes were painted, and when Ter Borch and Maes turned mostly to portraiture and less housebound subjects of modern life. There are several reasons for De Hooch’s success in this realm: his sympathy for women in family roles, and especially for children; his use of light and shadow to establish mood as well as naturalistic space and atmosphere; and his adoption of the type of interior space that had developed in the region during the 1640s and 1650s, in humble and middle-class settings depicted by Van Brecklenkam (in Leiden), Maes (in Dordrecht), Hendrick Sorgh (in Rotterdam), and others. When inflected in this intimate direction, as opposed to that of the more pretentious interiors in which scenes of worldly entertainment were generally staged (as in cat. no. 7),





the geometric articulation of space that was favored by painters in the southern area of Holland was ideally suited to expressing values dear to the Dutch homemaker's heart, such as order, cleanliness, and simplicity. (Very nearly the same small interior, seen from a vantage point shifted slightly to the left, is found in De Hooch's *Woman with a Child in a Pantry* of about 1658, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)<sup>3</sup>

Maes's influence was particularly important for De Hooch's description of ordinary homes (compare fig. 281), although he obviously absorbed impressions from several genre painters of the time. In a few pictures of about 1657, such as the kitchen interior in the Louvre (fig. 149), De Hooch's debt to the Dordrecht artist may be discovered in the setting, in the handling of light and shadows, and in the maids, mothers, and children themselves. From Rembrandt's drawings of women with children and his seemingly related religious scenes, such as *The Holy Family with Angels* of 1645 (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg) and *The Holy Family* of 1646 (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Kassel), his pupil Maes learned to huddle figures within velvety shadows and warm areas of light, where they seem to be nestled in nebulous blankets, safe within the home. A similar feeling is suggested by De Hooch in his shadowy interiors of about 1657, and it continues in works like the present picture and the canvas known as *Maternal Duty* (cat. no. 34), but there is a gradual shift to more open environments, with windows and doors admitting sunlight, breezes, and the familiar noises of the neighborhood. The figures seem more confident in De Hooch's domestic scenes from this point onward, as if the young mother had grown into her role, the child felt secure and happy, and the unseen father was proud of his family and their modest prosperity.

What makes all of this seem real rather than iconic (as it tends to be in books by Cats) is the physicality of De Hooch's environment and the thoughtful posing and especially the placement of figures within it. In this painting the figures' small scale allows the home itself to be a subject and at the same time is offset by their careful positioning in the design. The bare wall foils the family group, to which the lines of the floor tiles and the architectural elements either refer or serve as

frames. The *kolf* stick in the foreground aids and slightly softens the perspective scheme and, with the ball to the right, leads the eye to the high chair against the side wall. This arrangement can be neatly diagrammed and at an early stage De Hooch must have done so, but one's attention to his skillful planning of the composition is overwhelmed by his description of light, textures, and substances. The brushwork on the walls, the gleam of light on several of the floor tiles, and the various grains of wood—in the doors, in the underside of the staircase leading to the floor above, and most impressively in the portrait of a man, which is painted on a panel composed of vertical boards and set in an ebony frame—all of these passages invite the viewer to explore the house with fingertips. The window revealing a brick house across the narrow street is a small miracle of describing sunlight, which seems to melt the glass to the upper left and to penetrate cracks in the wood shutter to the lower right. The ring handle on the doorway is one of many reasons in this picture to wonder whether the Dutch printer and poet Arnold Bon should not have added De Hooch's name when he cited Vermeer as the successor of Fabritius.<sup>4</sup> WL

1. See Franits 1993, pp. 130–38, on gender-determined roles in seventeenth-century Dutch life. The training of dogs (and horses) served as an analogy to child rearing (Franits 1993, pp. 155–57), but in this picture the puppy is the girl's baby and (to convey the same message) could be replaced by a doll.

2. Ibid., on domestic themes in Dutch art. There is a great deal of interest also in Schama 1987, pt. 3, which consists of chapters on "housewives and hussies" and on children in the Dutch Republic.

3. See London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 15.

4. See chap. 4, p. 115, n. 35.

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. I (1752), p. 147 (possibly); J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 224, no. 16; Blanc 1857–58, vol. 2, p. 503; Blanc 1863, p. 8; Thoré 1864, p. 308; Thoré 1866, p. 316; Nancy 1875, pp. 119–20; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 91, 95; Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 30; Molinier 1904, no. 21; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. I (1907), pp. 477–78, no. 6; Friedländer 1926, p. 11, no. 33; Valentiner 1926–27, p. 58, n. 2; Brière-Misme 1927, p. 58; Valentiner 1929, p. XVII, no. 49; Martin 1935–36, vol. 2, p. 202; Sutton 1980a, pp. 21, 47, no. 30; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 24, 31, 40, 42, no. 14; Liedtke 2000, p. 180.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1866, no. 88; Nancy 1875, no. 115; Rotterdam 1935, no. 40; New York, Toledo, Toronto 1954–55; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 14.

EX COLL.: Possibly P. van der Lip (sold Amsterdam, June 14, 1712, no. 25 or 26); Comte de Vaudreuil (sold Paris, November 24–25, 1784, no. 76, to J. B. P. Lebrun); Earl of Mulgrave, London, by 1815 (sold London, April 7, 1838, no. 56); Baron de Mecklenberg (sold Paris, December 11, 1854, no. 4, to Nieuwenhuys); [P. van Cuyck in 1858]; Isaac Péreire, Paris, by 1864 (sold Paris, March 6, 1872, no. 127); Roxard de la Salle, Nancy, by 1875 (Paris, March 1881, no. 19, to Brame); Baron Albert Oppenheim, Cologne, by 1904 (sold Berlin, October 27, 1914, no. 20); Dr. Walter von Pannwitz, Berlin, by 1918; by descent to the present owners.

## 29. *A Woman Drinking with Two Men, and a Serving Woman*

ca. 1658

Oil on canvas, 29 x 25½ in. (73.7 x 64.4 cm)

Signed lower left, on the table: P D H

The National Gallery, London

In the main room of what must be an imposing town house two men, probably army officers, are entertained by a young woman holding her wineglass high. A servant approaches from the right. One might expect to find a lute and viol in such an interior, with its high ceiling, large windows, tiled floor, and sizable fireplace, but instead the smiling man on the other side of the table mimics playing a violin with two clay pipes. Another pipe is on the table, and smoking litter is on the floor. The other gentleman gestures while singing and staring at the face of the presumably pretty woman. The arrangement of the three figures, including the nearer man's movement and fancy hat, was evidently adopted from Gerard ter Borch's *Gallant Conversation (Paternal Admonition)* of about 1654 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).<sup>1</sup> A map of the United Provinces hangs on the wall, and a large painting of The Education of the Virgin has been squeezed in above the mantelpiece.<sup>2</sup> The subject alludes to the young lady, who settled on another lifestyle some time ago.

The present painting is generally appreciated as one of De Hooch's classic works of a crucial year in his development, 1658, although the canvas is not actually dated. Comparison with the superb *Card Players* (fig. 159) and with *Woman Drinking with Two Men* (fig. 254),



Fig. 254. Pieter de Hooch, *Woman Drinking with Two Men*, ca. 1660–61. Oil on canvas, 27 x 23 1/4 in. (68.6 x 60 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

both of which are dated 1658, and with other paintings of that year (cat. nos. 28, 30–32), tends to support this location of the work within the artist's oeuvre. It has also been maintained that the present picture represents some sort of breakthrough of great importance for the Delft School and for Vermeer, and even that the work must have caused a sensation among artists of the city, mainly because of its "masterly command of the techniques of space construction, the use of perspective, and the treatment of light and atmosphere."<sup>3</sup> While there can be little doubt that works of this type by De Hooch—there are, strictly speaking, only a few comparable interior views by him dating from the Delft period (see fig. 159; cat. no. 32)—influenced Vermeer in *The Glass of Wine* (cat. no. 70) and the similar composition in Brunswick (fig. 167), De Hooch did not invent or develop this approach, but simply adopted it in interesting ways. The arrangement of the room (and even the furniture and figures) is still essentially the same as that employed by Ludolf de Jongh in the early 1650s (see fig. 250), but it has been gentrified beyond the stage found in *The Visit* (cat. no. 25) by drawing upon the regional tradition of palatial interiors as depicted by Bartholomeus van Bassen, Gerard Houckgeest, and Dirck van Delen. The latter's *Musical Company*, dated 1636 (fig. 85), is a good example: trimmed on

the right to an upright format, restricted to fewer figures, and with greater attention to qualities of light and atmosphere, the work would become a more obvious model for De Hooch. The imagined alterations are those almost any genre painter of the younger generation would have been inclined to make, as is revealed by comparisons with works of the early to mid-1650s by Ter Borch, Quiringh van Brecklenkam, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Jacob van Loo, Nicolaes Maes, or for that matter De Jongh and De Hooch themselves. The real interest of the interiors depicted in the National Gallery's painting and in similar works by De Hooch is not their type (as if this were Houckgeest in 1650 or Brunelleschi about 230 years earlier) but their intent, which was to give a patrician veneer to a subject that had been set in more modest surroundings before.

Not only consideration of the broader context (whether social or artistic) but also physical examination of the present painting allow one to arrive at a reasonable estimate of De Hooch's achievement here with regard to perspective and composition. As Neil MacLaren reported in 1960, there are many *pentimenti*.<sup>4</sup> A man in a hat standing to the left of the maid (who, however, was possibly not there at the time) was painted out of the picture. The maid's skirt and the nearer man's cloak were painted over finished floor tiles (an approach typical of Van Delen and other architectural painters but not of De Hooch earlier on). The same man once wore a hat; his right hand and details in the figures of his companions were modified. The top of the chimney (to the upper left of the painting over the fireplace) was added over completed ceiling beams. It is not remarkable that in such an elementary perspective scheme—there is really no comparison with the expertise demonstrated by Houckgeest in the early 1650s—the orthogonals all converge at one point in the lower area of the map. But the artist had trouble coordinating recession and scale: in other words, running a diagonal through the floor tiles at a suitable angle. The distance from the nearer man, whose foot coincides approximately with the width of one tile, to the rear wall is about seventeen feet. A little geometry indicates that the viewer has just entered a room with street frontage of about thirty-five feet, or eleven meters, which

would have given the entire house a reputation for grandeur in Delft. The horizon is at the servant's eye level, which means that one of the young woman's memorable features is that she is about seven feet tall.

Despite its awkward moments this is one of De Hooch's most attractive paintings, for reasons that will require little explanation in the exhibition space.

W. L.

1. The Amsterdam version of Ter Borch's painting comes closer to this work by De Hooch in the male figures than does the autograph version in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; see Gudlaugsson 1959–60, no. 110, I and II. In Liedtke 2000, p. 179, the present writer noted the similarity between three of the figures in the present painting and three in *The Visit* (cat. no. 25 here), but not the connection with Ter Borch.
2. See Sutton 1980a, no. 29, or London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 17, on the map and the painting, which are both of the period. In the catalogue of the 1804 Paris sale of the present picture the painting over the fireplace was said to be by Ferdinand Bol. A surviving version of the composition in the Esterhazy Chapel, Ering, southern Bavaria, is said to be by an anonymous Flemish painter, but it could just as well be an old copy of a typical Rembrandt School picture of the 1640s.
3. Sutton 1980a, p. 15; see also pp. 23–24, and Sutton's entry in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 14, p. 733. The issue of "what a sensation one of De Hooch's early masterpieces of around 1658 must have caused!" (Blankert 1978, p. 30) is discussed in chap. 5, pp. 135–38, and in Liedtke 2000, pp. 143–44.
4. MacLaren 1960, p. 187. See also MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 198.

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 2 (1752), p. 251 (possibly); J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), pp. 234–35, no. 49; Waagen 1837–39, vol. 1, p. 287; Waagen 1854, vol. 1, p. 403; Blanc 1857–58, vol. 2, p. 220; Blanc 1863, pp. 6, 8; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 62, 87, 126; Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 37; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 526–27, no. 183; Eisler 1923, p. 251; Valentiner 1926–27, p. 61; Brière-Misme 1927, pp. 58, 62; Valentiner 1929, pp. XIII, XVII, no. 52; MacLaren 1960, pp. 186–88, no. 834; Foucart 1976, pp. 31–32; Blankert 1978, pp. 30–31, 33, 35, 44; Sutton 1980a, pp. 22, 43, no. 29; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 51; Liedtke 1988, pp. 95–99; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 198–99, no. 834; Delft 1996, pp. 145–46; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 17; Liedtke 2000, pp. 143–44, 179.

EXHIBITED: London 1976, no. 60; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 51; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 17.

EX COLL.: Possibly D. Ietswaart (sold Amsterdam, April 22, 1749, no. 197); Van Leyden (sold Paris, September 10, 1804, no. 43, to Paillet); Comte de Pourtales; purchased from him by Emmerson and Smith in Paris in 1826 with other paintings; purchased from them by Sir Robert Peel, Bart.; purchased with the Peel Collection in 1871 by The National Gallery, London (834).



### 30. *The Courtyard of a House in Delft*

1658

Oil on canvas, 29 x 23½ in. (73.5 x 60 cm)

Signed and dated lower left, at the base of the archway: P.D·H./An° 1658.

The National Gallery, London

This painting, one of six by De Hooch dated 1658, has been among his most admired works for at least two centuries.<sup>1</sup> It depicts a young woman, probably a maid, and a small girl in the courtyard of a fine brick house. The woman has apparently come through the doorway on the right, which may lead to a garden or storage shed. She holds a shallow bowl, and the girl may be helping her by carrying something, no doubt for the kitchen, in her skirt. Open doors allow a view through the hallway of the house and into another courtyard, where a wood fence borders an alley or a street. The woman in the corridor, whose skirt is reflected in a field of tiles on the wall, is evidently the mistress of the house.

The tablet above the archway survives today in the hall of a private house in Delft, and it reads (in Dutch): "This is Saint Jerome's vale [Hieronymusdael], if you wish to retire to patience and meekness. For we must first descend if we wish to be raised. 1614." Given its date, the tablet must commemorate rather than come from the Augustinian Monastery of Saint Hieronymus in Delft,<sup>2</sup> which lost most of its property in the fire of 1536. In the National Gallery's picture, De Hooch added "anno" before the date in the inscription, and he altered the division of words into lines. He also interrupted the reading with leaves, so that, for example, the words "This is Saint" and "you to patience and" are largely obscured. Perhaps De Hooch meant to emphasize the notions of meekness, humility, and being lifted up, as in "Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth" (Matthew 5.5). The notion would go well with the theme of child raising and humble housework, which is also suggested by the pail and broom in the foreground. These motifs were regarded as signs not only of domesticity but also of purity by writers of the time.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription is reproduced more faithfully in the closely related composition *Figures Drinking in a Courtyard* (cat. no. 31). Oddly enough, this has been taken, "together with the improved disposition of the figures"—as if they, and the subject in general, were the same—as evidence that the picture in a private collection may have been painted first.<sup>4</sup> In the scene of socializing, the foliage in front of the tablet in the wall obscures "Hieronymusdael," part of "meekness," and other words, leaving little more legible than "patience" and "if we wish" (or will).<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the artist is alluding to temperance.

A number of precedents, implausible and not, have been cited with regard to De Hooch's courtyard views. The most interesting connections are with scenes of work in outdoor settings, such as Paulus Potter's barnyard and stable scenes (see cat. no. 54), Gerard ter Borch's *Grinder's Family* of about 1653 (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin),<sup>6</sup> a few of Nicolaes Maes's exterior views (for example, the *Milkmaid at a House Door* of about 1656, in the Wellington Museum, London),<sup>7</sup> and Leonaert Bramer's Street Scene drawings, a series that appears to date from the late 1650s and includes views of women and men working in streets, on squares, and in interiors.<sup>8</sup> However, surveys of formal antecedents, which have included Fabritius's *The Sentry* (cat. no. 20) and Steen's *Burgher of Delft and His Daughter* (cat. no. 58), tend to establish a division into categories that De Hooch (like Bramer in the Street Scenes) would not have recognized, such as indoor as opposed to outdoor domestic chores. His first courtyard scenes, like the panel of about 1657 in the Toledo Museum of Art (fig. 255), are closely related to the kitchen scenes of about the same time (see fig. 149).

The considerable variety of De Hooch's exterior views dating from about 1657 onward makes it clear that the artist was exploring distinctive features of Delft (especially in his own neighborhood), where he discovered numerous *schildernachtig*, or "painterlike," effects: plays of light and shadow, closed spaces together with open views (compare Daniel Vosmaer's *View of Delft*, fig. 342), richly colored and textured surfaces like leaching or whitewashed brick walls,<sup>9</sup> and curious architectural combinations. Examples of the last are found, for

instance, in *A Woman and a Child in a Bleaching Field* of about 1657 (private collection), with its glimpses from the grassy, open space into courtyards and an angled alleyway, and over an odd array of rooftops to the looming Oude Kerk and distant tower of the Nieuwe Kerk.<sup>10</sup>

There are many signs that De Hooch resolved to raise the level of his work from about 1657–58 onward, and it would appear that many of his picturesque or painterly effects were addressed to amateurs of the medium. His stained and weathered walls recall those in Fabritius's *View in Delft* and *The Sentry* (cat. nos. 18, 20), in Vermeer's *The Little Street* (cat. no. 69), and in the work of lesser but hardly naive artists like Egbert van der Poel and Daniel Vosmaer (see cat. nos. 52, 87). In the present painting the artist improves upon a few of the formal conceits found in the kitchen interior of about 1657 (fig. 149), such as the equilibrium of advancing and receding spaces, the back-lighting and silhouetting effects, and the comparison of visual patterns (window grids, roof tiles, floor tiles, bricks), not to mention the much more effective handling of essentially the same subject matter. The greater subtlety and complexity of the courtyard scene in London can (by contrast, one is tempted to say) be savored for hours, and a newly found maturity is evident in the fact that all the formal refinements—the echoing archways and doors, the counterpoise of



Fig. 255. Pieter de Hooch, *Two Women with a Child in a Courtyard*, ca. 1657. Oil on wood, 26¼ x 22¼ in. (68 x 57.4 cm). Toledo Museum of Art, Ohio







figures (like statuettes revolving in a town-hall clock), the comparison between solids and voids or between geometric architecture and the almost impromptu display of carpentry — never intrude upon the viewer's appreciation of naturalistic description. Art and nature may seem to be compared in the left and right sides of the composition, respectively, but in fact the two realms coexist throughout.

And in De Hooch's own environment, as well, it seems: the wall on the right (like the one on the left?) appears to be a portrait, since it reappears in *A Dutch Courtyard*, the slightly later canvas in Washington (cat. no. 33). Of course, the walls are not quite the same: they are like *tronies*, or characters (see the discussions under cat. nos. 74, 75), things that seem tangible, knowable, and yet exist in the imagination.

WL

1. See Brown in London, Amsterdam 1992–93, pp. 33–35, and Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 124.
2. See chap. 2, p. 28, n. 16.
3. See Franits 1993, pp. 77, 97–100.
4. The idea goes back to MacLaren 1960, p. 188. Brown in MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 200, lets the explanation stand, and Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 124, follows it.
5. The fragmentary words are transcribed in MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 201, n. 2.
6. Gudlaugsson 1959–60, no. 100; on this painting and works by other artists that derive from it, see Delft 1996, pp. 106–7, fig. 90, and Zwolle 1997, pp. 46–47.
7. See Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 3, nos. 1378–80, and Krempel 2000, figs. 34, 35, 37, 52–57.
8. Bramer's Street Scenes are catalogued in Hempstead 1991.
9. Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 36, emphasizes De Hooch's early interest in these motifs.
10. Sutton 1980a, no. 21, pl. V.

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 235, no. 50, and probably p. 224, no. 18; Waagen 1837–39, vol. 1, p. 287; Waagen 1854, vol. 1, p. 403; Blanc 1863, pp. 6, 8; Thoré 1866, p. 315; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 95, 112; Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 38; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 557, no. 291; Eisler 1923, p. 248; Valentiner 1926–27, pp. 57, 58, 74; Brière-Misme 1927, pp. 58, 62; Valentiner 1929, p. XVI, no. 55; Martin 1935–36, vol. 2, p. 202; MacLaren 1960, pp. 188–89, no. 835; Blankert 1978, pp. 36–38; Sutton 1980a, pp. 24, 26, 55, no. 34; Slatkes 1981, p. 124; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 219; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 199–201, no. 835; London, Amsterdam 1992–93, pp. 11–57; Delft 1996, pp. 110–12; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 24, 32, 36, 40, 42, 71, no. 18; Liedtke 2000, pp. 181–84.

EXHIBITED: London, Amsterdam 1992–93; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 18.

EX COLL.: P. de Smeth van Alphen (sold Amsterdam, July 1–2, 1810, no. 46, probably to Yperen for Backer);

the latter's widow, Mevr. J. W. Backer, Amsterdam; purchased from her in 1825 by W. Brondgeest for W. Emerson; purchased from Emerson by Sir Robert Peel before 1833; purchased with the Peel collection in 1871 by The National Gallery, London (835).

### 31. *Figures Drinking in a Courtyard*

1658

Oil on canvas, mounted on panel, 26½ x 22½ in. (67.6 x 57.5 cm)

Signed and dated bottom center, at the base of the archway: P·D·H·/ 1658·

Private collection

New York only

In the period from about 1657 until 1660, when De Hooch gradually refined his mature style in Delft, he produced several pairs of closely related pictures and in at least two instances straightforward replicas of a composition. The interior depicted in *A Woman with a Baby in Her Lap, and a Small Child* (cat. no. 28) reappears with slightly different details and figures in De Hooch's *Woman with a Child in a Pantry* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam); the canvas known as *Maternal Duty* (cat. no. 34) shows two rooms that are nearly the same as those found in *The Bedroom* (National Gallery of Art, Washington); and the latter composition, like that of *A Dutch Courtyard* in the same collection (cat. no. 33), is also known from a replica painted by De Hooch himself (Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, and Mauritshuis, The Hague, respectively).<sup>1</sup> To students of Dutch genre painting this production of variants will seem unsurprising; the same occurs in the oeuvres of Gerard ter Borch, Gerard Dou, Nicolaes Maes, Hendrick Sorgh, Jan Steen, and others. One of the ironies of studying an artist like De Hooch from a modern perspective is that we actually have a much more comprehensive view of his work than he ever did, not to mention his patrons. In most cases finished paintings were widely distributed from the studio, the majority never to be seen by the artist again.

At the lower levels of the art market — that of, for example, the small, monochromatic landscapes that were produced by Jan van Goyen's more than two dozen contemporary

followers — the repetition of designs and motifs was simply economical. But this factor had nothing to do with the kind of repetition one finds, for example, in the two versions of Ter Borch's *Gallant Conversation (Paternal Admonition)* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) or in most of De Hooch's closely related compositions. In these instances the artist may have considered an invention so successful that he decided to paint a replica or variant, or a patron may have seen a picture in the artist's studio and requested a similar work.

Either scenario seems plausible in the case of the present painting and *The Courtyard of a House in Delft* in the National Gallery, London (cat. no. 30). Both canvases are dated 1658 and show approximately the same rear corner of a brick house, although the differences between even the most similar motifs offer an object lesson in the nature of Dutch "realism." In the near archway, for example, just above the stone block bearing De Hooch's signature in *Figures Drinking in a Courtyard*, a master mason (like the artist's father) laid down a course of red and white bricks with their ends facing toward the viewer, in contrast to the scheme employed in the other picture. The top of the archway here and at the other end of the hallway is more pointed than in the London painting and lacks the two stone blocks in the arch itself. As if in compensation, the painter applied gold to the hair on the head decorating the keystone; in the National Gallery's picture he used ordinary paint. The interior of the hallway is seen from a slightly different angle, but, more surprisingly, the oval window has been sealed up at the front of the house and the house itself has been moved to another neighborhood (one with a canal, and quite like the Oude Delft).

Above the archway, the tablet with an inscription and the date 1614 has been moved slightly upward and its lines of text have been rearranged: as discussed under cat. no. 30, the words "Jerome's vale" and "meekness" found on the original tablet (which survives) and on the tablet in the National Gallery's picture are not legible here, but the word "patience" has been brought into view.<sup>2</sup>

The taller window on the left required a new red shutter; presumably one of the men



climbed onto the barrel in order to hang up the coat and sword. As for the pavement in the foreground and the space to the right, everything has been changed; the courtyard has been widened, deepened, leveled, and repaved, and of course a table and proper trellis were installed. The picturesque wall to the right in *The Courtyard of a House in Delft* (cat. no. 30) was evidently sold to the owners of the property seen in *A Dutch Courtyard* (cat. no. 33) when a replica of the old city wall in Delft was built on a reduced scale next to the remodeled house (compare the one in De Hooch's family portrait, cat. no. 27).

The two courtyard views of 1658 are such different pictures that it seems pointless to speculate about priority; for all we know, De Hooch worked on both paintings at about the same time. It has been noted that the present picture "displays a more intense colour scheme than the London version,"<sup>3</sup> but this is due in part to the greens and blues in the latter painting having changed color and faded with age.<sup>4</sup> What can be said more certainly about *Figures Drinking in a Courtyard* in terms of execution is that it was rather less involved on the right, whereas a great deal of time was devoted to the wall and everything along it in the National Gallery's picture. Such elaboration seems unlikely in the second version of a composition. More obviously, *The Courtyard of a House in Delft* compares more closely with slightly earlier domestic interiors by De Hooch, such as the kitchen scene of about 1657 in the Louvre (fig. 149), than the figures here relate to any of his earlier drinking scenes. It seems likely that the artist painted the canvas in London first and then decided to revise the design in a manner that suited the more fashionable subject of an afternoon's idle hour. There is also a slight shift in emphasis from description to design per se—for example, in the new role of the corridor, which rather than being a space measured by various intervals (and the guarded entrance to a private world) has become a more dramatic *doorkijkje* (view-through), that tour de force beloved by Samuel van Hooqstraten and by connoisseurs such as Pieter Teding van Berkhout. Elsevier's view down an aisle in the Oude Kerk, dating from five years earlier (cat. no. 16), makes for an interesting comparison.

The theme of this and similar pictures by De Hooch (see the discussion under cat. no. 33) may be described as pleasure in moderation. The woman, undoubtedly a maid, would appear to have interrupted her chores to join a visitor; it is not clear whether the man with the pipe also dropped in or was already present.<sup>5</sup> Little girls with dogs can refer to the virtues of motherhood or of bringing up children well, but the child here is probably no more than one of several signs—and, of course, an endearing one—that we are visiting a good home. The figure also effects a graceful transition from foreground to background, carrying the eye through the geometry of the hallway. With the girl and puppy removed, one would be left with a nearly symmetrical view through archways, like those found in paintings of palace porticoes by Bartholomeus van Bassen and Dirck van Delen and in church interiors depicted by Pieter Saenredam, Anthonie de Lorme, and Emanuel de Witte. Except, of course, that in De Hooch's pictures these formal ideas, like the traditional kind of Merry Company, are brought down to earth—indeed, down to the peaceful valley of Saint Jerome.

W L

1. The plates in Sutton 1980a are well organized to reveal these relationships: see, for example, pls. 16 and 17, 28 and 29, 34 and 35, 39 and 40, 41 and 42, 43–46.
2. The tablet itself (private collection) is reproduced in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 124, fig. 1.
3. Sutton 1980a, under no. 33.
4. See the analysis of pigments in MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 199–200.
5. Compare *A Woman and Two Men in an Arbor* of about 1658, in the Metropolitan Museum; Sutton 1980a, no. 23, pl. 20.

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 233, no. 47, vol. 9 (1842), pp. 567–68, no. 15; Waagen 1857, p. 323; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 95–96 (confused with replica mentioned in J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 9); Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 53; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 560–61, no. 299; Valentiner 1926–27, pp. 57, 58; Brière-Misme 1927, p. 62; Valentiner 1929, pp. XVI, XVII, no. 54; MacLaren 1960, pp. 188–89; Grandjean 1964, p. 145, no. 1012; Blankert 1978, pp. 36–38; Sutton 1980a, pp. 24, 26, no. 33; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 53; Washington 1985–86, no. 308; Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 110; Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 32, 36, 124; Dordrecht, Enschede 2000, pp. 125, 126.; Liedtke 2000, pp. 181–84.

EXHIBITED: London 1839, no. 8; London 1842, no. 187; London 1886, no. 56; London 1881, no. 101; London 1893, no. 64; London 1929, no. 311; London 1938, no. 240; London 1952–53, no. 376; Philadelphia,

Berlin, London 1984, no. 53 (shown in Philadelphia only); Washington 1985–86, no. 308; London, Hartford 1998–99 (not in catalogue; shown in Hartford only).

EX COLL.: Joséphine de Beauharnais (1763–1814), Château de Malmaison, Rueil, by 1811; [J. F. Wolschot, Antwerp]; Edward Solly, Berlin, before 1833 (sold London, May 31, 1837, no. 90, to G. Byng); George Byng, London, until after 1842; Viscount Enfield by 1856; thence by descent to the Earl of Stafford, Wrotham Park, Enfield; [Robert Noortman Gallery, London and Maastricht, 1992–94]; the present owner.

### 32. *Paying the Hostess*

1658  
Oil on canvas, 28 x 25 in. (71 x 63.5 cm)  
Signed on right: P·D·H / 1658

Private collection, London

London only

When Samuel Pepys visited Delft in May 1660 he was struck by the fact that "in every house of entertainment there hangs in every room a poor-man's box," in which patrons would drop coins upon concluding a commercial or other type of agreement.<sup>1</sup> Here the setting is the same but the subject in a sense opposite, a disagreement about getting out the door without paying enough. The old soldier looks at the maidservant wearily; she holds up a coin and in no uncertain terms asks for another. Both figures appear to have performed this ritual many times before, and it must have been its routine occurrence that



Fig. 256. Ludolf de Jongh, *Paying the Hostess*, 1650–55. Oil on wood, 26 x 25½ in. (66 x 65.4 cm). Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York



made the situation appealing as social comedy.<sup>2</sup> In the background two gentlemen and a woman with a wineglass—a trio seemingly on tour through De Hooch's Delft oeuvre—are oblivious to the contretemps.

As Roland Fleischer and others have noted, De Hooch's treatment of the theme was probably inspired by Ludolf de Jongh's example of a few years earlier (fig. 256).<sup>3</sup> The

main protagonists, especially the soldier in the hat and breastplate, are very similar, but the setting in De Jongh's picture is a horse stall. As in other paintings of the late 1650s De Hooch slightly elevates the subject by improving the environment, in part by the surefire method of laying in floor tiles. He returned to the subject and to a horse stall in a large canvas of about 1670 (Metropolitan

Museum), where the soldier is a younger and more stylish officer and the proprietress is a pretty girl. Once again, figures gather around a table in picturesque light that streams through a window in the background at right.

As the hanging curtains make clear, the play of light was one of De Hooch's main concerns.<sup>4</sup> It shines on the floor tiles, gleams on the wall, and glints on the ceiling beams,



but its most beautiful behavior is reserved for the group in the background and the curtains (one of which extends unconvincingly to the old soldier's boot). The curtains themselves resemble those found in very different contexts, namely, hanging in front of church interiors like Houckgeest's *Oude Kerk* view in the Rijksmuseum (cat. no. 40) and Van Vliet's view of the same church in a private collection (cat. no. 81). The comparison lends support to the suspicion that De Hooch's obliquely arranged floor tiles and the way he has divided the receding space at a pair of vertical elements in the foreground were not ideas that came to him while sitting in a pub.

WL

1. Pepys 1985, pp. 46–47 (entry for May 18, 1660).
2. The motif of a disputed reckoning occurs occasionally in the work of other Dutch artists; the mood and arrangement of the figures in De Hooch's painting are anticipated in Adriaen van Ostade's etching of about 1646 *The Peasant Settling His Debt* (Hollstein, vol. 15, pp. 52–53, no. B. 42). For an eyewitness we can turn again to Pepys, who after an outing at Stonehenge in June 1668 went "home to dinner [at his inn in Salisbury]; and, that being done, paid the reckoning, which was so exorbitant, and particularly in rate of my horses, and 7s. 6d. for bread and beer, that I was mad, and resolve to trouble the mistress about it" (Pepys 1985, p. 923; entry for June 11, 1668).
3. Fleischer 1978, p. 64; Sutton 1980a, no. D20; Fleischer 1989, p. 69, pl. 80; Fleischer and Reiss 1993, p. 668; and Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 114. Is it possible that the man in a hat painted out of De Hooch's *Woman Drinking with Two Men, and a Serving Woman* of about 1658 (cat. no. 29 here) was also "paying the hostess"?
4. As noted by Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 114. The same author (in Sutton 1980a, pp. 21–22) compares the handling of space in this picture to *A Woman Preparing Vegetables* of about 1657 (fig. 149 here) and another picture with windows admitting light from the rear. Compare also De Hooch's *Woman with a Baby in Her Lap, and a Small Child* (cat. no. 28).

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 219, no. 1; Waagen 1837–39, vol. 2, p. 570; Waagen 1854, vol. 3, p. 477; Blanc 1863, pp. 2, 8; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 132–33; Richter 1884, no. 84; Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 43; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 550, no. 268; Valentiner 1926–27, p. 58; Brière-Misme 1927, p. 60; Fry 1929, p. 57; Valentiner 1929, p. XVII, no. 48; Bille 1961, vol. 2, pp. 20–20a, 99, no. 86; Fleischer 1978, p. 64; Sutton 1980a, pp. 13, 22, 39, 108, no. 27; Edinburgh 1992, no. 26; Delft 1996, pp. 136, 167–68; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 17, 61, no. 13; Liedtke 2000, p. 180.

EXHIBITED: London 1822, no. 116; London 1847, no. 93; London 1854, no. 103; London 1870, no. 13; London 1929, no. 309; Rotterdam 1935, no. 42; Amster-

dam 1935, no. 156; Edinburgh 1949, no. 17; London 1952–53, no. 508; Edinburgh 1992, no. 26; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 13 (shown in London only).

EX COLL.: Gerret Braamcamp, Amsterdam (sold Amsterdam, July 31, 1771, no. 86, bought by Fouquet); probably John Stuart, 3rd earl of Bute (1713–1792); his son, John Stuart, 1st marquess of Bute, Luton Park; by descent to the present owner.

### 33. *A Dutch Courtyard*

ca. 1659–60

Oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (69.5 x 60 cm)

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,  
Andrew W. Mellon Collection, 1937

Two soldiers and a maid share a glass of beer in a picturesque courtyard; the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in the background (which is slightly modified at the top) locates the interlude in Delft.<sup>1</sup> Two new clay pipes and an open packet of tobacco await the young girl's arrival with a pot of hot coals. The soldier wearing a breastplate has draped his mantle over the fence on the left. The conviviality of the occasion is evident from the relaxed poses and expressions of the figures (compare the couple in Vermeer's *Glass of Wine*, cat. no. 70), their closeness to each other (De Hooch moved the maid closer to the table than she had been originally),<sup>2</sup> and their use of a single *pasglas*, a tall beer glass meant for passing around. A spiral thread of glass on the octagonal body marks off approximate levels by which drinking partners might measure their share.

Like his interior views of the late 1650s, De Hooch's scenes of socializing in the courtyards of middle- and upper-middle-class homes may be perceived in retrospect as a "gentrification" of his earlier genre subjects (see cat. no. 23).<sup>3</sup> The broad resemblance between this picture and the family portrait by De Hooch in Vienna (cat. no. 27) or Jan Steen's portrait of a prominent Delft burgher and his daughter on the Oude Delft (cat. no. 58) is significant not only as a reflection of artistic developments in Delft but as an indication that tastes and attitudes were beginning to change. This is a beautifully crafted picture of a modern subject; it would have

been purchased by people like the owners of the property depicted in the painting rather than by people like the soldiers and maid. But the manner in which the figures are described is completely sympathetic; the painting is a paean to pleasure in moderation, and to a quiet, private space on a sunny afternoon.<sup>4</sup>

However evocative of Delft the image may be, it is an artistic invention, centered upon the *schildernachtig* ("painterlike," or picturesque) motif of the brick wall with a doorway. The wall was probably drawn from life since it is nearly identical to the wall with steps and a shorter doorway on the right in the courtyard view of 1658 in London (cat. no. 30).<sup>5</sup> Like the wall, the maid, and the little girl (who was also moved in the course of painting), the church tower was undoubtedly inserted where it worked best within the composition, not where it was discovered at an actual site. The shadows cast by the female figures and the flood of light on the two brick walls issue different reports on the location of the sun than does the church tower and the vignette of trees seen through the doorway (which looks like half a painting by Adam Pynacker or Adriaen van de Velde).

An apparently autograph but inferior replica of this picture is in the Mauritshuis, The Hague. It lacks the soldier with a breastplate, who was painted out, evidently by a later hand.<sup>6</sup>

WL

1. The absence of small spires around the roof is noted in Wheelock 1995b, p. 140. Compare the more faithful description of the tower in the artist's *Portrait of a Family in a Courtyard in Delft* (cat. no. 27 here).
2. As noted in *ibid.*, citing infrared photography.
3. See chap. 5, p. 142, n. 44, comparing the evolution of Adriaen van Ostade's tavern scenes and citing precedents in the oeuvres of Esaias van de Velde, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Jacob van Loo, and other Dutch artists. The term "gentrification" is clearly not ideal but has crept into the literature (as in Salomon 1998a) and is more appropriate in this case than "aristocratization" (which suits the subject discussed in F. Scholten 1994–95).
4. See my discussion of Adriaen van Ostade's *Old Toper* of about 1660–65 (Taft Museum, Cincinnati), in *Taft Museum* 1995, vol. 1, pp. 149–50.
5. Sutton (1980a, under no. 35A) suggests that this may be a section of the old town wall in Delft, but it is domestic in scale and construction. Wheelock (1995b, p. 140) also considers the motif to be "presumably a section of the old city wall" (he credits Wilhelm Valentiner), although the other courtyard view in Washington (pp. 136–38) shows the "old town wall" as taller and with heavy buttresses on the inside.





6. Sutton 1980a, p. 85, no. 35B, pl. 35, and Wheelock 1995b, p. 140.

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 9 (1842), p. 573,

no. 30; Waagen 1854, vol. 2, p. 130; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, p. 128; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 559, no. 295; Valentiner 1926–27, pp. 47, 58, 61, 76; Brière-Misme 1927, p. 63; Valentiner 1929, pp. XIII, XVII,

no. 44; Sutton 1980a, pp. 24, 25, 26, no. 35A; Wheelock 1981, p. 22; Wheelock 1995b, pp. 139–42; Delft 1996, p. 112; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 19; Liedtke 2000, p. 184.

EXHIBITED: London 1873, no. 187; New York 1939, no. 201; San Francisco 1939–40, no. 81a; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 19.

EX COLL.: Cornelis Sebillie Roos (1754–1820), Amsterdam (sold Amsterdam, August 28, 1820, no. 51); Isaac van Eyck; Baron Lionel Nathan de Rothschild (1808–1879), Gunnersbury Park, Middlesex, by 1842; by inheritance to Baron Alfred de Rothschild (1842–1918), Halton Manor, Hertfordshire; by inheritance to Almina, Countess of Carnarvon, Highclere Castle, Hampshire; [Duveen Brothers, London]; purchased in November 1924 by Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C.; deeded by him on December 28, 1934, to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1937.1.56).

### 34. *A Mother and Child with Its Head in Her Lap (Maternal Duty)*

ca. 1658–60

Oil on canvas, 20½ x 24 in. (52.5 x 61 cm)

Signed lower right, on the high chair:

P.d.hooch

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on loan from the City of Amsterdam (A. van der Hoop Bequest) since 1885

The subject is perhaps less picturesque than it looks, since the woman is exploring the young man's hair for lice, a common problem in the period. Dirck Hals treated the subject in an uncharacteristically tender picture,<sup>1</sup> and Quiringh van Brecklenkam made it the main occupation of a woman surrounded by signs of busy housework in a painting dated 1648 (*Woman Combing a Child's Hair*; in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden).<sup>2</sup> Gerard ter Borch painted the most touching representation of the theme (*A Mother Combing Her Child's Hair* of about 1652–53, in the Mauritshuis, The Hague), which says more about motherhood than the immediate matter at hand.<sup>3</sup>

De Hooch experimented with interiors lit partly or entirely by windows in the background in paintings dating from about 1657 onward: for example, *A Woman Preparing Vegetables, with a Child* (fig. 149), *Card Players* (fig. 159), *Paying the Hostess* (cat. no. 32), and *A Woman with a Baby in Her Lap, and a Small Child* (cat. no. 28). To some extent the idea must have been inspired by Nicolaes Maes,

who placed illuminated windows, doorways, or rooms in the backgrounds of several pictures dating from about 1655–57.<sup>4</sup> However, *contre-jour* effects had already become fairly common in other genres, as is evident in the paintings by Paulus Potter and Adam Pynacker in this exhibition (cat. nos. 54–57) and in church interiors by Gerard Houckgeest (see fig. 95), Emanuel de Witte (cat. no. 92), and Hendrick van Vliet (see figs. 121, 122). Van Vliet was especially fond of silhouetted motifs, such as the choir screen in his *Oude Kerk* view of 1654 (fig. 122), and of casting geometric pools of light onto stone floors (another grid, and another chapter in contemporary perspective treatises), as in his *Oude Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of Piet Hein* (cat. no. 81).

De Hooch's type of composition, a broad space presented frontally, with one receding wall, had become increasingly common during the 1650s. Among the interiors most similar to his are those depicted in the early to mid-1650s by Van Brecklenkam; his well-known *Interior of a Tailor's Shop* of 1653 (Worcester Art Museum)<sup>5</sup> anticipates the design of the present picture and, more closely, that of De Hooch's painting of the same room from a viewpoint shifted slightly to the left, *The Bedroom* of about 1658–60 (National Gallery of Art, Washington; autograph replica in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe).<sup>6</sup> An approximately contemporary canvas by De Hooch's Rotterdam colleague Ludolf de Jongh, *Hunters in an Inn* of 1658 (Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande, Groningen), is also similarly arranged and includes such analogous motifs as open shutters, doors, and windows, a window and a bed box in the rear wall, and a brisk recession over the tiles in the foreground.<sup>7</sup>

For some readers the preceding will seem like an analysis of grammar when the subject is poetry. And they are right. The composition that De Hooch employs here and in *The Bedroom* is typical of genre painting in his region, but the qualities of light and space are characteristic of the Delft school, and their expressive effect is in good part personal. It is typical of De Hooch to allow his figures so much space: the subject is as much the mother's realm as *Mother's Care* (*Moederzorg*, another name by which the canvas has been known). The little dog—scholars who have called the animal a cat must think that De Hooch had

never seen one—not only measures the space but also adds to our understanding of the interior as a loving home. And of course the loyal pet draws our attention to the wonderful passages of light that begin at its feet and extend into the garden, lingering on the way over wood doors (the interior one is much smoother and more polished than the Dutch door half-open in the hall). The unnecessary essay a critic could write about nuances of light could be supplemented by another on shadows (starting, perhaps, with the one to the lower right, next to the wood tray of the high chair). A bottle rests on the sill of the curtained window (the Dutch notion of privacy rarely prevents looking outward). The beauty of light is the essential reason for its presence there, for the leaves, and for the glistening threads in the bed curtains. Another nice and—it might be stressed—artistic conceit is the way three foreshortened rectangles (like luminous versions of the grave board that floats in Gerard Houckgeest's paintings in the Nieuwe Kerk; see cat. no. 37) advance toward the viewer past three dark pictures on parallel walls and leave respectful (some would say Vermeer-like) spaces between their frames and the edges of the doors. There is so much to admire in De Hooch's use of shapes, space, light, and tonalities (for example, the greens and reds on the right side of the painting) that discussion of his work almost exclusively in terms of naturalistic description seems a triumph of modern will.

However, description was itself appreciated as an artistic quality in the painter's lifetime, as studies of contemporary art criticism have shown.<sup>8</sup> That this picture was praised for its directness and modesty in 1766—a century before Thoré-Bürger's discovery of the honest truth in Vermeer—is not surprising.<sup>9</sup> It was for the most part in the twentieth century that De Hooch's and his colleagues' capacity for observation came to be celebrated at the expense of understanding them as artists. WL

1. See Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 134, fig. 1.

2. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 16.

3. Gudlaugsson 1959–60, no. 95; the painting has a pendant, *A Woman Spinning* (a little dog lies in her lap), in the Foundation Willem van der Vorm, Rotterdam (Gudlaugsson 1959–60, no. 96).

4. See Krempel 2000, figs. 11, 15, 22, 36, 39, 44.

5. See Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 18 (where a similar composition by Van Brecklenkam, dated 1654, is also reproduced), and Liedtke 2000, p. 157, fig. 204.



6. Wheelock 1995b, pp. 133–36, and Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 21 (where the version in Karlsruhe is also reproduced).

7. See Fleischer 1989, fig. 84; also illustrated in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 224, where the relationship between De Jongh and De Hooch is narrowly considered.

8. Especially Sluijter 1993.

9. See Thoré 1866. Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 134, refers to the poem about this picture written by the journalist Jean-François de Bastide and published in *Le Temple des arts, ou Le Cabinet de M. Braamcamp* (Amsterdam, 1766) (“Jamais illusion ne fut plus agréable; Jamais description ne fut plus véritables,” and so on). At the time, the painting was in the famous collection of Gerret Braamcamp in Amsterdam, together with

*Paying the Hostess* (cat. no. 32) and *Woman Drinking with Two Men* (fig. 254). Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 86–87, n. 172, prints the poem and Anita Brookner’s English translation.

REFERENCES: J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), p. 220, nos. 3, 4, and p. 240, no. 67, vol. 9 (1842), p. 563, no. 1; Thoré 1858–60, vol. 2, pp. 57–58, no. 54; Waagen 1862, p. 113; Blanc 1863, pp. 2, 8; Havard 1879–81, vol. 3, pp. 74, 89–90, 93; Hofstede de Groot 1892, no. 5; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 495–96, no. 71; Eisler 1923, pp. 247–48; Valentiner 1926–27, pp. 61, 73; Brière-Misme 1927, pp. 58, 267; Valentiner 1929, pp. XIII, XVII, XXIV, no. 60; Brière-Misme 1935b, p. 162; Bille 1961, vol. 1, pp. 34, 76, vol. 2, pp. 21, 100; Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 317, no. C149; Sutton 1980a, pp. 21, 23, 47, 70, no. 42; Schama 1987, p. 197; Delft 1996, p. 152; Perth,

Adelaide, Brisbane 1997–98, no. 36; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 30, 70, 71, 73, no. 22.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam 1935, no. 45; Amsterdam 1935, no. 157; Antwerp 1956, no. 85; Rome 1956–57, no. 138; Perth, Adelaide, Brisbane 1997–98, no. 36; London, Hartford 1998–99, no. 22.

EX COLL.: Gerret Braamcamp, Amsterdam by 1753 (sold Amsterdam, July 31, 1771, no. 88, bought by Van der Dussen); J. L. van der Dussen (sold Amsterdam, October 31, 1774, no. 7, to Yver); J. Facsch, Basel, by 1779 (sold Amsterdam, July 3–4, 1833, no. 20); (sale, Amsterdam, April 24, 1838, no. 18); purchased at that sale by Brondgeest, who sold it to H. van der Hoop; his bequest to the City of Amsterdam in 1854; on loan since 1885 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (C149).

## GERARD HOUCKGEEST

*The Hague ca. 1600–1661 Bergen op Zoom*

Gerard Houckgeest came from a well-to-do family at The Hague, where his uncle Joachim Houckgeest was a successful portraitist. The architectural painter probably trained with Bartholomeus van Bassen (see his biography above); he entered the painters' guild in The Hague in 1625. By 1635 Houckgeest had moved to Delft, where he married in 1636. It is not known when he joined the Delft painters' guild, but he was cited as a member in 1639, the year in which he reentered the guild in The Hague. In December 1644 Houckgeest was living in "The Claw" brewery in Delft and perhaps had gone into the business.

The artist's mother-in-law, Bartha Elisabeth van Cromstrijn, inherited a house in Steenberghe (North Brabant) from her first husband, a burgomaster of the town. Houckgeest bought a house there in 1651 and on May 27 of that year was described as a resident (perhaps meaning only that he owned a house). From 1653 onward he owned an impressive amount of property in and around Bergen op Zoom, where he and his wife, Helena, lived in a house called "The Big Falcon." Houckgeest died in August 1661. The first syllable of his name, incidentally, appears to have been pronounced not "Hou" as in "Dou" (or English "cow") but "Hoe" (as in English "coo"); the

signature on his only known engraving (fig. 206) is spelled "Hoecgeest."<sup>1</sup>

The earliest known date on a painting by Houckgeest is 1635. He painted imaginary architectural views until 1650, when he turned to the subjects of the Nieuwe Kerk and the Oude Kerk in Delft. The artist's masterpiece, a panel in Hamburg (see cat. no. 37), was likely commissioned from a member or supporter of the House of Orange. Ten years earlier Houckgeest had been cited as the designer of tapestries for the States General; it may also be relevant that his mother-in-law's second husband (they were married by 1639) was an advocate at the court of Holland. Between 1650 and 1656 Houckgeest painted views of actual church interiors, including the Jacobskerk in The Hague and the Gertrudiskerk in Bergen op Zoom. In the mid-1650s he also painted a few views of palaces in vaguely Mediterranean settings (these are little known, and all are in private collections). His paintings of Delft church interiors were decisive for the early works in the genre of two far more prolific painters, Hendrick van Vliet and Emanuel de Witte (see their biographies below). WL

1. See Rotterdam 1991, p. 163, for a biography and sources, and my entry on the artist in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 14, pp. 795–96.

### 35. *Interior of an Imaginary Catholic Church in Classical Style*

ca. 1638–40

Oil on wood, 27¼ x 38⅞ in. (69 x 98 cm)

Signed lower right, on the column base:  
G·Houckgeest Fe[cit]

Collection Dr. and Mrs. William A. Nitze,  
Washington, D.C.

In this impressive panel of about 1638–40 Houckgeest reinterprets the Early Christian basilica in the style of his own time. He was not the first to do so: the scale of the church, the ground plan, and certain elements of the design, such as the barrel-vaulted narthex and the giant order of columns and pilasters in the foreground, recall Catholic churches built in the Spanish Netherlands during the first third of the seventeenth century. Notable examples include the Jesuit church in Brussels (destroyed), designed by Jacques Francart in 1616; the famous Jesuit church (now Saint Charles Borromeo) in Antwerp, by Pieter Huyssens, built between 1615 and 1621; and two other Jesuit churches by Huyssens, Saint Walburga in Bruges, designed in 1619 but only begun in 1628, and Saint Loup in Namur, begun in 1621.<sup>1</sup>

As bastions of the Counter-Reformation in northern Europe, the new Jesuit churches of the Spanish Netherlands brought the monumental style of Il Gesù and Saint Peter's in Rome (Carlo Maderno's new facade of Saint Peter's was especially influential) to cities where Gothic churches had been completed only recently. It is quite possible that Houckgeest, like John Evelyn,<sup>2</sup> had admired the new churches of Brabant and Flanders firsthand. However, printed sources were also available, such as Francart's *Premier Livre d'architecture* of 1617.

Dutch interest in the public buildings of their adversaries to the south was not unusual, especially among painters and architects associated with the stadholder's circle at





The Hague. Throughout the sixteenth century the Burgundian and Habsburg courts in Brussels had preferred Italianate designs. As with the Dutch court's enthusiasm for Rubens, Van Dyck, and other Flemish painters, Frederick Hendrick's interest, and in particular that of his secretary Constantijn Huygens, in the ideas of Vitruvius, Palladio, and contemporary Roman architects was consistent with court taste in the major capitals of Europe. Prince Maurits, in about 1615, had the Florentine painter and architect Costantino de' Servi (1554–1622) design a palace to be built at the Binnenhof in the heart of The Hague, but the project never moved beyond the production of drawings and wood *modelli*.<sup>3</sup>

Some years before (about 1610–12), the little-known De' Servi had worked under the supervision of England's great architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652) for Henry, Prince of Wales. This is interesting for the present picture since it suggests how a Jesuit church might be "reformed" by Jones or one of his Dutch admirers (like Huygens, Van Bassen, or Hendrick de Keyser).<sup>4</sup> The new churches of the Spanish Netherlands usually had barrel vaulting and archways throughout, which made their outer walls more massive than here (the windows in the aisles and clerestory are typically Dutch, as in De Keyser's Westerkerk in Amsterdam, begun in 1620). They were also heavily decorated, although by 1630

Huyssens fell out of favor with his own order, the Jesuits, on precisely this score. Houckgeest, by contrast, restricts decoration to the framing of a single — one might say token — altarpiece (which represents The Adoration of the Magi); the floor tiles and coffered wood ceiling, both of which are familiar from his and Van Bassen's palace views (see fig. 92); and some refined architectural details. The use of Ionic pilasters and swags was favored in the 1630s, as seen in slightly different form on the front and rear of the Mauritshuis (designed by Van Campen about 1633) and in nearly the same form (swags in the capitals) on town houses by London artisans (for example, Lindsey House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, built in



1640). The main feature of the nave, an Ionic colonnade with a straight entablature, would be expected of any successful Dutch or English architect of the time (compare the Queen's House, Greenwich, by Jones, 1616–35).

Paintings of this type were fairly expensive in their day, costing perhaps five or ten times as much as a landscape of about the same size. Archival research on the original owners of “perspectives” is still in an early phase; however, Michael Montias found in a survey of 407 Amsterdam inventories of the seventeenth century that “a majority of them were Reformed, wealthy, and socially prominent.” The appeal of perspective and architectural style to this sort of collector requires no comment, apart from noting that most of the figures in Houckgeest's painting are well dressed and well behaved. The more intriguing question is that of their faith. Houckgeest and especially Van Bassen painted numerous church interiors showing Roman Catholic forms of worship and architecture reminiscent of Saint Peter's in Rome or the new churches of the Spanish Netherlands. In the Amsterdam survey Montias was able to identify the religions of 229 households, of which 183 were Reformed (the great majority Calvinist) and 46 Catholic.<sup>1</sup> Of course, many “perspectives” were secular, like the small painting of a classical arcade to the right of the fireplace in the Van der Dussen family portrait (cat. no. 80). But Catholic church interiors must have been strongly favored in Catholic homes, where a specifically Protestant church interior would be completely unexpected. Presumably, patrician Catholic families, such as the Van der Dussens (who had Calvinist relatives), were the kind of patrons for whom works like *An Imaginary Catholic Church* were intended. When one considers the small, private spaces in which Dutch Catholics were generally obliged to worship, such as the “Jesuit church” near Vermeer's house (fig. 14), then it would appear that a picture like this one, while sophisticated and perhaps somewhat dry, had layers of meaning—about history, religion, family, and freedom in the alleged land of the free.<sup>6</sup>

WL

1. These churches are all discussed and illustrated in Vlieghe 1998, pp. 261–67.

2. Evelyn's admiration for the Jesuit church in Antwerp was mentioned in chap. 1 (see n. 13).
3. Fock 1979, p. 467 (see n. 8 for sources). On De' Servi, see Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 30 (1936), pp. 527–28. See Liedtke 2000, pp. 92–97, for further thoughts on the connections between Van Bassen and Houckgeest, on the one hand, and Roman and Florentine architectural designs, on the other.
4. Jones is considered throughout Kuyper 1980; see pp. 28–31 on De Keyser, who in turn influenced the London churches of Sir Christopher Wren (Kuyper 1980, pp. 121–24).
5. Montias in Rotterdam 1991, p. 25, from which the quote is taken.
6. On Catholic life in Delft from 1572 to about 1650, see the essay by M. A. Kok in Delft 1981, pp. 108–12.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, pp. 95, 163, no. 177; Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 17 (1924), p. 558; Foucart 1975, pp. 58–59; L. de Vries 1975, pp. 30, 51, no. 4; Liedtke 1991a, pp. 37–38.

EX COLL.: Acquired for the Grossherzogliche Gemäldegalerie, Oldenburg, Germany, in 1829; Gemäldegalerie im Augusteum, Oldenburg; (sale, Frederik Muller and Co., Amsterdam, June 25, 1924, no. 139); Nypels-Kamerlingh Onnes Collection, Warmond, the Netherlands; (sale, Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, November 4, 1974, no. 184); [Rob Noortman Gallery, Hulsberg, the Netherlands, in 1974–75]; Dr. Uding, the Netherlands; [Bob P. Haboldt, New York, in 1988]; acquired in 1988 by the present owners.

### 36. *View through an Arcade*

1638

Oil on canvas, 51 1/2 x 59 1/2 in. (131.1 x 152 cm)  
Signed and dated lower right, on the column base: G-Houckgeest fe: 1638

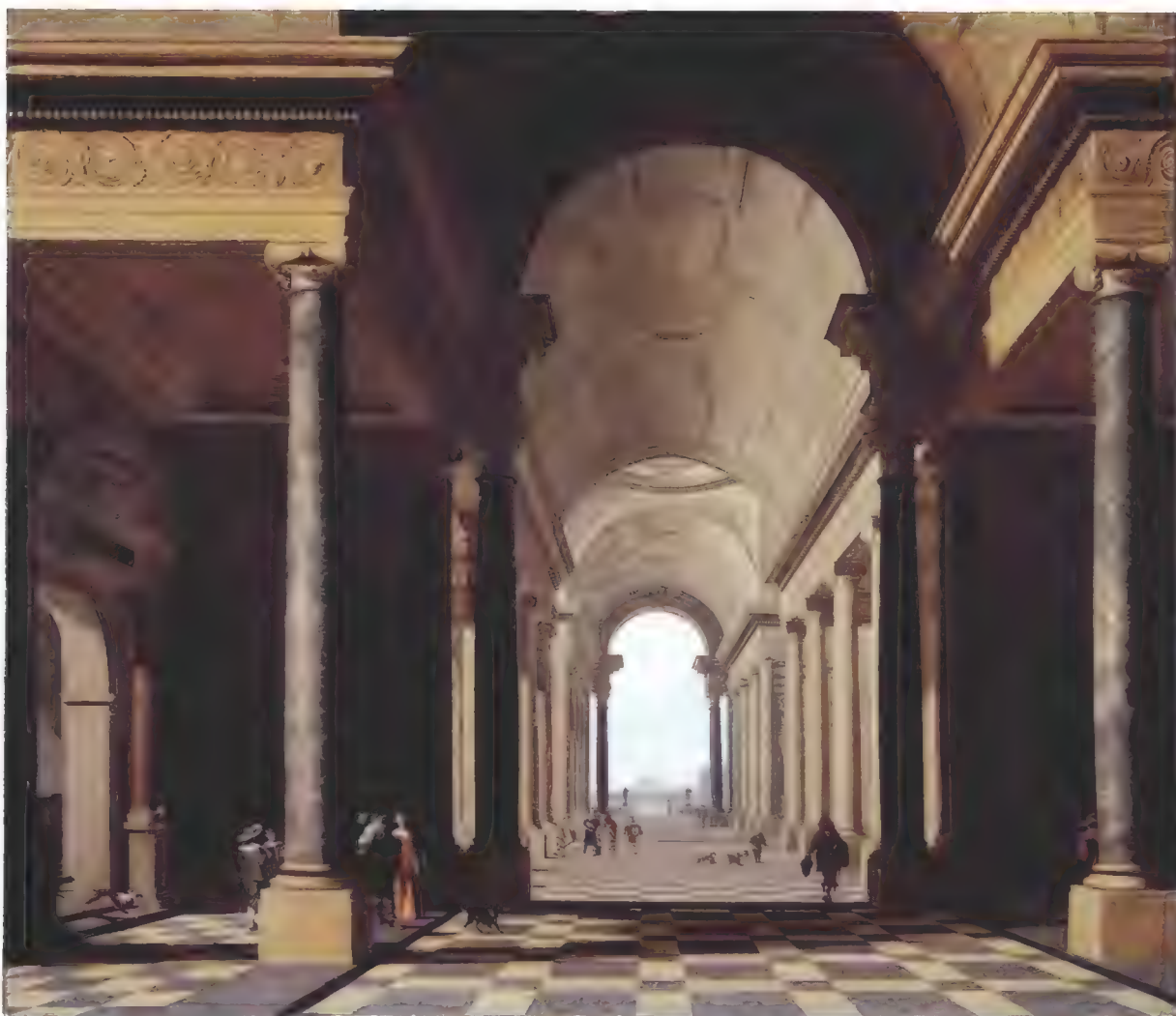
The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

This large canvas represents a vision of palace architecture that might be built somewhere in the vicinity of Delft and The Hague if only money, materials, labor, the climate, the populace, and political opponents presented no obstacle. The picture could be mistaken for an idealized souvenir of Rome or another key stop on the grand tour if all the figures were not in Dutch costume. Most of them appear to come from the upper levels of society, and, except for the two boys in the center, those that do not may be considered attributes of the rich: the liveried servants accompanying couples to the left and in the center, and beggars with canes in the center and behind the column on the right. Postures, hats in hands,

greyhounds, a parrot (on the left), and the ratio of people to property are more plausible signs of wealth and privilege than even the architecture itself.

*View through an Arcade* may be placed within a tradition of imaginary architectural painting that flourished in London and The Hague between about 1610 and 1645–50. Recently described as the Court Style, the fashion is distinguished mainly by an interest in modern forms of architecture that continue the classical tradition.<sup>1</sup> Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1607), who lived in The Hague between 1601 and 1604, was an important forerunner of the style despite the Mannerist floridity of his constructions. The present painting is indirectly connected with views through porticoes and arcades such as a canvas of 1596 by Hans Vredeman de Vries and his son Paul, *Palatial Architecture with Figures* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and engravings after the elder Vredeman de Vries dating from as early as 1560.<sup>2</sup> However, in this painting by Houckgeest the architectural vocabulary has been reformed and the manner of description is more naturalistic, with a comparatively tonal color scheme, low horizon, and generally more convincing handling of light and shade. There is little difference in style—of painting, not of architecture—between Houckgeest's *View through an Arcade* and Bartholomeus van Bassen's *Interior of the Cunerakerk at Rhenen* (fig. 90), which dates from the same year and represents the Gothic church adjoining the queen of Bohemia's palace (designed in the “Italian manner” by Van Bassen himself).<sup>3</sup>

A key figure for this development was Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger (ca. 1580–before 1649), whose views of palatial porticoes and plazas were well known to connoisseurs in London and The Hague (see *An Imaginary Town Square*, a painting on copper dated 1614, in the Mauritshuis, The Hague).<sup>4</sup> The colonnade receding deeply behind the king in Van Steenwyck's and Daniel Mijtens's enormous canvas of 1626–27 *Charles I in an Imaginary Palace* (Galleria Sabauda, Turin) bears a resemblance to the center of Houckgeest's view, although the architecture is not nearly so grand in scale. Van Steenwyck may have lived in or near The Hague as early as about 1638 and was described



as a painter of The Hague in the 1645 edition of Anthony van Dyck's *Iconography*.<sup>5</sup>

Similar compositions were painted from the 1620s onward by Dirck van Delen (1605–1671), a Middelburg artist whose work was widely known in Holland, and by Van Bassen in the 1630s.<sup>6</sup> The palette of tans and grays and the deftly layered zones of light and shadow are also reminiscent of Van Bassen, although Houckgeest's work has a spaciousness that is lacking in his mentor's work.

In a broad view two aspects of Houckgeest's canvas appealed directly to connoisseurs: the impressive demonstration of perspective and

the display of classical architectural forms.<sup>7</sup> The stadholder, Frederick Hendrick, his secretary Constantijn Huygens, and the architects with whom they worked (such as Jacob van Campen and Pieter Post) were all serious students of sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Italian architecture. It is not surprising that the interior of Van Campen's Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem, built between 1645 and 1649, resembles the portico in the present picture, doubled to form a Greek cross with intersecting barrel vaults, and of course much simplified in accordance with the very different purpose and spirit of Calvinist architecture.<sup>8</sup>

That the present painting conveys a grandiose image of life as it might be at the Dutch courts is confirmed by comparisons with other paintings dating from Frederick Hendrick's era, such as the banqueting scenes by Van Bassen and Houckgeest described in chapter 3 (see fig. 92) and the former's idealized notion of a palace intended for the king and queen of Bohemia (fig. 91). In the background of *View through an Arcade* is a vista reminiscent of the stadholder's courtyards and gardens at the palaces of Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk; the latter was nearly completed in the late 1630s and featured classical gateways

very similar to those at the end of Houckgeest's view (see fig. 8). Large formal gardens of the time featured axial "prospects" or perspectives; in the aerial view of Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, space for the arcade depicted in Houckgeest's "perspective" (including the round opening in the center) seems reserved right behind the house. WL

1. See Liedtke 1991a.
2. See Rotterdam 1991, no. 1, for the painting in Vienna, and see also p. 167, fig. 2, no. 29, for a comparison between the present picture and one of Hieronymus Cock's plates after Hans Vredeman de Vries in the latter's *Scenographiae* of 1560.
3. The quote is from John Evelyn's diary in 1641; see in this catalogue chap. 1, n. 21. Van Bassen's work for the courts of Holland and Bohemia is considered in chap. 4 in the section on architectural painting.
4. Rotterdam 1991, no. 6.
5. See Liedtke 1991a, pp. 33–34, on Van Steenwyck's whereabouts.
6. For example, Van Delen's *Church Interior with the Presentation in the Temple* of 1623, in the Museum der Bildenden Künste, Leipzig; see Rotterdam 1991, no. 11; and Van Bassen's *Interior of a Catholic Church* of 1632 (oil on canvas, 43 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 54 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. [110 x 139 cm]), at the Van Haelst gallery, London, in 1984.
7. See the remarks about the vanishing point and distance points in Rotterdam 1991, p. 165.
8. On Van Campen's *Nieuwe Kerk* in Haarlem (which had to be built inexpensively), see Amsterdam 1995, pp. 184–87, and Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 215–17 (pp. 221, 263, no. 72, for Saenredam's interior view of 1652 in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, which is similar in composition to the present work by Houckgeest).

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, p. 162, no. 164; Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 17 (1924), p. 558; L. de Vries 1975, pp. 29, 51, no. 1; Liedtke 1982a, p. 31; Rotterdam 1991, p. 37, no. 29; Liedtke in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 14, p. 795; Liedtke 2000, pp. 95–96.

EXHIBITED: London 1952–53, no. 287; Utrecht 1953, no. 49; Edinburgh 1984, no. 33; Turin, Montreal, Washington, Marseilles 1999–2001 (shown in Turin only).

EX COLL.: Cambiaso family; purchased from them in Genoa in 1830 by the Edinburgh Royal Institution; National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (46).

### 37. *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of William the Silent*

1650

Oil on wood, 49 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 35 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (125.7 x 89 cm)

Signed in monogram and dated lower right, on the column base: GH-1650

Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg

This majestic picture, one of the most important works of its kind, was probably the first view of an actual church interior to have been painted in Delft. It was certainly the most influential. The entire genre in Delft, beginning with a small group of compositions by Houckgeest and continuing with the architectural paintings of Emanuel de Witte and Hendrick van Vliet, may be traced back to this work. It is generally thought to have been commissioned, thus redirecting Houckgeest's attention from imaginary architecture to the more demanding task of faithfully depicting an actual site. In terms of fidelity to a particular view, no other church interior painted anywhere in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century exceeds the standard set here (see fig. 257).<sup>1</sup>

Possible patrons for the work include almost anyone of means who was a supporter

of the House of Orange. The States General (which commissioned the tomb monument of William the Silent from Hendrick de Keyser in 1614), the City of Delft, someone at the Dutch court, or a private party may have approached the artist. (Dirck van Delen's painting of the tomb with an unidentified family [fig. 114] dates from five years earlier.) There was a great deal of patriotic feeling at the time, much of it directed toward the stadholders. Frederick Hendrick was buried in the crypt beneath the monument in May 1647, and one year later Spain recognized the Dutch Republic as an independent country, in the Treaty of Münster. The stadholder's son and successor, Prince Willem II, died at the age of twenty-four on November 6, 1650, which, however, is almost certainly too late to have occasioned this work.

During the period 1648–51 the decoration of the Oranjezaal in the Huis ten Bosch was in progress and had become a kind of memorial to Frederick Hendrick.<sup>2</sup> His widow, Amalia van Solms, would surely have found the present picture evocative. For her, the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk was like a family chapel, where her husband, her daughter Isabella Charlotte (1632–1642), and (on March 8, 1651) her son Willem II were buried. And yet the same space was exceedingly public, the most important stop on tours of Delft. The princess probably



Fig. 257. Choir of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft



never saw the monument as it appears here, quietly visited by a few ordinary citizens.<sup>3</sup>

The dynastic significance of the monument and the site is made clear by the four large grave boards hung on the choir wall. The artist has carefully recorded their display of family crests. The uppermost grave board is Frederick Hendrick's, installed shortly before the picture was painted. The three boards in slightly simpler frames are those of William the Silent (in the center), his fourth wife Louise de Coligny (right), and Prince Maurits (left).<sup>4</sup> The flags hanging overhead appear to represent guilds or civic-guard companies; the lowest one bears the crest of Delft (compare fig. 21). Suspended between the two nearest columns is a square grave board, which is seen from the back and serves to enhance the sense of space in the void defined by the whitewashed choir walls.

Houckgeest would have known that at least two painters had preceded him in depicting views inside Dutch churches: Pieter Saenredam of Haarlem and Bartholomeus van Bassen of Delft and The Hague. Two views of the Mariakerk in Utrecht by Saenredam, dated 1637 and 1641, were evidently owned by Constantijn Huygens, who like Van Bassen's fellow architects Jacob van Campen and Pieter Post was well acquainted with the Haarlem painter.<sup>5</sup> Van Bassen had painted a slightly embellished view of the Cunerakerk in Rhenen (fig. 90) and a less faithful but recognizable view of the Grote Kerk (Jacobskerk) in The Hague.<sup>6</sup> But neither artist had attempted what Houckgeest achieved in the present picture, which is an image of the site that corresponds not only in detail but in its proportions and spatial relationships (such as the precise way in which one form overlaps another).

Saenredam came closer to this goal in his drawings, but used the subsequent perspective cartoons to artfully stylize his painted compositions.<sup>7</sup> The wide-angle distortions he exploited were avoided by Houckgeest in accordance with his interest in illusionism. In his oblique or "two-point" perspective scheme the architecture recedes to a central vanishing point and more conspicuously to distance points located somewhat out of the composition to either side.<sup>8</sup> The painting does not record a wide-angle or "panoramic"

view (Houckgeest experiments with one in cat. no. 39), but there is some "high-angle" distortion in the column capitals, especially those nearest to the viewer. Their octagonal shapes tend to flatten as they become more distant from the vanishing points. Houckgeest simply eliminated a capital that should be partly within the view at the top of the nearest column. And he added the feigned archway (simulating wooden beams) at a late stage, after having painted himself into corners at the top of the composition. (Even as finished, the arch and vault ribs to the upper left seem to slip from the third dimension into a flat plane).

One sign of Houckgeest's experience in the genre is that he arrived simultaneously at two goals: a compelling description of a particular place and a meaningful work of art. He focused not on either of the two effigies of the prince, but on the statue of Golden Liberty on the front left corner of the monument.<sup>9</sup> The bronze statue of Justice is clearly visible in profile on the right. People of various ages, from the baby in the nursing mother's arms to the old man on the far right (where he helps to indicate distance), gather around the monument and underscore one of its messages, which Americans might articulate as "liberty and justice for all." The grave boards emphasize the new nation's debt to William the Silent and his stadholder sons. Houckgeest stressed the similarity between their color scheme and the black and gold elements of the tomb, in part by his choice of coloring in the floor tiles (which did not actually exist). They lead the eye emphatically toward the monument, even as the viewer is invited by other aspects of the design to explore the space as a whole.

The sudden recession in depth and the naturalistic spreading of space to the sides create a sense of immediacy not unlike that found in the work of other Delft artists active during the 1650s. One might compare Fabritius in *A View in Delft* (cat. no. 18), Pynacker in his souvenir of Schiedam (cat. no. 57), Vermeer in some of his interior views (see cat. no. 70), and De Witte and Van Vliet in many of their own architectural pictures (see fig. 120). However, this quality of immediacy was only rarely combined, as here, with an exceptionally faithful transcription of an actual site. It has been suggested that for his most accurate

architectural views Houckgeest employed a perspective frame, that is, a drawing aid consisting of a sight and a frame or other form that defined the picture plane.<sup>10</sup> Practical models were described in several of the perspective treatises that Houckgeest would have known (see fig. 116).<sup>11</sup> Using a perspective frame would have allowed the artist to draw the architecture and project it in proper perspective at the same time, which was usually a two-step process resulting in a much less faithful view. The device might even have been employed as a sort of viewfinder in the Nieuwe Kerk.

Fabritius probably used a perspective frame to record the townscape proper in *A View in Delft* and, in another operation, the lute and viol in the same remarkable composition.<sup>12</sup> Vermeer's likely interest in another drawing aid, the camera obscura, need only be mentioned in passing.<sup>13</sup> Artists and amateurs of the time were intrigued by optical instruments of all kinds; they were especially popular at certain European courts, as noted by Huygens and Samuel Pepys.<sup>14</sup> If it were known that the present picture was painted for someone like Huygens, then not only its subject and the type of picture (a "perspective") but also the method by which it was evidently made could be described plausibly as interests characteristic of the Dutch court. In any event, the work is typical in several respects of painting in Delft during the 1650s: its convincing description of space and light; its measured, even stately, composition; and its air of contemplation and experiment.

Houckgeest was the first of several artists to see the potential of his new approach. In 1650–51 he painted at least two small versions of this composition (see cat. 38; fig. 258) and discovered the only similar view to be found in the Oude Kerk (fig. 117). A genre that began as a tribute to William the Silent became within a year a testimony to the extraordinary talent of a small circle of artists in Delft.

WL

1. These conclusions were first advanced in the writer's Ph.D. dissertation (Liedtke 1974) and were first published in Liedtke 1982a. In Liedtke 2000, chap. 3, the material is reviewed afresh.

2. See Amsterdam 1995, pp. 132–41.

3. Amalia herself was buried in the crypt of the Nieuwe Kerk in 1675. In 1654 she commissioned a



large painting from Govert Flinck, *Allegory on the Memory of Frederick Hendrick, Prince of Orange, with a Portrait of His Widow, Amalia van Solms* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), in which is shown a bronze seated statue of her husband in armor under a marble canopy, with lifesize figures of Justice and Fortitude at the corners. In the background, the prince lies in state. The arrangement refers to the tomb in the Nieuwe Kerk, but the princess is alone with two ladies-in-waiting, Hope and apparently Wisdom, who bears a martyr's palm. An angel arrives, pointing to heaven, as in *The Annunciation*. See The Hague 1997–98a, no. 8, where the identity of the lady-in-waiting with the palm is skipped over and Amalia's gaze is misread.

4. The grave boards were identified by Broos in Paris 1986, p. 262, where earlier references are cited.
5. Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 149–54.
6. Dumas 1991, p. 98 (with additional literature), fig. 5.
7. As discussed in Liedtke 1971.
8. See the diagram in Liedtke 2000, fig. 105 (of which fig. 259 in this catalogue is a version).
9. As emphasized in Wheelock 1975–76, p. 180.
10. First suggested independently in my Ph.D. dissertation (Liedtke 1974) and in L. de Vries 1975, pp. 39–40. Discussed also in Liedtke 1982a, p. 52, and in Liedtke 2000, pp. 108–9.
11. On perspective frames and related devices, see Kemp 1990, pp. 171–84.
12. As maintained in Liedtke 2000, pp. 56–57.
13. See Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 25–27.
14. In his diary Huygens (1971, p. 120) remarked that the camera obscura was one of the devices with which princes amuse themselves. On Pepys's interest in optical instruments, see Liedtke 1991b, pp. 229–32; Brusati 1995, pp. 92–95; and chap. 4, pp. 125–26. The subject is further discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 75–79.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, pp. 95–97, 225, no. 167; Eisler 1923, p. 189; Manke 1963, p. 23; Blade 1971, p. 43; L. de Vries 1975, pp. 40, 52, no. 14; Wheelock 1975–76, pp. 172, 180; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 35–41, 99, no. 2; L. de Vries 1984, p. 139; Liedtke 1985, pp. 74–75; Broos 1987, pp. 222–23; Rotterdam 1991, no. 30 (with nineteenth-century literature); Slive 1995, pp. 268–69; Liedtke 2000, pp. 81–82, 100–104, 107.

EXHIBITED: Düsseldorf 1904, no. 327; Rotterdam 1991, no. 30.

EX COLL.: Perhaps the chamberlain of Louis-Philippe;\* [art market, Hamburg, 1871, as coming from Paris]; E. F. Weber collection, Hamburg (sold at R. Lepke, Berlin, February 20–22, 1912, no. 247); in 1912 acquired by the Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg (342).

\* See Rotterdam 1991, p. 169.

### 38. *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of William the Silent*

ca. 1651–52  
Oil on wood (cut round at top),  
23 3/4 x 16 1/2 in. (60 x 41 cm)

Private collection

This panel is an autograph replica of the exquisite picture in the Mauritshuis (figs. 115, 258), which is very slightly smaller, also on an oak panel with an arched top, and monogrammed and dated 1651. The childlike drawings on the nearest column in the Mauritshuis painting have been eliminated, and the figures are entirely different; the small family in front of the tomb has become a fashionable couple with a dog. While there appears to be no reason to date the present picture any later than about 1651–52, the figures were probably added a few years afterward, perhaps by another hand.

Although Houckgeest painted closely related versions of imaginary architectural views before 1650, this is the only certain instance in which he repeated a composition depicting an actual church.<sup>1</sup> But of course the subject called for more than one version, quite as Michiel van Miereveld's portraits of the

Dutch princes required repetition to meet demand. Like the great panel of 1650 in Hamburg (cat. no. 37), the present painting and the version in the Mauritshuis represent the most important public monument in the Netherlands, the tomb of William the Silent, which also refers to the entire House of Orange-Nassau (see the discussion under cat. no. 37 on the grave boards on the choir wall) and to the Dutch Republic's newly won liberty. The bronze figure of Golden Liberty (the name is inscribed in Latin on the hat in her upraised hand) became much more prominent in the view when Houckgeest repeated approximately two-thirds of the Hamburg composition and omitted the left side of the nearest column (see fig. 259). The latter operation was apparently considered in the course of work on the painting in Hamburg, to judge from radiographs that reveal completed architectural details under the imposing repoussoir.

In the exhibition galleries it will be clear that this panel makes an impression very different from that of the large painting of 1650. The earlier work may be compared with a state portrait, meant to appear majestic at a certain distance. The Hamburg picture's space is similar to that of an illusionistic mural, whereas Houckgeest's small paintings of 1651 onward



Fig. 258. Gerard Houckgeest, *The Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with the Tomb of William the Silent*, 1651. Oil on wood, 22 x 15 in. (56 x 38 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague



Fig. 259. Cat. no. 37 with its basic perspective scheme indicated and the composition of cat. no. 38 outlined



resemble microcosms, as in genre paintings by Gerard Dou and his Leiden followers. The present picture was meant for a private room and for personal contemplation, as a work of art and as a reminder of liberty, sacrifice, and death.

WL

1. Another version (Van Rijckvorsel-Courbois collection, Nijmegen), on a canvas of about the same size (22 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 15 in. [58 x 38 cm]), is catalogued in Liedtke 1982a, p. 100, no. 6e, as conceivably autograph (see also Priem 1997, p. 201, no. 12). Three copies, apparently by other seventeenth-century hands, are listed in Liedtke 1982a, p. 100, as nos. 6a, 6b, and 6c; the present painting is catalogued as no. 6d and said to be "apparently an autograph replica" (based on a photograph).

REFERENCES: Liedtke 1982a, p. 100, no. 6d; Liedtke 2000, pp. 86, 107, 115.

EX COLL.: Earl of Shrewsbury, Alton Towers (sold London, June 1, 1861); purchased at that sale by John Mayor Threlfall, Singleton House, Manchester; (sold as "the property of a lady" at Sotheby's, London, March 28, 1979, no. 75); private collection; [David Koetser Gallery, Zurich, in 1999]; since 1999 the present owner.

### 39. *Ambulatory of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of William the Silent*

Probably 1651

Oil on wood, 25 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 30 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (65.5 x 77.5 cm)

Signed in monogram and dated lower right, on the nearest column base: GH 16[?]

Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen  
Mauritshuis, The Hague

In a Mauritshuis catalogue of 1895 the date on this panel was recorded as 1651. The last two digits are now illegible, but circumstantial evidence (discussed below) supports the reading of a century ago.

After Houckgeest introduced his own approach to representing actual church interiors in the Hamburg panel of 1650 (cat. no. 37) he explored the spaces of the Nieuwe Kerk and the Oude Kerk for similar views. In all his paintings of Delft churches a colonnade is aligned diagonally with the picture plane and the architecture recedes to both sides. The effect is naturalistic and to some extent illusionistic, especially in works dating from or about 1651.<sup>1</sup>

Here, however, only the space of the choir seems three-dimensional (to viewers standing at a certain distance from the painting itself). Houckgeest achieved the effect mainly by filling the central area with precisely modeled forms and by contrasting its illumination with that of the foreground. Although sunlight enters the church at a fairly low angle from the left, the bright and nearly uniform illumination of the vaults fanning above the ambulatory is arbitrary, an artistic device. Indeed, the palette overall is more consistent with that found in contemporary paintings by Saenredam and Fabritius (see cat. nos. 20, 21) than with effects seen in Dutch Gothic churches, even in a whitewashed interior visited on a sunny afternoon.

Also departing from experience in the church itself is the panoramic view, which measures about 105 degrees from side to side. The view on the left, toward the choir screen and the southern aisle beyond it, is to the west from the artist's vantage point. The view toward the column on the right is to the north. One cannot look directly toward two quarters of the compass at the same time. Nor is it possible for the eye to embrace the nearest areas of the floor and of the vaults simultaneously, at least not while standing in the narrow space of the Nieuwe Kerk's ambulatory (which here unfolds like a circus tent). In this work Houckgeest was not, as in the Hamburg panel, concerned with how the architecture actually appears from a particular vantage point. The Mauritshuis picture records precise details, and of course it pays homage to the House of Orange. But more than any other Netherlandish image of its kind the painting is an experiment, an attempt to depict (or "map") a panoramic view by going beyond the normal limits of an orthodox perspective scheme (see fig. 260).<sup>2</sup>

In this composition Houckgeest addresses a problem that had engaged artists from at least the time of Leonardo, which is the difference between representation and sight.<sup>3</sup> Contemporary perspective treatises narrowly resolved the conflict by recommending a limited angle of view (generally about 50 degrees). Landscapists had little difficulty with panoramic vistas and roving eyes, but architecture is less amenable than meadows and trees. As Houckgeest surely knew,

Saenredam recorded wide-angle views in his drawings of church interiors and in his paintings allowed the kind of elegant distortions one finds in the vaulting and floor tiles here.<sup>4</sup> Linear patterns strain to reach the sides and the corners of the composition. The columns advance impetuously in a convex arc, inverting the movement sensed in Houckgeest's view of the same space from the opposite direction (cat. no. 37). The nearest columns have been stretched vertically; the mind accepts what the eye would never see. The arches spring up from the capitals in ballistic trajectories, as might be observed by a military man like Prince Maurits (whose grave board is visible to the upper right).

A panel once in the collection of Charles Crews (fig. 261) corresponds with the center of the Mauritshuis picture and is dated 1650. As in other examples by Houckgeest (see cat. nos. 38, 40), the two compositions probably derive from a single perspective cartoon (compare fig. 260). Perhaps Houckgeest was working on both paintings in the winter of 1650–51 and finished the less extensive view before the turn of the year. The results are dissimilar in both form and content. In the Crews picture Houckgeest focused upon the monument, where both the seated and the reclining effigies of William the Silent are seen. As in the Hamburg panel, visitors stand at the railings around the tomb. In the present painting, by contrast, the artist was concerned with the church interior as a whole, including the tomb in its place of honor. Only a few vantage points in the east end of the ambulatory offer a clear view of the tomb and a fairly comprehensive view of the church at the same time (compare Hendrick van Vliet's view from the west, cat. no. 84).

As might be expected, this composition exercised little influence upon the artist's colleagues, compared with that of his contemporary works. However, Carel Fabritius probably knew it and considered its design when he conceived *A View in Delft* (cat. no. 18). In that small canvas the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk is approached from the same angle as in Houckgeest's panel, but from a position about a hundred meters (or yards) farther back. The streets of Delft wrap around the church in a sweeping curve, not unlike the ambulatory in Houckgeest's composition.



39



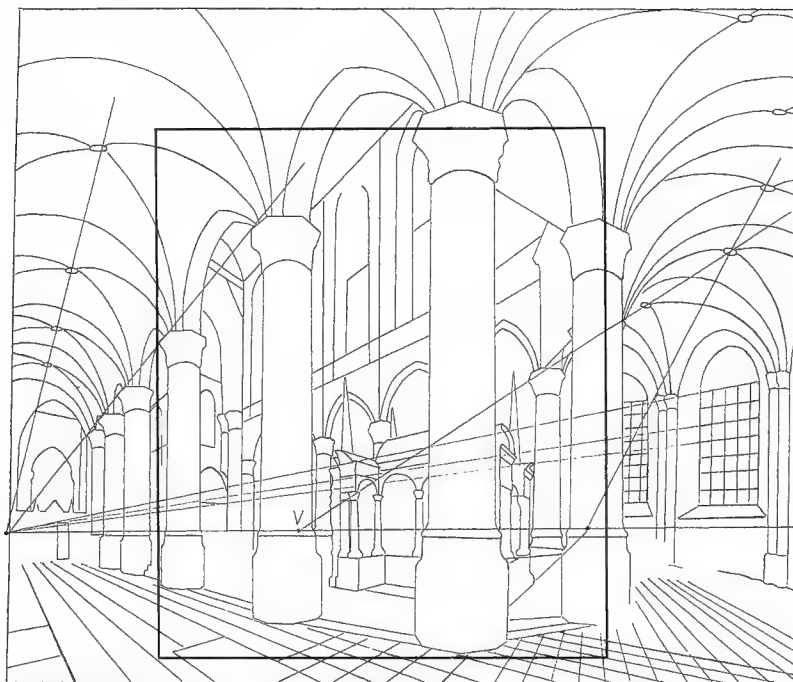


Fig. 260. A diagram of cat. no. 39 with its basic perspective scheme indicated and the composition of fig. 261 outlined

Of all the virtuoso demonstrations of perspective in Delft paintings of this period, these two are the most sophisticated—and the most interesting, because the artists accepted the conditions imposed by a real place.

WL



Fig. 261. Gerard Houckgeest, *The Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with the Tomb of William the Silent*, 1650. Oil on wood, 20 1/4 x 16 1/2 in. (51 x 42 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy David Koetser, Zurich)

1. See Liedtke 2000, pp. 110–11.
2. On the issues and the notion of artificial perspective as a kind of map (as opposed to the “mirror” of vision), see Gombrich 1975.
3. See Kemp 1990, pp. 44–52 (fig. 81 diagrams “the problem of wide-angle vision as explored by Leonardo”).
4. As discussed in Liedtke 1975–76.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, pp. 98–99, no. 170; L. de Vries 1975, pp. 42, 52, no. 17; Wheelock 1975–76, p. 178; Liedtke 1976a, pp. 71–72; Wheelock 1977a, pp. 233, 243, 244; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 19, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48–49, 51–53, 77, 101, no. 7; Broos 1987, pp. 218, 220; Rotterdam 1991, no. 31; Liedtke 2000, pp. 39–40, 107, 114–16.

EXHIBITED: Haarlem 1961, no. 40; Rotterdam 1991, no. 31; Delft 1996; Amsterdam 2000, no. 78.

EX COLL.: Johan Anthony van Kinschot (sold Delft, July 21–22, 1767, no. 69, to Zevenhoven for 352 guilders); Prince Willem V, Stadholder of the United Provinces; deposited at the Louvre, Paris, 1795–1815; in 1816 entered the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague (57).

#### 40. Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, with the Pulpit of 1548

Probably 1651

Oil on wood, 19 1/2 x 16 1/2 in. (49 x 41 cm)

Signed in monogram and dated center bottom, on the fictive frame, in foreshortening: GH 165[?]

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

In this enticing scene set around the pulpit in the Oude Kerk's nave, Houckgeest departs from his main interests in works of 1650–51, such as the painting in Hamburg of the Nieuwe Kerk and the panoramic view of the same space (cat. nos. 37, 39). Those pictures and other early views of actual church interiors by Houckgeest (see fig. 117) are concerned with the Delft churches themselves, their most important tomb monuments, and the ability of artificial perspective to record real experience. One has a very different sense of things here. The principal points of interest include the casual encounter of a man and woman in the foreground; the delightfully illusionistic curtain and wood frame; the picturesque sunlight streaming through crystalline air; the coral color of the column bases, of the brick arches in the transept, and of figures in the stained glass; and the sudden leap of space from foreground to background, which is so unlike the measured progress into depth achieved in Houckgeest's first few works of this kind. One is almost tempted to think that the artist, after appreciative perusals of pictures by painters such as Gerard ter Borch, Gerard Dou, and Emanuel de Witte, decided to be charming and clever rather than rational and reserved. Some of Houckgeest's strongest qualities might be missed in this picture along with its point, which is to beguile the viewer with a display of artistic skill, beauty, and wit.

The sheer inventiveness of Dutch artists with talent and time to spare could be illustrated by this panel, which one would not cite as a typical example of Houckgeest's work or of a “church interior.” As he did at least twice before (see figs. 259, 260), the artist cropped the view out of a more extensive composition: that of a panel by Houckgeest in the collection of the duke of Buccleuch





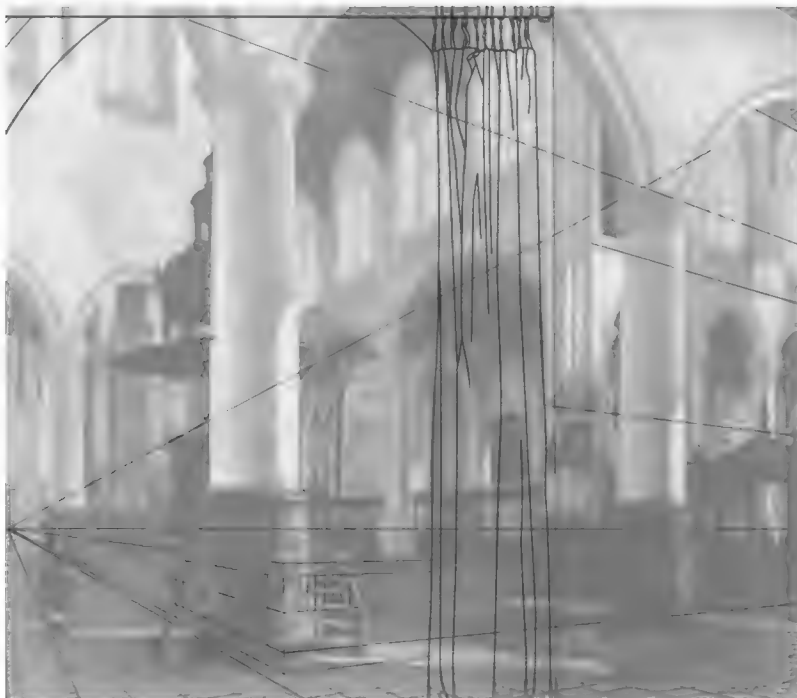


Fig. 262. Diagram demonstrating how the composition of cat. no. 40 was derived from that of Houckgeest's *Interior of the Oude Kerk in Delft*, ca. 1651 (oil on wood, 16 1/2 x 22 in. [41.9 x 56 cm]), in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry, K.T.

(see fig. 262), which probably dates from 1651.<sup>1</sup> As a panoramic view, that panel is comparable to the broad picture in the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 39) and it also distorts the foreground; the nearest archways are impossibly wide because of their distance from the point to which they recede. In the present painting Houckgeest has selected the (literally) more eccentric half of a composition that was already "marginal," meaning cropped from the side rather than the center of an orthodox perspective scheme. This is why, to put it simply, there is virtually no middle ground in the picture and the elevations look shuffled together like playing cards (they seem to meet at acute rather than right angles). As in domestic interiors spied through windows by Gerard Dou, Houckgeest contrives a vivid sensation of receding space in the immediate foreground, and this is simply juxtaposed with an arrangement of distant forms. Just how many steps might be required to cross the entire width of the church on the left is a question one is not invited to ask, quite as

in the case of the ambiguous shoreline in Pynacker's view of Schiedam (cat. no. 57). Illusionism for these artists is a matter of inventing tricks that work, not of constructing spaces that may be logically analyzed.

The last digit of the date on this panel is unclear; the numbers are tiny, foreshortened, and complicated by imitation wood grain. Most scholars argue for a date of 1651 or 1654 (in seventeenth-century inscriptions barbed ones and triangular fours can be nearly indistinguishable). A variety of academic questions accompany that of dating, such as this painting's connection with the *De Witte in Ottawa* (cat. no. 92), which has a similar curtain, rod, and shadow cast on the imaginary picture's surface.<sup>2</sup> Several other compositions could be brought into the discussion, and related works (like the *Bucleuch panel*) may now be lost. Altogether, the evidence argues for dating this panel, and especially its preparatory material, to 1651, when Houckgeest, De Witte, and Hendrick van Vliet were interacting in Delft, rather than later on.<sup>3</sup>

The figures act out a brief sketch about proper behavior in church. The nearer gentleman to the left not only indicates distance but also draws attention to the nursing mother and her children. This common motif in Dutch church interiors is usually intended as a reminder of charity. By contrast, the gesturing cavalier (who cuts a dashing figure in sword, spurs, walking stick, and feathered hat) and his pretty companion seem to have wandered in from a contemporary genre scene, or from an inn like the one near the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Fabritius's *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18). This vignette seems to have inspired Van Vliet's more didactic handling of the theme of courtship in church, in an early panel derived mainly from another picture by Houckgeest (cat. no. 81; fig. 117).

W L

1. The painting was first assigned to Houckgeest in Liedtke 1986, where its relationship to the Rijksmuseum picture was also explained.
2. See Rotterdam 1991, pp. 177–79, where a related composition by Johannes Coesermans is also considered (however, the *Bucleuch Houckgeest* is not).
3. These issues are discussed in greater detail in Liedtke 2000, p. 119.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, pp. 99–100, 162, no. 172; Eisler 1923, pp. 191–92; Manke 1963, p. 22; Gowing 1970, pp. 99–100, 102, n. 47; L. de Vries 1975, pp. 44–45, 52, no. 21; Wheelock 1977a, p. 245; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 45–46, 100, no. 4; Haak 1984, p. 439; Liedtke 1986; Rotterdam 1991, no. 32; Liedtke 2000, pp. 86–87, 117–19.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1867, no. 80; The Hague 1890, no. 44; Utrecht 1953, no. 50; Edinburgh 1984, no. 34; Rotterdam 1991, no. 32.

EX COLL.: W. P. van Lennep, Amsterdam, 1867; J. F. van Lennep, Amsterdam, 1890; M. C. van Messchert van Vollenhoven–van Lennep (sold at C. S. Roos, Amsterdam, March 29, 1892, no. 4, for 8,250 guilders to the *Vereniging Rembrandt*); acquired in 1892 with the support of the *Vereniging Rembrandt* by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (A1584).

## CORNELIS DE MAN

Delft 1621–1706 Delft

Cornelis de Man was born in Delft on July 1, 1621. Nothing is known of his life until he joined the painters' guild in Delft as a master on December 29, 1642. Shortly thereafter he went to Paris for about a year and then traveled on to Italy, his intended destination (according to Arnold Houbraken), by way of Lyons and Lombardy. Houbraken reports that De Man spent two years in the service of a great nobleman in Florence and then settled in Rome for a few years. After some time in Venice he returned to Delft, evidently about 1652.<sup>1</sup>

That De Man set off on this adventure at the age of twenty-one suggests that he came from a wealthy family. His portrait commissions, awarded by members of the clergy and the surgeons' guild (for example, the Anatomy Lesson of Dr. 's Gravezande of 1681; Prinsenhof, Delft), his service as a regent in the Chamber of Charity (1680), and perhaps his prominence in the painters' guild (he was headman in 1657, 1661, 1666, 1671, 1675, and 1680) point in the same direction.<sup>2</sup> It might be wondered whether the artist was related to the receiver general Boudewijn de Man (fig. 226), whose estate in 1644 included paintings valued at over 6,000 guilders, silver and gold objects worth about 4,000 guilders, and about 3,000 guilders' worth of furniture and other items.<sup>3</sup> However, the first name of De Man's father appears to have been Anthony, and Michael Montias reports that the young artist sold a house in 1642 for the very modest sum of 500 guilders.<sup>4</sup>

A number of portraits by De Man bear dates between 1655 and 1661.<sup>5</sup> These generally resemble contemporary works by Anthonie Palamedesz and by Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger. De Man's church interiors and

genre scenes date mostly from the 1660s and 1670s. A comparatively early genre painting by the artist, *La Main chaude* (fig. 264), recalls works by Jan Miense Molenaer in the figures, but the setting resembles those employed by the Rotterdam artists Hendrick Sorgh and Ludolf de Jongh. The influence of De Hooch and Vermeer is obvious in De Man's domestic interiors, while his church interiors, of which perhaps two dozen are known, follow compositions by Hendrick van Vliet and represent either the *Oude Kerk* or the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Delft, with the exception of the view in the *Laurenskerk, Rotterdam* (cat. no. 41).<sup>6</sup> Many of the artist's genre scenes as well as his architectural paintings reveal an enthusiasm for perspective practice, which did not prevent him from distorting difficult motifs, such as column bases and capitals. In 1682 De Man also painted an ungainly allegory of Charity, which he gave to the Chamber of Charity in Delft.<sup>7</sup> A lifelong bachelor (according to Houbraken), the painter died at the age of eighty-five, and his personal effects were sold at auction on September 1, 1706.<sup>8</sup>

WL

1. See Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, pp. 99–100.

2. See Brière-Misme 1935a, pp. 2, 5, 14–20. For De Man's service as headman of the painters' guild, see Montias 1982, pp. 372–74.

3. Montias 1982, p. 263.

4. Ibid., p. 121. According to Brière-Misme 1935a, p. 3, a list of members in the Chamber of Charity refers to the artist as Cornelis Anthonys de Man. There were other De Mans in Delft, including a goldsmith, Willem (about 1660), and an Anthony Cornelisz de Man (cited in 1714), who was evidently not the artist's son (Brière-Misme 1935a, p. 3, n. 1).

5. See Brière-Misme 1935a, pp. 13–18.

6. On De Man's architectural paintings, see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 118–24, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 135–38.

7. See Brière-Misme 1935a, pp. 5–6, fig. 1, and Delft 1981, fig. 137.

8. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, p. 99, and Brière-Misme 1935a, p. 3.

### 41. Interior of the Laurenskerk, Rotterdam

Probably mid-1660s

Oil on canvas, 15¼ x 18½ in. (39.5 x 46.5)

Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen  
Mauritshuis, The Hague

That De Man should have taken up the subject of actual church interiors in Delft and, in this exceptional instance, Rotterdam, when he was already in his forties must reflect a fairly strong demand for this kind of picture, and also the artist's enthusiasm for linear perspective. The present picture, one of De Man's finest and most likely one of his earliest architectural views—it probably dates from about the mid-1660s—was painted at a time when Hendrick van Vliet in Delft and Anthonie de Lorme in Rotterdam were producing a good number of works along the same lines. Before De Man turned to the genre, he had painted or engraved several portraits of pastors; perhaps this may have kindled his interest in the subject of Protestant churches. One print attributed to De Man and dated 1659 represents Volckert van Oosterwijk (1603–1675), a preacher who



Fig. 263. Anthonie de Lorme, *Interior of the Laurenskerk in Rotterdam with a Portrait of a Man*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 44¼ x 43½ in. (112.4 x 111.1 cm). Private collection (photo courtesy Johnny Van Haften, Ltd., London)





Fig. 264. Cornelis de Man, *La Main chaude* (*Merriment in a Peasant Inn*), ca. 1660. Oil on canvas, 27½ x 33¼ in. (69 x 84 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague

served in Rotterdam before returning to his native Delft.<sup>1</sup> However, there were myriad social and artistic connections between Rotterdam and Delft, and Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, and Emanuel de Witte—De Man's local predecessors in architectural painting—had all depicted churches outside of Delft during the 1650s.<sup>2</sup> The Middelburg artist Daniel de Bleeck, as well as De Lorme, began painting views of the Laurenskerk in Rotterdam during the early 1650s. As the "Great Church" of the port city, the Late Gothic monument evidently held sufficient interest to sustain the last twenty years of De Lorme's career (from about 1652 until his death, in 1673). At about the same time that Balthasar de Monconys visited Vermeer in the summer of 1663, he stopped in De Lorme's studio and later observed that the artist's work consisted of nothing but "l'Eglise de Rotterdam en diverses veues, mais il les fait bien."<sup>3</sup>

In the 1970s the present painting's subject and a few De Lorme-like qualities, such as the dappled sunlight on the floor (compare fig. 263), evidently sufficed for an attribution to the Rotterdam artist, overruling an earlier ascription to Gerrit Berckheyde. A few years later the present writer reassigned the work to De Man, in the first reconstruction of his oeuvre as an architectural painter.<sup>4</sup> Some rather schematic church interiors by De Man probably date from the 1670s and are generally larger than this one. A more descriptive approach, like that found here in the pavement, the nave columns on the left, the

chandelier, and the windows in the distant ambulatory (the view is from the southern aisle to the east), occurs in a few church interiors by De Man—for example, the signed *Nieuwe Kerk in Delft* in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt<sup>5</sup>—and in some of the artist's genre scenes, like *La Main chaude* (fig. 264), which probably dates from about 1660. The style of the figures in the present picture is distinctive of De Man. He appears to have enjoyed surveying modes of behavior, as he does here. While in composition the present picture is obviously indebted to De Lorme, the sense of space and the placement of the woman in the foreground bring to mind numerous pictures painted in Delft, including works by Houckgeest, De Witte, Johannes Coesermans, and Jan Steen (compare cat. nos. 40, 92, 13, 58). WL

1. Brière-Misme 1935a, p. 17. Maria van Oosterwijck's father was a pastor, but his first name was Jakobus, according to Houbraken (1718–21, vol. 2, p. 214).
2. Hendrick van Vliet, who depicted churches in Leiden, Gouda, Haarlem, and other cities as well as in Delft, may have represented a view in the Laurenskerk, if my attribution of a drawing to him is correct (Liedtke 1982a, fig. 59).
3. Monconys 1665–66, vol. 2, p. 131. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 63–73, on the work of De Lorme and De Bleeck in the 1650s and 1660s; see Rotterdam 1991, nos. 50, 51, for views in the Laurenskerk painted by De Lorme (in 1657) and De Bleeck (in 1652). On Monconys's visit to Delft, see chap. 1 in this catalogue, pp. 12–13.
4. Liedtke 1982a, pp. 122–23, no. 291. De Man's work in this genre is also discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 135–38.
5. Liedtke 1982a, pp. 70, 72, 118, 120–23, no. 290, fig. 104. Compare also the description of church furniture and the chandelier in De Man's *Oude Kerk in Delft* in the Art Institute of Chicago (Liedtke 1982a, pp. 121–23, figs. 30, 100).

REFERENCES: Liedtke 1982a, pp. 122–23, no. 291; Liedtke 1982b, p. 66; Utsunomiya, Sakura, Takasaki, Sasebo 1997–98, no. 27.

EXHIBITED: Utrecht, Eindhoven 1946–47, no. 54 (as by Gerrit Berckheyde) (shown in Utrecht only); Utrecht 1953 (as by De Lorme), no. 64; Haarlem 1961, no. 32 (as by De Lorme); Tokyo, Kyoto 1968–69, no. 33 (as by De Lorme); Brussels 1971, no. 65 (as by De Lorme); Zuoz 1986, no. 30; Sasebo 1992–93, no. 15; Utsunomiya, Sakura, Takasaki, Sasebo 1997–98, no. 27.

EX COLL.: Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstvoorwerpen, The Hague; in 1960 transferred to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague (856).

## 42. A Man Weighing Gold

ca. 1670  
Oil on canvas, 32½ x 26½ in.  
(81.6 x 67.6 cm)

Private collection

From about the mid-1660s onward De Man painted stylish genre scenes that incorporate ideas adopted from works by De Hooch, Vermeer, and a good number of their contemporaries. De Man was an eclectic artist whose own approach seems reflected in that of his comfortably dressed male figures, who sit or stand at tables dabbling in some form of scholarship or business (see fig. 176), evidently in pursuit of pleasant distraction rather than occupied with professional concerns (one senses they have none).<sup>1</sup> Even when a woman is present De Man's elegant interiors suggest a well-to-do bachelor's world, as in Vermeer's paintings of an astronomer and a geographer (figs. 174, 175). However, De Man does not convey the idea of intellectual absorption one finds in Vermeer; indeed, he occasionally hints at the idleness or triviality of his protagonists' pursuits by means of a pose, a gesture, or a motif (like the mirror in fig. 176). Decorative objects, which in his work might be called collectibles, contribute to the ambience of leisure and cultivated taste: porcelain bowls (the shape, at least of those depicted here, is Chinese, not domestic); a *tronie* and a cittern in *The Chess Players*



Fig. 265. Cornelis de Man, *The Chess Players*, ca. 1670. Oil on canvas, 38½ x 33¼ in. (97.5 x 85 cm). Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest





(fig. 265); a shell and a teapot on the mantel in the so-called *Scholar in His Study* (private collection, the Netherlands), where a money bag and a map of Olinda and Recife hang on the wall;<sup>2</sup> a female bust, a fancy vase of flowers, globes, swords, tapestries, and so on.<sup>3</sup> Persian table-carpets, tiled floors, and finely crafted wood paneling underscore the impression of a preoccupation with fashionable and costly things.

As Peter Sutton has noted, the strongbox in the foreground of the present picture suggests that the artist refers to the sin of avarice. This is certainly the case in De Man's canvas *The Old Gold Weigher* (location unknown), where there is an open strongbox by the seated man and a large money bag hanging from the arm of his chair.<sup>4</sup> However, the fact that the protagonist in *A Man Weighing Gold* is less decrepit ("an unusually young miser") persuaded Sutton to hedge his iconographic bets by observing that the man in the chic cap and slippers "seems little more than an industrious businessman. Note that he starts work early; the bedding and the boy stoking the fire point to the morning hour."<sup>5</sup> Recently, Wheelock amplified "the theory that this painting celebrates the virtues of judicious, hard work and frugal living, where peat is only used as necessary to heat the home," and where the small paintings of Prince Maurits and of Christ and the Virgin above the fireplace "indicate that the goldweigher and his family remain faithful to both secular and religious ideals in the way they conduct and manage their lives."<sup>6</sup>

And yet, a contemporary viewer might have wondered why the couple count their gold and silver blessings shortly after getting up, before the young man, probably their servant, could start the fire and the maid could make the bed. The lady of the house is not inclined to busy herself; her pose, although natural enough in the chilly room, was commonly associated with idleness (or sloth, the root of other sins).<sup>7</sup> She wears an ermine-trimmed jacket, a pearl earring, and a look of satisfaction with the stack of coins. De Man probably intended some irony in the choice of home decorations. Like Prince Maurits, the Virgin and Christ were better known for

self-sacrifice than for winking at the bare-legged behavior of "businessmen."

In 1669, the same year in which Pieter Teding van Berkhout praised Vermeer and Cornelis Bisschop for their perspective expertise, Jan Sysmus wrote that De Man "florisait dans la perspective."<sup>8</sup> At the time, the same compliment might have been paid to De Hooch, Samuel van Hoogstraten, Pieter Janssens Elinga (in Amsterdam),<sup>9</sup> Gabriël Metsu, Jacob Ochtervelt, and a number of other genre painters. Like Vermeer (see fig. 168), most of them experimented with forced recessions and tiled floors aligned diagonally to the picture plane. In this picture De Man compounds the interest by employing an oblique ("two-point") projection, which of course was the norm in Delft church interiors (the arrangement here is more reminiscent of Houckgeest's work in the early 1650s than of paintings done more recently by Hendrick van Vliet). As De Man probably noticed, Adriaen van Ostade and especially Jan Steen achieved an intimate, almost accidental look in domestic interiors by viewing them obliquely; one often feels that Steen sat on a stool in the only corner of a room where he had enough distance to sketch the scene.<sup>10</sup> In Steen, as in Houckgeest and Van Vliet, the effect is naturalistic, but that is not what De Man was after.

The paneled walls, beamed ceilings, stone floors, tiled fireplaces, and striped bed linen betray De Man's enthusiasm for patterns per se. In the wide- and high-angle view of the gold weigher's tidy domicile, the floor and ceiling stretch to the four corners of the composition, and the fireplace, the table, the bowl to the upper left, and even the shadows contribute to the evidence of formal sophistication. In this painting these potentially stale refinements are brought to life by accidental incidents, like the flawed surface of the plaster wall above and to the side of the fireplace, the cracked beam supporting the ceiling, the scraped grain of the panel on the right (with a nail), the satiny highlights on the table, and shadows that, when not overtly clever (like the ones arching from the feet of the male figures), are so naturalistic that they might not be noticed at all (like those in the corner

above the bed)—until, perhaps, a fellow amateur pointed them out.

W.L.

1. See Brière-Misme 1935a, figs. 13, 15, 17–22, and Delft 1996, figs. 189–92.
2. Delft 1996, pp. 195–96, fig. 192.
3. The vase of flowers appears in *The Interrupted Reckoning* (Jitta collection, Amsterdam; see Brière-Misme 1935a, fig. 20). The bust in *Geographers at Work* (fig. 176 here) recalls the one depicted in Caesar van Everdingen's *Trompe l'oeil with a Bust of Venus* of 1665 (Mauritshuis, The Hague; see Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 39).
4. Brière-Misme 1935a, pp. 105–6, fig. 18 (p. 106, n. 1, for the picture's peregrinations about 1930), and Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, pp. 246–47, fig. 3.
5. Sutton in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 247. He continues on this tack, bringing in Rembrandt's portrait etching of the receiver general Johannes Uytenbogaert (1639), images of "Justitia," a sacred emblem of 1625, and the hypothesis that the man "works under the scrutiny of both church and state; see the roundels of Jesus and the Virgin and the portrait of Prince Maurits."
6. Wheelock in Osaka 2000, p. 166.
7. See Koslow 1975.
8. Brière-Misme (1935a, p. 9) does not give the full source for Jan Sysmus's remark. For Teding van Berkhout's, see chap. 1, pp. 14–15, in this catalogue.
9. See Delft 1996, pp. 184–90.
10. A good example is Steen's *Family Repast* of the mid-to late 1660s (Louvre, Paris).

REFERENCES: Brière-Misme 1935a, pp. 104–5; Delft 1981, p. 188; Liedtke 1982a, p. 119; Liedtke 1982b, p. 63; Sutton in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, under no. 68, and no. 69 (with additional literature); Kersten in Delft 1996, pp. 192–94; Priem 1997, p. 203, no. 18; Liedtke 2000, pp. 135–36, 235; Lokin in Osaka 2000, pp. 39, 40; Wheelock in Osaka 2000, p. 19, no. 29.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam 1935, no. 67; Arnhem 1953, no. 39; Delft 1962, no. 23; The Hague 1964, no. 398; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 69; Delft 1996; Osaka 2000, no. 29.

EX COLL.: (Sale at Jurjans's, Amsterdam, August 28, 1817, no. 31, bought by J. de Vries for L. J. van Winter); Lucretia Johanna van Winter, Amsterdam, 1817–22; Six van Hillegom—van Winter collection, Amsterdam, 1822–47; Jan Pieter Six van Hillegom and Pieter Hendrik Six van Vromade, Amsterdam, 1847–1899/1905; Jan Six van Hillegom, Amsterdam, 1905–26; Six Foundation, from 1922 (sold Amsterdam, October 16, 1928, no. 25); C. J. K. van Aalst, Hoevelaken; N. J. van Aalst, Hoevelaken (on long-term loan to the Centraal Museum, Utrecht); [Cramer Oude Kunst, The Hague, 1975–76]; [Edward Speelman, London, 1976]; [Bruno Meissner, Zurich, 1976]; Mr. and Mrs. Michal Hornstein, Montreal, 1976–98 (sold Sotheby's, New York, January 30, 1998, no. 30); [Otto Naumann Ltd., New York, 1999]; the present owner.

# MICHIEL JANSZ VAN MIEREVELD

Delft 1567–1641 Delft

According to Karel van Mander (1604), Van Miereveld was born on May 1, 1567. His father was a prominent goldsmith, Jan Michielsz van Miereveld (1528–1612), and his mother was the daughter of a glass painter. The biographer cites two early teachers of Van Miereveld, the otherwise unknown Willem Willemsz and “a pupil of [Anthonie] Blocklandt, Augustijn, in Delft, whose spirit greatly overflowed with invention.” At about the age of fourteen (presumably in 1581) the artist, who already excelled in writing, drawing, and engraving, went to study “for two years and three months” in Utrecht with Blocklandt, who had been a highly regarded history painter in Delft during the 1550s and 1560s.<sup>1</sup>

Van Miereveld joined the Delft painters’ guild in 1587 and served as headman in 1589–90 and in 1611–12. In 1607 he became court painter to Prince Maurits (see cat. no. 43) and effectively began his career as the leading portraitist of aristocratic and patrician figures in The Hague, Delft, and other cities. It must have been in order to continue in this capacity that the artist joined the painters’ guild of The Hague in 1625, but this became unnecessary when he was named court painter in the same year by Maurits’s successor, Frederick Hendrick (see cat. no. 44).

Van Miereveld married twice, in 1589 and in 1633. His sons Pieter (1596–1623) and Jan (1604–1633) were among his many pupils, but both predeceased their father, and after his death the studio was inherited by his grandson, Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger (1619–1661). Van Miereveld’s most important pupils were Willem van Vliet (ca. 1584–1642), Anthonie Palamedesz (1601–1673), and the Utrecht painter Paulus Moreelse (1571–1638). He also influenced Jan van Ravesteyn (ca. 1570–1657), of The Hague, and Daniel Mijtens the Elder (ca. 1590–1647), a Delft native who worked in the court city until he went to London (by August 1628). Van Miereveld portrayed English and other foreign personages like Sir Dudley Carleton without traveling abroad, although he received several invitations. His work became widely known through the reproductive engravings of his son-in-law, Willem Delff (1580–1638).<sup>2</sup> The painter died a wealthy man, on June 27, 1641.

W L

1. See Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 380 (translated from the appendix on pp. 462–63). On Willem Willemsz (Willem Willemsz Luyt; d. 1625), see Montias 1982, pp. 35, 47, 137–38, 154, 254, 334. “Augustijn” died early, according to Van Mander, and Van Miereveld was with him for only ten weeks, but the experience must have led him on to Blocklandt’s studio.
2. For further comments and literature, see Rudolf E. O. Ekkart’s entry in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 21, pp. 485–86.

## 43. Portrait of Maurits, Prince of Orange-Nassau

1607

Oil on wood, 43¼ x 38¼ in. (110 x 98 cm)

Gemeente Musca Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

New York only

In 1607 the Delft city fathers commissioned their already famous fellow citizen Michiel van Miereveld to paint a portrait of the Dutch stadholder Prince Maurits (1567–1625). Van Miereveld went to The Hague to record his subject’s features, and produced this portrait of the prince in armor, with sword and baton, representing his crucial role as captain general of the Dutch army. This was two years before the signing of the Twelve Years’ Truce, and Maurits had already proven himself a capable strategist and moral beacon. Now forty, Maurits must have felt that a lifetime had passed since he was thrust at seventeen into the position of chairman of the Council of State, after his father’s assassination in Delft in 1584, and since his appointments as stadholder of Holland and head of the army in the following year.

Maurits was William the Silent’s second son; his mother, Anna of Saxony (1544–1577), married William in 1561. Maurits’s older stepbrother, Philips Willem van Nassau (1554–1618), whose mother was Anna of Egmond (1533–1558), was kidnapped by the duke of Alva and sent to Spain, as ordered by Philip II. Thirty years later the Catholic courtier (seen on the far right in fig. 155, behind his father) returned to Brussels and Breda, where he restored the family residences and collected paintings, silver, jewelry, and Oriental porcelain. Maurits became Prince of Orange at his brother’s death in 1618 and probably inherited his movable possessions, but the second son had few opportunities



and insufficient funds to play a similar role. His main enthusiasms were architecture and the military arts. He made substantial improvements to his main residence, the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague.<sup>1</sup>

Daniel van den Queeborn, a Fleming who had served Maurits's father, painted several portraits of the young stadholder. But the picture exhibited here became the model for all the later portraits of the prince, whose aging features were surmised in absentia (or noted by observing him in public ceremonies). A full-length version, possibly the one owned by Charles I, passed by descent from the first earl of Arlington (whose wife, Isabella, was Maurits's granddaughter) to the duke of Grafton's collection at Euston.<sup>2</sup> The full-length version in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, must date from the same period, about 1615–20.<sup>3</sup> The present picture was engraved by Jan Muller in 1608 and, like countless painted copies from Van Miereveld's workshop and other sources, hung in homes throughout the Netherlands. Portraits of Maurits and his younger brother Frederick Hendrick, valued at 4 guilders each, hung in the house of Vermeer's parents.<sup>4</sup> A bust-length version of the 1607 composition hangs above the fireplace in *A Man Weighing Gold* by Cornelis de Man (cat. no. 42).

Maurits never married. He died on April 23, 1625, at the age of fifty-eight, and was buried on September 26 in the crypt beneath his father's tomb monument in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. The medal seen below the prince's orange sash is the Order of the Garter, which was awarded to him in 1613 by his nearly exact contemporary James I. The medal was probably added to the painting shortly thereafter.

W.L.

1. A brief account of Philips Willem's and Maurits's activities as patrons is found in *The Hague 1997–98a*, pp. 14–16.

2. Moore 1988, no. 16.

3. *Amsterdam 1993–94*, no. 265.

4. Montias 1989, p. 56.

REFERENCES: Rudolf E. O. Ekkart in *Amsterdam 1993–94*, p. 593; *The Hague 1997–98a*, p. 16.

EX COLL.: Painted for the City of Delft in 1607; transferred in 1988 from the town hall to the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 70).

#### 44. *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick, Prince of Orange-Nassau*

ca. 1610

Oil on wood, 43¾ x 33¾ in. (110 x 84 cm)

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

*New York only*

This portrait was painted in about 1610 for the city council of Delft as a companion piece to Van Miereveld's portrait of Prince Maurits, commissioned three years earlier (cat. no. 43). The composition was engraved by Jacob Matham in 1610 and often repeated in painted copies, in the same format and in bust-length versions.<sup>1</sup> The pair of princely portraits became the basis for a series representing nineteen members of the House of Orange. They hung for centuries in the town hall but are now in the Prinsenhof, Delft.

Frederick Hendrick was the third son of William the Silent. He was born in Delft on January 29, 1584, and christened one month before his father's murder in July of that year. William's fourth wife and widow, the French noblewoman Louise de Coligny (1555–1620), was left with six stepdaughters, the infant Frederick Hendrick, and no income. The Dutch government discouraged her from returning to France by supporting her, and she raised her children in various residences in Holland, principally the Oude Hof in The Hague. In 1598, when Frederick Hendrick was fourteen, he was permitted to accompany his mother for a year in France, at the court of Henry IV. This experience, his French upbringing, and his broad-minded tutor, the Reformed minister Johannes Uytenbogaert, were formative influences on the young prince. He studied in Leiden from 1594 until 1597. As a colonel in the Dutch army and protégé of his stepbrother Maurits, Frederick Hendrick received outstanding tactical training and direct exposure to army life in the years around 1600. In 1603 he was appointed general in command of the Dutch (and German mercenary) cavalry.<sup>2</sup>

As a consequence of the Twelve Years' Truce, the Dutch princes were compensated for estates seized from their family in the

Spanish Netherlands. This enabled Frederick Hendrick to purchase his estate at Honselaarsdijk and other properties in Holland, which were soon improved. During renewed military campaigns in 1624–25 Maurits's health declined; he died in April 1625, three weeks after Frederick Hendrick's marriage to his second cousin Amalia, countess of Solms-Braunfels (1602–1675).

As Prince of Orange and stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, Gelderland, and Overijssel, Frederick Hendrick was a highly successful field commander, seizing cities such as 's Hertogenbosch (1629), Maastricht (1632), Breda (1636), and Hulst (1645). His reputation rose when a treaty with France (1635) and an alliance with England—the marriage in 1641 of William II (1626–1650) and Charles I's daughter Mary (1631–1660)—were achieved. However, the prince was often at odds with the provinces, especially Holland, on the continuation of the war with Spain and other issues. By the autumn of 1646, peace negotiations were under way in Münster, and the prince's health had seriously declined. He died on March 14, 1647, and on May 10 was buried in the crypt of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.

Like Prince Maurits, Frederick Hendrick was keenly interested in architecture, and he had many more opportunities than Maurits to study the subject and initiate projects. The Oude Hof (later Noordeinde Palace) was renovated and three new residences were built: the large hunting lodge Honselaarsdijk, south of The Hague (begun in the early 1620s); the Huis ter Nieuburch in Rijswijk, begun in 1633; and the Huis ten Bosch, a country house built for Amalia van Solms, beginning in 1645. These small palaces in classical style, with French elements, were embellished with extensive gardens. Frederick Hendrick commissioned a series of tapestries from Maximiliaan van der Gucht in Delft and large paintings by Haarlem, Utrecht, Antwerp, and Delft artists (from the last city, Leonaert Bramer and Christiaan van Couwenbergh). He also collected hundreds of independent pictures by contemporary Dutch and Flemish masters, including Rubens, Van Dyck, Rembrandt, Lievens, Van Honthorst, Italianate and other landscape painters, and many others. Van Dyck's portraits of Frederick Hendrick and





Amalia van Solms, of about 1631, are in the Prado, Madrid.<sup>3</sup> In his cultural pursuits the prince had the advice of his secretary, Constantijn Huygens the Elder, a learned and exceptionally well rounded amateur of literature (especially poetry), music, the natural sciences, art, and architecture.<sup>4</sup> WL

1. For example, a panel in the collection of the duke of Buccleuch and Queensbury, Boughton House; see The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 162–63, fig. 151.
2. See Groenewald's essay in The Hague 1997–98a, pp. 18–28.
3. See The Hague 1997–98a, nos. 6a, 6b, and The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 176–79, for these portraits and Van Dyck's *Portrait of William II as a Child*. See White 1982, no. 79, pl. 68, for Van Honthorst's *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick*, dated 1631, in Windsor Castle.
4. On the court of Frederick Hendrick and Amalia van Solms and their patronage of the arts, see The Hague 1997–98a and The Hague 1997–98b. A useful overview of the House of Orange-Nassau's patronage is provided in Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij 1996.

REFERENCES: Thiethoff-Splithoff 1978, p. 96; The Hague 1997–98b, p. 161.

EX COLL.: Painted for the City of Delft about 1610; transferred in 1988 from the town hall to the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 68c).

MICHEL VAN MIEREVELD AND  
PIETER VAN MIEREVELD (1596–1623)

#### 45. *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Willem van der Meer*

1617

Oil on canvas, 56½ x 78 in. (144 x 198 cm)  
Inscribed on the railing in the foreground:  
Miegal d Miereveld delincauit Filius vero  
eius Petrus praescripto Patris pinxit Delph  
Batav. 1617

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk  
Museum Het Prinsenhof

New York only

While perhaps not the prettiest picture ever painted in Delft this work was one of the most important, at least in the eyes of the surgeons assembled around Dr. Willem van der Meer (d. 1624) and in the opinion of the other members of the surgeons' guild in Delft. The commission went to the leading painter of the city, Michiel van Miereveld, who specifies in the Latin inscription on the railing that his elder son, Pieter, actually carried out

the painting following his father's design. No independent pictures by Pieter are known, and the quality of execution here is for the most part up to Michiel van Miereveld's standard at the time. One specialist in Dutch portraiture suggests that the elder Van Miereveld, who was fifty years old in 1617 and the Dutch court's official portraitist, may have conceived the inscription in order to boost his son's prospects, at least in the Delft community.<sup>1</sup> However, Pieter died six years after working on the painting, at the age of twenty-seven.

Anatomy lessons were rare and noteworthy events in the early seventeenth century. It was only in 1552 that the Amsterdam guild of surgeons broke away from their colleagues in cutlery—the slipper, clog, and skate makers. Haircuts fell within the surgeons' routine responsibilities.<sup>2</sup> But in the last two decades of the sixteenth century ordinances were passed to distinguish clearly between surgeons or "chirurgeons" and *doctores medicinae*, a move largely made possible in Holland by the founding in 1575 of the University of Leiden (which after several years started turning out desperately needed professional doctors). The first known written regulations for surgeons in Delft date from 1584, and their guild appears to have been founded at about that time.<sup>3</sup>

The guild trained ordinary surgeons, and its prelector (*praefector anatomiae*), who was appointed by the city from among the medical doctors, lectured on various aspects of physiology and zoology. From 1614 until 1657 the surgeons' guild met in secondary rooms of the Oude Kerk, where on the first (not ground) floor there was an anatomy theater on the Leiden model, with human and animal skeletons and stuffed birds, mammals, and fish.<sup>4</sup> The skeletons—as is ungracefully indicated here—were usually mounted on iron stands fixed on top of the anatomy theater's circular banisters. Shells and other rarities brought back from the East Indies by the VOC were also displayed in this cabinet of curiosities, which the Oude Kerk's neighbor Balthasar van der Ast (see the discussion under cat. no. 5) must have visited occasionally between his arrival in Delft in 1632 and his death in 1657. It was in the latter year that the surgeons' meeting room and the anatomy theater were moved to new quarters in the former

Convent of Mary Magdalene on the Verwerdijk (fig. 266). The present painting was moved to the new meeting room at that time.

Van Miereveld's painting is the earliest of its kind from Delft and one of the earliest known in Dutch art, the first being Aert Pietersz's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Sebastiaen Egbertsz* of 1601–3 (Amsterdams Historisch Museum).<sup>5</sup> In composition these works could be considered the unsavory counterparts of civic-guard company portraits, which often depict the officers gathered around a table laden with food. Spoilage was more of a problem at anatomy lessons, which accounts for the sprigs of aromatic plants (one of them laurel), sniffing balls, and burning incense brought by the distinguished doctors to the first circle of this olfactory hell. Anatomy lessons were generally held in winter when the corpse (of an executed criminal) would be less immediately offensive; it was for this same unaesthetic reason that the contents of the abdominal cavity were removed at the start of the show. Members of the general public—like the Delft amateur of science, Anthony van Leeuwenhoek, in the 1660s—were admitted for a small fee, but they are never present in these formal group portraits, which of course famously include Rembrandt's dramatic *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* of 1632 (Mauritshuis, The Hague). In the background of that painting one of the doctors holds a sheet of paper on which an anatomical figure is drawn or printed.<sup>6</sup> The origin of that image is uncertain, but the sheet held up in the left background of the present painting is a familiar illustration from Andreas Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem* (1543).



Fig. 266. Coenraet Decker, *The Civic-Guard House and Anatomy Theater (after 1654) in the Former Convent of Mary Magdalene*. Engraving, 7¼ x 10½ in. (18 x 27.1 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijk, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft 1667[–80]. Private collection



The doctor in the left foreground is Jacob van Dalen (1571–1644), called Vallensis, who was Prince Maurits's personal physician and an important art collector. He appears in a portrait by Michiel van Miereveld dating from 1640, which with its pendant is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figs. 45a, b).

WL

1. Rudolf E. O. Ekkart, in conversation (1999).
2. The Hague 1998–99b, pp. 9–10.
3. Information in this entry concerning the medical profession in Delft comes mainly from the essay by H. L. Houtzager, "De geneeskundige verzorging," in Delft 1981, pp. 125–27.
4. See the engraved view of the *Theatrum Anatomicum* in Leiden in The Hague 1998–99b, p. 11, fig. 4.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 9, fig. 1.
6. The drawing was covered over by a list of doctors' names in the eighteenth century; these have been left in a very fragmentary state after recent cleaning and conservation. See Bruyn et al. 1982–89, vol. 2 (1986), p. 176, fig. 3, and The Hague 1998–99b, pp. 22, 62–63, fig. 26.

REFERENCES: Moes 1897–1905, vol. 2, p. 86, no. 4931; Wolf-Heidegger and Cetto 1967, no. 256; M. L. Houtzager in Delft 1981, p. 126; Bruyn et al. 1982–89, vol. 2 (1986), p. 183; The Hague 1998–99b, p. 16.

EXHIBITED: Copenhagen 1988–89, no. 1357a; Rome 1998, no. Dro.

EX COLL.: Commissioned by the surgeons' guild of Delft in 1617; City of Delft; in 1984 transferred from the Oude en Nieuwe Gasthuis to the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (B48-1).

#### 46. *Portrait of a Young Woman*

1630

Oil on wood, 27 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (70 x 58 cm)

Signed and dated right center: A° 1630./

M. Miereveld

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

This mature work, painted when the artist was sixty-three years old, recalls a remark made by Constantijn Huygens in his diary at about the same date (1630). The connoisseur observed that in his portraits Van Miereveld approached nature in a straightforward manner, without affectation, letting "all her beauty show in her own clothes."<sup>1</sup>

Hundreds of conservative portraits dating from the first half of the seventeenth century, including works by anonymous masters, follow the patterns employed by Van Miereveld and the artists he influenced, such as Jan van Ravesteyn in The Hague and Paulus Moreelse in Utrecht. As Huygens suggests, Van Miereveld's reputation rested not upon invention or painterly effects but upon fidelity to appearances and exceptional craftsmanship. The importance of recording a family member's features for posterity—meaning not only one's descendants but also immediate





family members—in an age when early deaths were commonplace cannot be fully appreciated in modern times. Most portrait sitters (themselves a minority in Dutch society as a whole) would have their likenesses recorded only once or twice in their lifetimes, usually on a special occasion such as an engagement or marriage. It was particularly in those circumstances that a suggestion of the patron's place in society was important, and this was intimated by Van Miereveld through subtle adjustments in posture, the carriage of the head, a reserved but not unwelcoming look in the eyes, and a patient accounting of exquisite costume details. The latter were often executed by assistants like the artist's grandson Jacob Willemsz Delft the Younger (1619–1661).<sup>2</sup> Lace, linen, silk, and satin articles of clothing, pearl necklaces, and gold earrings were treasured as family heirlooms, and of course indicated wealth, taste, and social grace.

Although the hypothesis is hard to test, Van Miereveld appears also to have been able to suggest an individual's personality, perhaps especially in female portraits. The present sitter's level-eyed, chin-up confidence contrasts with the shy smile and slightly averted eyes of the more conventionally attractive young woman portrayed by the artist in a panel dated 1628 (fig. 46). Despite her reticence, that woman holds her own in a galaxy of lace points and other finery, which is a tribute to Van Miereveld's firm modeling, smooth transitions from light to shadow, and suggestion of solid character. At his very best Van Miereveld seems to deserve the compliment paid to him by Huygens in his diary: that the Delft painter was the Holbein of his age.

This portrait is said to have a male pendant which is or was in a private collection in Lausanne.<sup>3</sup> WL

1. Huygens 1971, p. 76.

2. See Bredius 1908, p. 11, on the inventory of Van Miereveld's estate, where Delft's collaboration as a costume specialist is documented.

3. Demus 1972, p. 59.

REFERENCES: Baldass 1943, p. 172; Demus 1972, pp. 58–59.

EX COLL.: [Galerie Sanct Lucas, Vienna]; purchased in 1941 from the gallery by the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (9030).

## ANTHONIE PALAMEDESZ

*Delft 1601–1673 Amsterdam*

*The genre, portrait, and still-life painter*  
*Antonie Palamedesz was born in Delft in 1601, the son of a gem cutter.<sup>1</sup> The family was recorded a short while later in London, where*  
*Antonie's father worked in the service of King James I, and where Antonie's brother the painter of battles Palamedes Palamedesz (1607–1638) may have been born. It is generally assumed that the Delft portrait painter*  
*Michiel van Miereveld was Antonie's teacher, although the Amsterdam painter Hendrick Pot (ca. 1585–1657), who is documented in Delft in 1620, has also been proposed.<sup>2</sup> The young artist became a member of the Delft Guild of Saint Luke on December 6, 1621, and served as headman in 1635, 1658, 1663, and 1672.<sup>3</sup> In 1630 he married Anna Joosten van Hoorendijk (d. 1651), with whom*  
*he had six children: Palamedes Palamedesz the Younger (1632–1705), who became a painter; Leendert (b. 1634); Joost (b. 1636); Willem (1638–39); and Willem and Maria, who were most likely twins (both were baptized on January 21, 1642). The couple must have been quite well off, for in 1638 Antonie*  
*bought a house for the considerable sum of*

*3,400 guilders.<sup>4</sup> It appears, however, that by 1668 the artist's financial situation had changed, since he was granted an "extraordinary subsidy" of 25 guilders and 9 stuivers on December 29 from the City of Delft.<sup>5</sup> On December 29, 1658, seven years after the death of his first wife (not nine, as has been elsewhere recorded), the artist married Aagje Woedewart.<sup>6</sup> Together they had a son, Arthur (b. 1660). By 1673 Antonie was living in Amsterdam, where he died on November 27. His pupils included his brother Palamedes, the Rotterdam portrait and genre painter Ludolf de Jongh (1616–1679), and perhaps others, for it has been suggested that Antonie ran a drawing school while he lived in Delft.<sup>7</sup> His closest follower was the Delft painter Jacob van Velsen.* AR

1. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 292, and Peter C. Sutton in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 23, p. 831.

2. Peter C. Sutton in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 23, p. 831.

3. Montias 1982, pp. 338, 371–73.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 189, note e, and Wichmann 1925, p. 69.

6. Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB (register of baptisms, marriages, and burials) 22, Trouwboek (Marriages) Oude Kerk.

7. Montias 1982, p. 169.





#### 47. *Company Dining and Making Music*

1632

Oil on panel, 18 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 28 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (47.4 x 72.6 cm)

Signed and dated: A palamedesz. / 1632

Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen  
Mauritshuis, The Hague

*London only*

Unlike his younger brother Palamedes, who gained a reputation as a painter of grisly battle scenes (see cat. no. 49), Anthony Palamedesz seems to have preferred the world of Delft's *jeunesse dorée*. In this painting he depicts a gathering of thirteen expensively dressed young men and women who are enjoying the pleasure of eating, drinking, smoking, and making music in each other's company. On the left a servant boy dressed in red is pouring wine for the merrymakers. Through a window above him light streams across the back wall, illuminating two paintings—one showing a stormy sea, the other a rocky landscape.

This picture was executed in 1632, the year the artist began to date his paintings.<sup>1</sup> As is often the case in Palamedesz's interiors of that period, a group of people is crowded into the right half of the picture, leaving the space at the left almost empty (compare cat. no. 48).<sup>2</sup> The artist cleverly compensates for this imbalance by placing in the empty corner the dramatic figure of the servant boy, whose vividly colored attire contrasts with merrymakers' costumes in muted shades of black, brown, green, beige, and yellow; however, there are echoes of his bright red outfit in the furnishings and costumes at the right.<sup>3</sup> The focal point of the picture is the dashing figure of a man smoking a pipe in the center of the room.<sup>4</sup> As though momentarily distracted from listening to the music performed by the group on the right, he turns his head toward the viewer. His somewhat arrogant pose, with one arm akimbo and a shoulder partly obscuring his face, underscores his dismayed expression.

Palamedesz's figures—their proportions, poses, and splendid attire—as well as the

"vaguely defined" space in which they move,<sup>5</sup> are strongly reminiscent of works with similar subject matter by artists active in northern Holland, such as Dirck Hals, Pieter Codde, Willem Duyster, and Hendrick Pot.<sup>6</sup> Palamedesz must have closely studied examples of their work (which, as has been argued elsewhere in this catalogue,<sup>7</sup> were widely available around the country), but his own pictures are infused with qualities that set them apart. In the present painting, for example, the handling of light and the strikingly blond tonality produce an atmospheric effect that should be considered part of a "South Holland" tradition.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, in this scene the light is coming from two different directions. The most obvious source of illumination is the window at the upper left, but there must be another opening nearer the viewer that extends up from the floor, admitting strong light into the foreground as well. This lighting strategy, which the artist also used in his other genre scene in this exhibition (cat. no. 48), is quite different from the

arrangement in Jacob van Velsen's *Musical Party* (cat. no. 60), where a pronounced shadow in the left foreground functions as a repoussoir that anchors the composition.

Whether the present painting has any symbolic meaning is difficult to establish. Clearly the emphasis is on sensual pleasures. Smoking, which also occurs in combination with music making in Jacob van Velsen's painting in this exhibition, had connotations of moral weakness (see the discussion under cat. no. 60). Peter Sutton has suggested that the boy pouring wine may be a symbol of *temperantia*, or moderation.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the paintings hanging on the back wall may allude to the hardship and suffering the virtuous have to endure. Yet one must beware of reading too much into this type of painting. Palamedesz's Merry Companies were chiefly appreciated in their own time for their elegant flair and artistry. AR

1. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 292, under no. 95, and Peter C. Sutton in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 23, p. 831.
2. Another example is the artist's *Elegant Company Gaming and Drinking* of about 1632–34, illustrated in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 95, pl. 16.
3. Much of the following discussion is based on Peter Sutton's unpublished essay in the curatorial files of the Mauritshuis, which the museum kindly made available to the present author. A comparable compositional arrangement is found in Palamedesz's *Merry Company in a Room*, signed and dated 1633 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. Ar906). The picture is a close variant of the present work.
4. The artist used the same figure in a variant of the present picture, *Music-Making Company* (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, inv. no. 2837; Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 1984, p. 224, no. 2837). This reduced version has only nine figures and shows neither a left wall and window nor the figure of a servant boy.
5. On the "vaguely defined" space, see Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 292. Walter Liedtke has argued that Palamedesz's "description of interior space is more carefully organized" than are those by his colleagues in Haarlem and Amsterdam (see chap. 3, p. 74, in this catalogue). This seems to be more evident in pictures like Palamedesz's *Family Portrait* in Antwerp (fig. 51) than in the two works by the artist included in this exhibition.
6. Delft 1996, p. 26. It has been suggested that Palamedesz may have studied with Hendrick Pot, who was in Delft in 1620; see Peter C. Sutton in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 23, p. 831.
7. By Walter Liedtke in chap. 3, pp. 73–75.
8. Discussed in Liedtke 2000, chap. 4.
9. Sutton discusses this possibility in his notes on the painting in the curatorial files of the Mauritshuis. See Lucas van Leyden's engraving *Temperance* of 1530, in Filedt Kok 1996, no. 133.

REFERENCES: Martin 1935–36, vol. 1, pp. 364–66; Baumgart 1944, pp. 245–47; Blankert 1978, p. 11; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 292; Sluijter-Seijffert et al. 1993, p. 109, no. 615; Lammertse 1998, p. 139, n. 4.

EXHIBITED: Utrecht 1894, no. 408 (with no mention of the painting's whereabouts); The Hague 1936, no. 580; Dordrecht 1957, no. 64.

EX COLL.: Dowager J.K.J. de Jonge, née De Kock, The Hague; lent by her to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1897–99; her heir Jonkheer A.H.W. de Jonge, from whom the museum acquired the painting in 1900 (615).

## 48. Merry Company

1632  
Oil on wood, 18½ x 27¼ in. (46.1 x 70.8 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left:  
A. Palamedesz 1632

North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh,  
Gift of Mrs. George Khuner

New York only

The present picture bears the date 1632. Besides *Company Dining and Making Music* in the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 47), two other pictures by Palamedesz are known from that year.<sup>1</sup> Since the artist's later paintings appear weaker and more formulaic than these,<sup>2</sup> it is curious that nothing is known about his earlier career, except that he entered the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft in 1621, at which point he must already have been a fully trained master.<sup>3</sup> In addition to pictures of merry companies Palamedesz produced guardroom scenes, portraits (see figs. 51, 52), landscapes, and a few still lifes; as a sideline he painted staffage figures for Bartholomeus van Bassen (see the discussion under cat. no. 7) and possibly also for Dirck van Delen (1605–1671) and Anthonie de Lorme (d. 1673).<sup>4</sup>

For the subject of this work, as for his very similar picture in the Mauritshuis, Palamedesz chose a glimpse of "high society" in seventeenth-century Delft. Within a relatively simple interior, elegantly dressed young men and women are shown drinking, smoking, conversing, and playing music and games. Center stage is occupied by a lute player, whose direct gaze seems almost to invite the viewer to participate in the goings-on,

unlike the central figure in the Mauritshuis picture, who eyes the viewer rather apprehensively. Once again the artist has juxtaposed a dense — and somewhat shallow — group of merry-makers on the right with a relatively empty space on the left. A servant boy is seen pouring wine, but in this case the artist has placed him at the right edge of the picture. The left-hand side of the room is dominated by a large fireplace cast in shadow, which creates a powerful contrast with the light streaming in from behind and in front.<sup>5</sup> The sources of light, however, remain invisible. While the overall tonality of the picture is somewhat darker and some of the local colors appear more pronounced than in the Mauritshuis painting, the scene is similarly infused with the artist's characteristic atmospheric effects.

In the discussion of the Mauritshuis picture it was suggested that there may be certain moralizing overtones in such scenes of merry companies. If so, the painter has not indicated his intentions clearly here. It is more likely that this picture was simply enjoyed for its sheer elegance and delicacy by patrons who themselves may have spent their free time in not-too-dissimilar ways. AR

1. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 292, n. 1. For one of the other two paintings, *Merry Company*, see Supinen 1988, pp. 86–87, no. 5121. The second, *Outdoor Garden Party with Musicians*, was sold at Christie's, London, March 20, 1936, no. 17, and is now in a private collection.
2. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 292.
3. Montias 1982, p. 338.
4. On Palamedesz's work for Van Bassen, see Rotterdam 1991, no. 9. On his possible collaboration with Dirck van Delen, see Blade 1976, pp. 59–61, 140–41, 239, no. 72, fig. 64, and for his work with Anthonie de Lorme see, for example, *Classical Church Interior by Night* of 1645 (presently with the Maastricht dealer Robert Noortman, formerly in the Warwick Castle collection; see Jantzen 1979, p. 226, no. 202) and *Imaginary Classical Church* of 1652 (Musée des Beaux-Arts et d'Archéologie, Rennes; see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 126–27, pl. 110).
5. Palamedesz's *Merry Company* of 1634 (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 6047) has a very similar composition and includes a prominent fireplace at left.

REFERENCE: *La Chronique des arts* 1985, no. 186.

EXHIBITED: Raleigh 1986–87; Raleigh 1995–96.

EX COLL.: W. Duschnitz, Vienna, perhaps in the 1930s; Mrs. George Khuner; her gift in 1984 to the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh (62.26.1).



# PALAMEDES PALAMEDSZ

London? 1607–1638 Delft

*Palamedes Palamedesz was born in 1607, apparently in London, where his father, a gem cutter, was in the service of King James I. The family had come from Delft, where Palamedes's brother Anthonie had been born in 1601. The family eventually returned to Delft, and Palamedes joined the Guild of Saint Luke on October 25, 1627. Dirck van Bleyswijck and Arnold Houbraken (relying on Van Bleyswijck) suggest that the artist taught himself by copying the works of Esaias van de Velde. It is now generally assumed, however, that he studied under his brother Anthonie. Although he was "short, hunch-backed, and ugly" (Alfred von Wurzbach's most unflattering description), he married the daughter of a wealthy Delft family, Maria Euwoutsdr van 's-Gravensande (d. 1645), on January 19, 1630. The couple had four children: a son, Palamedes (b. 1631), and three daughters (Aefgen, b. 1635; Anna, b. 1637; and Maria, b. 1638). In 1631 Palamedes is recorded in Antwerp, where he was portrayed by Anthony van Dyck. He died in Delft on March 26, 1638, and was buried two days later.<sup>1</sup>*

AR

1. This biography draws on Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 847; Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, pp. 239, 352; Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 2 (1910), p. 299; and Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 26 (1932), pp. 155–56.

## 49. *Cavalry Battle*

ca. 1626–28

Oil on wood, 20 3/4 x 30 1/4 in. (53 x 78 cm)

Stockholms Universitet Konstsamling

In 1661 Cornelis de Bie, writing about Palamedes Palamedesz's battle scenes, remarks that the artist has infused his art with such power that the only thing missing from his pictures is life itself.<sup>1</sup> The present battle scene offers a close-up view of a particularly violent engagement. Soldiers on horseback are locked in single combat, some with their swords drawn and others firing pistols at their opponents. In the immediate foreground one soldier has been hit by gunshot, and his horse buckles underneath him. To the left a horse is on the ground, while its rider tries to crawl to safety. The air is heavy with fumes and powder smoke.<sup>2</sup>

As is characteristic of battle paintings by this artist, the scene includes no identifiable individuals or parties. This is in marked contrast to the sixteenth-century tradition of battle pictures in Italy and Germany, where greater emphasis is given to the heroism of specific soldiers and military leaders.<sup>3</sup> Here, the focus is on the turbulence and brutality of the skirmish—undoubtedly a response to the ongoing armed conflict between Spain and the United Provinces that had started in 1568. The handbooks for soldiers, with illustrations of fighting scenes and instructions regarding the proper handling of weapons, that were published about the beginning of the seventeenth century must have been one of Palamedesz's sources of inspiration.<sup>4</sup> The light armor of the cavalry soldiers in the present picture—just breast- and backplates—and their broad-brimmed hats identify them as harquebusiers, not cuirassiers, who wore full armor. Uniforms had not been introduced yet, and soldiers distinguished friend from foe by the colors of their sashes and feathers.<sup>5</sup>

The first northern painter to work in this genre was the Fleming Sebastiaen Vrancx

(1573–1647).<sup>6</sup> His paintings of battles, plunderings, and ambushes adhere closely to the Flemish tradition: they adopt a high viewpoint and emphasize the receding landscape.<sup>7</sup> Vrancx occasionally also painted military staffage for Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) and Joos de Momper (1564–1635). In the northern Netherlands the first artist to take up battle pictures was the influential landscape painter Esaias van de Velde (1587–1630), whose interest in the genre developed after he moved to The Hague in 1618. At that time, with the end of the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain in sight, The Hague once again became the center of strategic activities. The Prince of Orange commanded the forces of the United Provinces, and the court, together with the States General, controlled the military budget. Van de Velde followed Vrancx's example in that he painted scenes that "typified the essence of the armed conflict" rather than actual battles.<sup>8</sup> Yet from the mid-1620s he began to lower the horizon and thus bring the action down to the viewer's eye level. This shift is most apparent in his *Cavalry Battle* of 1626 (private collection, Germany).<sup>9</sup>

Dirck van Bleyswijck and, consequently, Arnold Houbraken state that Palamedesz was self-taught and learned by copying Van de Velde's paintings.<sup>10</sup> In fact, Palamedes had been trained by his brother, the genre painter Anthonie Palamedesz (see cat. nos. 47, 48). His first known battle scene dates from 1626.<sup>11</sup> In Palamedesz's early pictures Van de Velde's influence is nonetheless apparent in the use of a low horizon and in the manner of depicting horses: they are sturdy, with muscular hindquarters.<sup>12</sup> After 1630 Palamedesz's style began to change, however. The harsh contours of the early works disappeared, the robust horses became slimmer, and the palette brightened.<sup>13</sup> Toward 1640 Palamedesz altered his approach once more, now avoiding any landscape detail.

Palamedesz's compositions often follow a diagonal line in order to suggest spatial recession. In the present picture the diagonal



separates the skirmish from the foreground, and the distant landscape offers a counterbalance to the dense group of fighting soldiers. The prominent white horse seen from behind carrying a rider who fires a pistol appears in several other works by Palamedesz.<sup>14</sup> On stylistic grounds the present picture must be dated about 1626–28.<sup>15</sup>

Isaack Junius is the only Delft artist who might be considered a follower of Palamedesz. Very little is known about him. Originally from Haarlem, where he was baptized in 1616, he entered the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft on October 7, 1640, as a painter of battle scenes.<sup>16</sup> Only one painting by his hand can be identified with certainty: *Cavalry Battle*, signed and dated 1643 (Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest).<sup>17</sup> The diagonal arrangement of the battle scene and the soldier on a rearing white horse in the foreground are reminiscent of Palamedesz's early pictures. Besides painting battle scenes, Junius worked as a faience

painter. Among his known works are two Delftware plaques showing the tomb of William the Silent, signed and dated 1657 (see cat. nos. 149, 150).<sup>18</sup>

Battle paintings of this kind, although popular with patrons close to the political powers at The Hague, are not exclusive to the Hague and Delft region. Artists who worked in this genre elsewhere include Philips Wouwermans (1619–1668) in Haarlem and, in Amsterdam, Jan Martensen the Younger (1609?–after 1647) and Jan Asselijn (ca. 1615–1652).<sup>19</sup> During the war years between the end of the truce in 1621 and the Peace of Münster in 1648, depictions of battles were much sought after and became *de rigueur* in any distinguished picture collection.<sup>20</sup> Despite the violent subject matter, their dynamic compositions rich in detail and emotion exerted a strong appeal. As De Bie in his praise of Palamedesz pointed out, they were appreciated for their realism and truth to life. Yet these prominent displays of violence and

death must also have inspired viewers to contemplate the mortality of soldiers and the nature of war—with the aim not of showing its senseless violence and bloodshed but, probably, of fueling enthusiasm for the battle against the despised Spanish oppressors.

AR

1. De Bie 1661, p. 102.

2. Another version or copy of this picture has recently turned up at auction. See the sale at Christie's, London, February 1, 1985, no. 31 (attributed to Palamedes Palamedesz). Because of its similar dimensions, a *Cavalry Battle* by Palamedesz at the Östergötlands Länsmuseum, Linköping, has been proposed as a pendant to the present picture.

3. For example, Raphael's frescoes in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican, Michelangelo's works in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, Titian's *Battle of Cadore*, and Albrecht Altdorfer's *Battle of Issus* (1529; Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

4. For example, Jacques de Gheyn the Younger's *Wapenhandelinghe van roers, musquetten ende spiesen* (1607). See Keyes 1984, p. 103, and Van Maarseveen in Delft 1998, p. 108.

5. Van Maarseveen in Delft 1998, p. 120.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 109–10.



7. See, for example, *Battle Scene* (signed; Galerie Aschaffenburg, inv. no. 6493); *Cavalry Battle* (sold at Christie's, London, April 14, 1978, no. 92); *Battle on a Heath by Vucht* (private collection, the Netherlands; Keyes 1984, fig. 65).
8. Keyes 1984, p. 105.
9. Ibid., p. 129, no. 36, pl. 299. For an exhaustive discussion of Van de Velde's battle pictures, see ibid., pp. 103–15, and for further examples, see pls. 284–99.
10. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 847, and Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 239.
11. *Battle Scene* (1626; Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, inv. no. 53/0104).
12. Examples include a painting in a sale at Helbing, Munich, December 1907, no. 16 (dated 1636, which is probably an erroneous reading of 1626); *A Skirmish* (1629; listed in the fall 1990 catalogue of the dealer Jan De Maere, Brussels); and a transitional battle scene of 1631 sold by De la Faille at Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, November 23–24, 1926.
13. See, for example, *Battle between Imperial and Swedish Troops* (1630; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 982); *Cavalry Skirmish* (1634; sold at Sotheby's, London, April 20, 1988, no. 68); and a battle scene of 1638 sold at Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1985, no. 186.
14. See the battle scene of 1628 sold at Sotheby's, London, July 8, 1987, no. 216; a battle scene in the Jaffé sale at R. Lepke, Berlin, October 15, 1912, no. 73; and a skirmish scene sold at the Dorotheum, Vienna, May 18–19, 1914, no. 16.
15. A second version or copy of the present picture appeared in an auction at Christie's, London, February 1, 1985, no. 31 (attributed to Palamedes Palamedesz).
16. Wurzbach 1906–11, vol. 1 (1906), p. 777; Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 19 (1926), p. 336; Montias 1982, especially pp. 341, 344; and Van Dam 1991, p. 10.
17. Pigler 1968, pp. 347–48, no. 319, pl. 306.
18. Montias 1982, pp. 107–8, and Van Dam 1991, pp. 10–11.
19. See Philips Wouwermans, *Cavalry Making a Sortie from a Fort on a Hill* (1646; National Gallery, London, inv. no. 6263) and *Battle Scene before City Walls* (1647; Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe); Jan Martens the Younger, *Cavalry Skirmish* (1629; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A2153); Jan Asselijn, *Cavalry Attack at Sunset* (1646; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A5).
20. Keyes 1984, p. 105.

REFERENCES: Sirén 1912, p. 86; Karling 1978, p. 196, no. 86.

EX COLL.: S. U. Palm collection; Berg collection, Stockholm, no. 126 (attributed to Anthonie Palamedesz); in 1884 given with the Berg collection to Stockholms Universitet Konstsamling (86).

## EGBERT VAN DER POEL

*Delft 1621–1664 Rotterdam*

*Egbert van der Poel, son of the Delft goldsmith Lyeven Ariensz van der Poel and Anneken Egberts, was baptized in Delft's Oude Kerk on March 9, 1621. Unfortunately, nothing is known about the first twenty-nine years of his life, not even the name of his teacher. It has been assumed but cannot be said with certainty that he resided during 1648 in the coastal town of Scheveningen, outside The Hague. The first document to shed light on his life is his registration with the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft on October 17, 1650; he is listed as a landscape painter. A year later, on June 25, 1651, he married Aeltgen Willems van Linschooten in Maassluis, near Rotterdam. The couple were living on the Doelenstraat in Delft at the time of the gunpowder explosion on October 12, 1654, as one of their daughters was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk there on October 14. Whether she was a victim of the explosion is not known. The couple had three daughters who were baptized in Delft (Annetgen, 1651–52?; Lijsbeth, b. 1652; and Anna, b. 1654). The baptismal records of a son indicate that the artist was living on the Rotte next to the Saint Joris House in Rotterdam by November 1655. He died in Rotterdam nine years later.<sup>1</sup>*

A R

1. This biography draws on Goldschmidt 1922, pp. 57–59; Montias 1982, p. 346; MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 306; and Rotterdam 1994–95, p. 293.

## 50. *Celebration by Torchlight on the Oude Delft*

ca. 1654

Oil on wood, 21¼ x 17 in. (55 x 43 cm)

Signed lower left: E. vander Poel

Gemeente Musea, Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

In this nocturnal scene Van der Poel takes us to one of the best-known buildings in Delft: the Gemeenlandshuis (Communal Land House) of Delfland, illuminated by torches, with rich ornamentation and coats of arms above the entrance. This Late Gothic house (see also fig. 22) was built in 1505 as a residence for the dikereve and bailiff Jan de Huyter. In 1645 it became the seat of the board of the Hoogheemraadschap of Delfland. The building occupies a prominent place on Delft's oldest canal, the Oude Delft, just south of the Prinsenhof, the erstwhile Convent of Saint Agatha and residence of William the Silent until his assassination in 1584. On the right in the painting, behind the bridge, one can make out the tower of the Oude Kerk. In front of the Gemeenlandshuis a crowd has gathered, captivated by the spectacle of the blazing torches and the fireworks in the night sky. The torches are made from barrels filled with pitch or tar and mounted on poles. They were usually paid for by the town or by private individuals on the occasion of a festivity.<sup>1</sup>

The painting is undated and contains no unambiguous indications of the nature of the event represented. Traditionally the picture has been interpreted as a depiction of the celebrations of the conclusion of the Treaty of Münster, which was signed on May 15, 1648. In honor of this momentous event the States General ordered a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing on June 5, the day of the official announcement.<sup>2</sup> The entire country, with the exception of Leiden and the province of Zeeland, joined in the festivities.<sup>3</sup> Delft's city government took a dim view of any noisy and debauched partying in the streets, how-



ever, and ordered its citizens not to engage in any frivolous activities or “drinking in the taverns.”<sup>4</sup> Fireworks and the burning of tar-filled barrels would likely have been out of the question. It is difficult to imagine, moreover, that Van der Poel, who carefully recorded the date of the great 1654 gunpowder explosion on his numerous depictions of the event and its aftermath (see cat. no. 51), would not have similarly indicated any connection of this painting with the Treaty of Münster. In addition, a similar scene in reverse (with a different building) painted by the artist in 1654, six years after the treaty was signed, and entitled *Nocturnal Festivities* is obviously unrelated to the peace celebrations.<sup>5</sup>

Alternatively, it has been suggested that the scene shows the festivities on the occasion of the Hoogheemraadschap's installation in the Gemeenlandshuis in 1645. This interpretation explains the building's prominence in the painting, though such a well-known edifice may simply have provided Van der Poel with a readily identifiable Delft setting. Another author has proposed the baptism of the infant Prince Willem (1650–1702), the future stadholder and king of England, on January 15, 1651, as the cause of the celebrations.<sup>6</sup> The Delft city government had served as a witness to the baptism in the Grote Kerk in The Hague and had given the prince an annual pension of 600 guilders, as well as 224 guilders' worth of gifts and alms for the poor. The picture offers no evidence to support or to refute this argument, however. Instead, it seems likely that the painting represents a generic scene of unidentified nocturnal festivities.

After his earlier, peaceful farmyards, landscapes, and moonlit beaches, Van der Poel seems to have developed a penchant for the depiction of catastrophic events. Not only did he paint numerous views of Delft during and after the explosion of 1654 that devastated large parts of the city but, possibly inspired by the event, he also made a specialty of nocturnes showing burning houses and people desperately trying to fight the fire and save their possessions—or loot other people's. These *brandjes* (little fires), as they were known in contemporary inventories, were evidently popular and gained Van der Poel the accolade of being “the best painter of fire in all of the Netherlands.”<sup>7</sup>

His interest in nocturnal scenes led Van der Poel to paint several (more peaceful) street scenes that are dramatically illuminated by torches. Two of them, the *Nocturnal Festivities* cited above and *Fireworks*, are dated 1654 and 1659, respectively. Another such scene was once in the Heldring collection in Oosterbeek, and a fourth work appeared on the German art market in the 1930s.<sup>8</sup> While other authors have suggested dating the present picture to the second half of the 1640s or to about 1650, parallels with the aforementioned works, especially with the 1654 *Nocturnal Festivities*, make a date of about 1654, just before Van der Poel's move to Rotterdam, equally plausible.<sup>9</sup>

A R

1. Simon Groenvelt in Dane 1998, p. 13, in caption for fig. 3. See also an engraving attributed to Abraham Bloteling entitled *D'eeuwige gedenck-teekenen . . .* (1667), especially ill. K, *Victori en Vreugde-Vuren . . .*, Atlas Van Stolk, Stichting Atlas Van Stolk, housed in the Historisch Museum, Rotterdam, inv. no. AVS 2380; see Dane 1998, p. 186, fig. 158.
2. A painting by Cornelis Beelt, *Proclamation of the Peace of Münster on the Grote Markt in Haarlem* (1648; Amsterdams Historisch Museum, inv. no. A7749), illustrates the proclamation of the peace treaty in Haarlem. See Münster, Osnabrück 1998–99, no. 701.
3. Plomp 1986, p. 134; Simon Groenvelt in Dane 1998, p. 12; and Münster, Osnabrück 1998–99, nos. 644–46.
4. Verhoeven 1998, pp. 10–11, and Plomp in Osaka 2000, p. 66.
5. *Nocturnal Festivities* (1654; Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, inv. no. 38.2); see Goldkuhle, Krüger, and Schmidt 1982, pp. 412–13.
6. Verhoeven 1998, pp. 10–11.
7. Van Spaan 1698, p. 422; quoted by Verhoef in Rotterdam 1994–95, p. 128, and by Plomp in Osaka 2000, p. 64. For *brandjes* in general, see Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 126–29.
8. For *Nocturnal Festivities*, see n. 5 above; for the Cologne picture, *Fireworks* (1659; Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv. no. 1960), see Vey and Kesting 1967, pp. 84–85, no. 1960, fig. 125; for the J. C. H. Heldring collection, see Arnhem 1958, no. 22, fig. 38, and Utrecht 1960, no. 26, fig. 41. The picture on the German art market was sold at Lempertz, Cologne, June 10–11, 1931, no. 160. Another composition survives in a copy drawn by Leonaert Bramer; see Plomp 1986, p. 134, no. 45, and Osaka 2000, pp. 64–66, n. 2, fig. 1.
9. For earlier dating of the present work, see Plomp 1986, p. 134 (as signed and dated 1645); Delft 1996, p. 96, fig. 78 (as ca. 1645); and Osaka 2000, p. 64 (as ca. 1650).

REFERENCES: Plomp 1986, p. 134; Delft 1996, p. 96; The Hague 1996a, pp. 44–45; Plomp in Osaka 2000, no. 6.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1962, no. 32, p. 18; Delft 1996; Osaka 2000, no. 6.

EX COLL.: (Sale, Amsterdam, August 6, 1810, no. 86, purchased by Van Spaan); H. Croese Ez. (sold Amsterdam, September 18, 1811, no. 65, to De Vries); (sale, Amsterdam, April 25, 1911, no. 87); acquired in 1952 by the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 85).

## 51. *A View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654*

1654

Oil on wood, 14 1/4 x 19 1/2 in. (36.2 x 49.5 cm)

Signed and dated bottom left: E vander Poel  
12 octob / 1654

The National Gallery, London

On Monday, October 12, 1654, shortly after half past eleven in the morning, one of Delft's powder magazines exploded and devastated a large part of the city.<sup>1</sup> The *Delftsche Donderslag* (Delft Thunderclap) was said to have been heard as far away as the island of Texel, some seventy miles north of Delft. The magazine, known as the Secret van Hollandt, had been established in the former Clarissenklooster (Convent of Saint Clare) in the northeastern corner of Delft in 1572. When the magazine, large parts of which were underground, exploded, it contained about ninety thousand pounds of gunpowder. The force of the blast was so great that most houses in the immediate vicinity were destroyed and buildings throughout the city were damaged. The two major churches, the Oude and the Nieuwe Kerk, were also damaged. Although the number of people killed is not known, it has been estimated that deaths were in the hundreds. Among the casualties was one of Delft's most famous painters, Carel Fabritius. According to Dirck van Bleyswijck, he was still alive when he was rescued from the rubble but died shortly afterward. News of the event spread rapidly throughout the country. The States General sent a note of condolence; Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, paid a visit; and many other people came to survey the devastation, among them Rembrandt's one-time pupil Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674), who made a drawing of the scene for a pamphlet (cat. no. 114).

While we do not know whether Van der Poel witnessed the explosion, it is possible



Fig. 267. Daniel Vosmaer, *The Explosion of the Powder Magazine at Delft*, 1654 or later. Oil on wood, 28 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 38 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (72 x 97 cm). Gemeente Musca Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

that he was personally touched by it: one of his children may have died in the catastrophe.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, the event had a great effect on his work. About twenty versions of the present composition survive, showing either the explosion itself or the devastated townscape that was left in its wake.<sup>3</sup> Toward the right of the picture is the area of the former magazine. All that is left are a crater filled with water, some charred trees, remnants of houses, and piles of rubble. In the foreground people are busy helping the wounded, consoling one another, and trying to salvage whatever belongings may have survived. The low vantage point accentuates the depth of the space and the extent of the devastated area. Van der Poel unifies the space with a diagonal line that starts at the bridge on the left and reaches into the far background. Although the depiction is devoid of much of the atmospheric quality for which Delft painting has been known since the late 1640s—a quality present in the works of Fabritius, Paulus Potter, Adam Pynacker, and Daniel Vosmaer (see cat. nos. 20, 54, 56, 86)—Van der Poel employs pronounced light effects to counteract the plunging perspective. The receding space is carefully structured as alternating areas of light and shade, with some of the most brightly illuminated walls placed immediately behind the looming remnants of former houses in the left foreground. The rather dense mass of buildings on the left, accentuated by the two churches rising at the horizon, is balanced by the wide-open area on the right, to which the eye is automatically drawn. The canal running parallel to the picture plane creates a stagelike area in the foreground upon which the figures display the human dimension of the tragedy.

Most of Van der Poel's paintings of the event bear the precise date of the explosion. It may be assumed, however, that this date is a record of the momentous occasion rather than of the execution of the painting. Having discovered a market for these pictures, Van der Poel seems to have continued painting them for several years, despite his departure for Rotterdam in 1654 or early 1655. The notion that the artist concentrated on this subject in order to overcome the trauma of the tragic event is one more at home in the twentieth century than in Van der Poel's day—yet the experience may have inspired his choice of

*brandjes*, paintings of blazing fires dramatically set against a nocturnal sky, as the principal undertaking of his Rotterdam period. Those *brandjes* were to become his most characteristic paintings (see also cat. no. 50).<sup>4</sup>

Daniel Vosmaer, who excelled in the depiction of townscapes, also painted numerous scenes of the destruction in Delft. Several of his works follow Van der Poel's present composition closely (fig. 267).<sup>5</sup> By making the churches larger, however, Vosmaer reduces the illusion of depth. Vosmaer also painted other, more intimate views of the destroyed town, such as *Delft after the Explosion of the Powder Magazine in 1654* (fig. 299) and, possibly, *View of a Dutch Town* (cat. no. 87).

A R

1. For a contemporary account of the events, see Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, pp. 622–33. See also Delft 1981, fig. 9; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 306–7; Delft 1996, pp. 94–96; and The Hague 1996a, p. 42.
2. This has been suggested by Verhoef in Rotterdam 1994–95, p. 129. On October 14, one of Van der Poel's daughters was buried in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft. See the biography of the artist, above.
3. For a selected list of these versions, see MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 307–8.
4. Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 126–29.
5. See also *View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654* (1654; Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, inv. no. 43.96).

REFERENCES: Goldschmidt 1922, pp. 62–63; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 306–9, no. 1061.

EX COLL.: Thomas Farrant (sold, London, June 2, 1855, no. 27, bought by Rutley); John Henderson; his bequest in 1879 to The National Gallery, London (1061).

## 52. *Barnyard Scene (A Dutch Peasant's Backyard)*

1658

Oil on wood, 21 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (53.5 x 44.2 cm)

Signed and dated lower left: E vander Poel

1658

The Museum of Foreign Art, Riga

New York only

In contrast to the other pictures by Van der Poel in this exhibition—whose subjects are a nocturnal street celebration, the tragic aftermath of the gunpowder explosion of 1654, and a moody moonlit beach scene (cat. nos. 50, 51, 53)—this painting shows a brightly sunlit farmyard. In the foreground various farm animals go about their business surrounded by a jumble of baskets and buckets, a barrel, a wheel, a harness, a broken pot, a shoe, and an old hat. A chicken picks food from a chipped plate, a bird drinks from a bucket of water, several sheep huddle together, and a Saint Bernard dozes in the afternoon sun. The farmer has climbed up a ladder to inspect a dovecote. The yard is enclosed by buildings and a fence, allowing only a glimpse of the land beyond.

Van der Poel began his career in Delft painting winter landscapes, market scenes, and cavernous interiors of derelict barns in which peasants and still-life compositions of foodstuffs, vessels, and other accoutrements appeared.<sup>1</sup> It seems that he drew inspiration for the barn interiors from his colleagues in Rotterdam. A decade earlier Herman and Cornelis Saftleven, Hendrick Sorgh, and the Antwerp painter David Teniers the Younger, to name but a few, had established Rotterdam as a center for this type of painting.<sup>2</sup> Van der Poel soon abandoned these gloomy interiors in favor of dramatically lit outdoor scenes, however. Scheveningen, a coastal town just outside The Hague, where Van der Poel is said to have spent some time in 1648, may have been the source for his paintings of beaches (see cat. no. 53), while Delft—and the destruction caused by the gunpowder explosion there in 1654—provided the impetus for the townscapes (see cat. no. 51).

The present picture was painted in 1658, four years after Van der Poel had left Delft





for Rotterdam. With its lighter palette and attention to the rendering of daylight, the picture is representative of landscape painting in the Netherlands in the 1650s. Yet the relatively restricted tonality and the atmospheric quality of the sunlight recall paintings by Paulus Potter (see, for example, fig. 101), *The Sentry* by Carel Fabritius (cat. no. 20), and some of Pieter de Hooch's early works (see cat. nos. 23, 24). Van der Poel also employed *contre-jour* lighting to structure the composition. The large surfaces of the buildings are cast in shadow, which reduces their prominence. The subtle highlight along the corner of the larger building separates the two shaded walls and hints at the undoubtedly brightly lit orthogonal wall, which remains invisible to the viewer; the highlight along the top of the fence in the background points to the sun-drenched fields beyond. The backlight also turns the area around the basket in the left foreground into a mini-repoussoir. In the late 1640s and early 1650s Paulus Potter and Adam Pynacker had employed this technique to great effect, for example, in Potter's *Farmyard near The Hague*<sup>3</sup> and *Cows Driven to Pasture*,<sup>4</sup> both of 1647, and in Pynacker's works in this exhibition (cat. nos. 56, 57).

Like these painters, Van der Poel does not attempt a truthful portrayal of life on a farm with all its hardships and inconveniences. He presents, rather, an idealized image of rural tranquillity—fresh air, sunlight, and a simple life in harmony with nature—that was meant to appeal to the ideals and escapist fantasies of an urban clientele.<sup>5</sup> That Van der Poel continued to paint in the tradition of his Delft colleagues years after his move to Rotterdam suggests that the work of these artists belongs to a broader South Holland tradition that reached far beyond Delft's walls.

AR

1. Goldschmidt 1922, p. 60. See, for example, *Interior of a Barn* (1646; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A308).

2. For a discussion of this type of painting, see James in Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 133–41.

3. Duke of Westminster Collection.

4. Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, inv. no. 548; illustrated in *The Hague* 1994–95, no. 12.

5. See chap. 3, pp. 86–89, in this catalogue, and A. Walsh 1985, pp. 419–20.

REFERENCE: Neumann 1914, pp. 152–53, no. 140.

EXHIBITED: Helsinki 1995, no. 31.

EX COLL.: Friedrich W. Brederlo; his bequest in 1905 to the City of Riga; deposited in The Museum of Foreign Art, Riga (32).

### 53. *Seashore by Moonlight*

ca. 1660–64

Oil on wood, 11¼ x 13½ in. (28.5 x 34 cm)

Signed lower right: E vander Poel

Museum Briner und Kern, Rathaus,  
Winterthur (Stiftung Jakob Briner)

Van der Poel is perhaps best known for his depictions of conflagrations at night, but he also turned his attention occasionally to more peaceful subjects, such as farmyards bathed in bright sunlight (cat. no. 52) and beaches at various times of the day or night. In this picture several fishing boats have been dragged ashore and a group of fisher folk has gathered around them, busy unloading and packing the night's catch. Probably for pictorial effect Van der Poel shows the beached boats with their sails still set (one can imagine what a sudden gust of wind would do to this peaceful scene). In the distance on the right, more boats are approaching the beach in order to discharge their loads. Atop the dunes on the left, beyond the tent-shaped hut, one can make out a church and a few houses. The tower with its pointed steeple may belong to the church of Scheveningen, which in the seventeenth century was a small coastal village a few miles from The Hague.<sup>1</sup> Although the assumption is unsupported by any documentary evidence, earlier writers say that in 1648 Van der Poel spent a few months at Scheveningen.

In the seventeenth century the beaches of Holland attracted city dwellers seeking recreation and eager to buy the freshly caught fish that was available there. In contemporary literature, life and work at the seashore was often characterized as simple, untrammelled, and free of the pretensions of life in the cities.<sup>2</sup> This may explain in part why paintings of beach scenes, like the idyllic, sunny landscapes of Paulus Potter and Adam Pynacker (see cat. nos. 54–56), appealed to

the taste (and escapist dreams) of art collectors in The Hague, Delft, and Rotterdam.

The tradition of painting life along the shore began in the Netherlands in the late sixteenth century with depictions of noteworthy seaside events such as the landing or embarkation of a prominent person or the spectacle of a beached whale.<sup>3</sup> Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) was perhaps the first to give prominence to peasants and fishermen in his beach scenes, and Salomon van Ruysdael (1600/3–1670), Simon de Vlieger (1601–1653), Jacob van Ruysdael (1629/30–1681), and Adriaen van de Velde (1636–1672) made further important contributions to the genre. Whereas these artists mostly chose to paint broad, expansive views of flat beaches dotted with relatively small figures, Van der Poel often narrowed the focus, concentrating on boats and groups of fishermen and peasants.

In this picture the full moon, visible through a break in the clouds, casts a pale, eerie light across the entire scene. Local colors have been reduced to subtle overall tonalities ranging from an orange-rose tint in the clouds around the bright moon to delicate pale ochre highlights in the dark blue and green hues of the night sky and to the gray and brown shades of the strand. There are a few bright touches of color in the red clothes of some of the fisher folk and on the standards atop the masts. As in his sun-drenched *Barnyard Scene* (cat. no. 52), Van der Poel has illuminated the details of the scene from the back, to great effect. The dramatic contrasts between the dark areas and the subtle and delicately painted highlights underscore the moody atmosphere. The similarities between Van der Poel's moonlit scenes and works by the Amsterdam painter Aert van der Neer (1603/4–1677), who had made moonlit and twilight landscapes with *contre-jour* lighting his specialty, have been pointed out elsewhere.<sup>4</sup> In Delft dramatically lit night scenes were popularized by Leonaert Bramer following an extended stay in Italy in the late 1610s and 1620s (see cat. no. 9).

In its composition *Seashore by Moonlight* reveals parallels with some of Van der Poel's other works in this exhibition (cat. nos. 51, 52), as well as with works by Paulus Potter and Daniel Vosmaer (for example, cat. nos. 54, 86, 87). The foreground scene is carefully



separated from the background by the hut and boats on the left and by the debris on the right. Contrasting zones of light and shadow further structure the space.

The panel is probably most closely related to two paintings by the artist, now in museums in The Hague and Grenoble, showing beaches by moonlight with fishing boats.<sup>5</sup> Though they are both signed, unfortunately neither of these pictures is dated. The painting in the Mauritshuis has been dated to about 1650, that is, shortly after the artist may have visited Scheveningen, while he was working in Delft.<sup>6</sup> A collection catalogue of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble, suggests that the present work and three

others must have been painted in the 1660s, when Van der Poel lived in Rotterdam. This suggestion is supported by the date of 1662 inscribed on yet another coastal scene by the artist, *Seashore by Moonlight with Fishermen and Boats*, which bears close parallels in its composition and paint handling to the present picture.<sup>7</sup>

AR

1. Oberlin and other cities 1989–90, p. 88.
2. Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia 1987–88, pp. 76–77, 331, under no. 38, and p. 494, under no. 103.
3. Stechow 1966, pp. 101–2, and Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia 1987–88, p. 332, under no. 38, and p. 494, under no. 103.
4. Destot 1994, p. 129, and Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 129, 199, under no. 35. For an example of Van der Neer's work, see *Moonlit View on a River* of 1647 (private

collection, Montreal; see Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia 1987–88, no. 59).

5. *Beach with Fishing Boats by Moonlight* (Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 133) and *Marine by Moonlight* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grenoble, inv. no. MG 91; see Destot 1994, pp. 129–30).
6. Rotterdam 1994–95, p. 198.
7. It was included in a sale at Christie's, London, December 17, 1982, no. 114 (as signed and dated 1662); see Oberlin and other cities 1989–90, p. 88.

REFERENCE: Destot 1994, p. 130, n. 1.

EXHIBITED: Oberlin and other cities 1989–90, no. 30.

EX COLL.: (Sale at Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, October 14, 1953, no. 377, acquired by Jakob Briner); Museum Briner und Kern, Rathaus, Winterthur (Stiftung Jakob Briner).

## PAULUS POTTER

Enkhuizen 1625–1654, Amsterdam

Surprisingly little is known about Paulus Potter, the “Raphael of the cows,” as he was dubbed by a nineteenth-century critic.<sup>1</sup> He was born in Enkhuizen, a town on the Zuider Zee in the north of the province of Holland, and was baptized there on November 20, 1625. His father was the painter Pieter Symonsz Potter (1597/1601–1653). His mother, Achte Pouwels (d. 1636), was related to the influential Egmont and Semeyns families, who held offices in Enkhuizen and at the court in The Hague.

In 1628 the Potter family moved to Leiden, where the father entered the glassmakers’ guild. In Leiden the family lived near the university and established ties with members of the town’s leading intellectual circles. Three years later, in 1631, the family moved to Amsterdam. There the young Potter trained in his father’s studio and studied the work of other Amsterdam artists, including Pieter Lastman and Claes Moeyaert. In 1641 Potter is mentioned in Jacob de Wet’s sketchbook as his student, and it is indeed possible that he had moved to Haarlem to work with De Wet about that time. Potter’s registration with the guild in Delft on August 6, 1646, is the first record to mention him as a fully trained master.

The absence of additional documentation of Potter’s presence in Delft has led some

scholars to assume that Potter never lived in Delft, despite being registered in the local guild, and that he lived, rather, with his parents in The Hague.<sup>2</sup> However, there is no reason why Potter should not have lived in Delft until at least 1647, the year his father registered with the Guild of Saint Luke at The Hague. Or he may have stayed in Delft until 1649, when he rented a house in The Hague from Jan van Goyen and registered with the local guild. In 1650 Potter married Adriana van Balckeneynde, daughter of Claes Dircksz van Balckeneynde, the leading building contractor at The Hague and Potter’s neighbor, who introduced the artist to a number of important patrons in the court city.<sup>3</sup> By May 1652 Potter had returned to Amsterdam, where he made his will the following year and died quite wealthy in 1654, at the age of twenty-nine. Much of the information on the artist related by Arnold Houbraken seems to have come from Nicolaes van Reenen, Adriana’s son from her second marriage.<sup>4</sup>

AR

1. Thoré 1858–60, vol. 1, p. 76.
2. Amy Walsh in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 25, p. 369.
3. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, pp. 126–29.
4. This biography draws mainly on A. Walsh 1985; two other publications by the same author, in *The Hague* 1994–95, pp. 10–18, and in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 25, pp. 369–71, have been consulted.

### 54. *Figures with Horses by a Stable*

1647  
Oil on wood, 17¼ x 14¾ in. (45 x 37.5 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left:  
Paulus Potter·f·1647

Philadelphia Museum of Art,  
The William L. Elkins Collection

While *Cattle and Sheep in a Stormy Landscape* (cat. no. 55) reveals Potter’s accomplishments as an animal painter, *Figures with Horses by a Stable* focuses on human action. In the shaded yard in front of a stable a man attempts to mount his horse with the assistance of another man. The woman standing next to them has momentarily turned her attention away from the infant she is nursing in order to watch the scene. The farmyard is also populated by a cockerel, a few chickens, and a dog scratching himself. Inside the stable a third man is busy tying the tail of a gray horse with straw.<sup>1</sup> In the distance, at the left, cows graze in a sun-drenched meadow.

The picture is an exquisite example of Potter’s famed handling of light and use of atmospheric effects to structure his compositions. With the scene illuminated from



Fig. 268. Paulus Potter, *The Farrier's Shop*, 1648. Oil on wood, 19 x 18 in. (48.3 x 45.7 cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., The Widener Collection









Fig. 269. Pieter van Laer, *Riders at an Inn*, ca. 1633. Oil on wood, 12¼ x 16½ in. (32 x 43 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris

behind—a device known as *contre-jour* lighting—the area in front of the stable is cast in shadow, set off from the distant sunny landscape and bluish white sky. The dark brown horse and two men are silhouetted against the bright background. Potter takes great care to separate these figures from the dark mass of the stable by preserving a tiny, brightly lit gap between the horse's hindquarters and the edge of the building. The opposite effect is achieved inside the stable. A beam of sunlight, apparently entering through an opening in the roof, illuminates the gray horse and groom, so that they stand out against the stable's dark interior. Potter's close observation of light effects is particularly apparent in his treatment of the groom: sunlight strikes the back of his head, while his face is illuminated by light reflected from the horse's back. The woman in the center is the pivot of the composition: subtly lit, she balances the opposing contrasts (her white head scarf and red skirt also draw the eye). As in many of his pictures, Potter uses the direction in which the humans and animals gaze to link the different areas of the composition. From the interior of the stable the horse looks out at the viewer. With her head turned, the woman directs the viewer toward the men around the dark horse, while the horse itself gazes stoically at the deeply receding pasture.

A similar spatial organization can be observed in a picture that Potter painted a year later, *The Farrier's Shop* (fig. 268).<sup>2</sup> Here Potter has used contrasting light effects to enhance the drama of the scene. The focal point of the composition is the old blacksmith, who

is visible through an open door and, like the woman in *Figures with Horses by a Stable*, is dressed in red. He is trying to file the teeth of an agitated horse while another man attempts to restrain the animal. Once again the sunlight comes from behind the building, yet this time it is more sharply focused on the men and the struggling beast. The gloomy landscape and the ominous dark gray clouds add to the intensity of the scene.

Potter must have drawn his inspiration for the present picture from a painting by Pieter van Laer, who was called Il Bamboccio (1599–1642?). The composition and subject of Van Laer's *Riders at an Inn* (fig. 269) are almost identical. The rider at the back and the woman standing next to him almost blend into the inn. The attention is on the rider in the front attempting to mount his horse. The animal's brightly lit head stands out against the darker horse behind and its shaded hindquarters are silhouetted against the distant sunlit landscape. As in Potter's *Figures with Horses by a Stable*, the limits of the yard are defined by the building and the hitching rail. The difference between the pictures is that Potter has lowered the vantage point, thereby giving the viewer the illusion of being part of the scene.

The influence of Van Laer's works on Potter is significant. Van Laer was one of the leading artists of the society of Dutch and Flemish artists in Rome, the *Schildersbent*. He is known for his *bambocciate*, scenes that combine highly stylized elements, such as figures in classical poses, with low subject matter—for example, blacksmiths shoeing

horses, highway robbers attacking travelers, travelers in front of inns, tavern scenes, and military subjects. Van Laer was also an accomplished printmaker and produced two series of animal etchings.<sup>3</sup> It has been convincingly argued that Potter's first pure animal composition, *Four Cattle in a Meadow* of 1644, was inspired by Van Laer's series of seven etchings of farm animals, published in Rome in 1636.<sup>4</sup> In his farmyard scenes it is evident that Potter learned a great deal from Van Laer about the placement of figures, animals, buildings, and trees in a coherent pictorial space.

Despite his close observation of nature, Potter offers not a truthful image of life in the country but an idealized vision that would have appealed to the fantasies of the artist's urban clientele. It is spring, the trees have new leaves, the cattle are outside grazing on fresh grass, the woman is nursing her infant, and the man in the stable is solicitous of his workhorse. The picture thus presents an optimistic image of fertility and new life, nurture and care—in short, of a peaceful existence in harmony with nature.<sup>5</sup>

The present picture was completed about the same time that Potter painted his extraordinary farmyard scenes with their characteristic atmosphere of silvery afternoon sunlight, such as *Farmyard near The Hague* (Duke of Westminster Collection) and *Cows Being Led to the Meadow* (Residenzgalerie, Salzburg), both from 1647; *Cows Reflected in the Water* (fig. 101); and *Farmyard*, also known as *The Pissing Cow*, of 1649 (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg).<sup>6</sup> Their remarkably accomplished rendering of space and radiant natural light has encouraged several earlier scholars to regard Potter as one of the founders of the so-called Delft School, as represented by Carel Fabritius, Pieter de Hooch, Vermeer, and Emanuel de Witte.<sup>7</sup> More recently this assessment has been called into question, and Potter has rightly been placed in a broader context of landscape painting that, though it employs similar means to portray blissful rural scenes of peace and tranquillity, extends far beyond the city walls of Delft.<sup>8</sup>

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1. The identification of this activity goes back to John Hope's description of the picture when it was in his collection. See *The Hague*, San Francisco 1990–91, p. 366, and *The Hague* 1994–95, p. 87.

2. See A. Walsh 1985, p. 215; The Hague 1994–95, no. 13; and Wheelock 1995b, pp. 198–200.
3. For a more detailed discussion of Van Laer's art, see Briganti, Trezzani, and Laureati 1983 and Cologne, Utrecht 1991–92.
4. *Four Cattle in a Meadow* (1644; Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Schloss Wilhelmshöhe, Kassel, inv. no. 386); see A. Walsh 1985, p. 145, and The Hague 1994–95, pp. 24–26, and no. 4.
5. A. Walsh 1985, pp. 285, 419–20, and Sutton 1990, p. 240.
6. The Hague 1994–95, nos. 9, 12, 14, 15.
7. See especially Eisler 1923, p. 187. Eisler maintains, for example, that Potter's *Cows Being Led to the Meadow* anticipates Vermeer's "Form und Wohlmut" (form and harmony) more clearly than any works by either Gerard Houckgeest or Fabritius.
8. Liedtke 2000, pp. 12–14, and in this catalogue chap. 3, pp. 88–89.

REFERENCES: A. Walsh 1985, pp. 214–15, 216, 221, 222, 223, 228, 285, 338–39; Sutton 1986, p. 225; Sutton 1990, no. 85; Broos in The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91, no. 49; MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 315 (without mention of location); Walsh and Buijsen in The Hague 1994–95, pp. 33–34, no. 11.

EXHIBITED: London 1815, no. 137; Manchester 1857, no. 996; London 1881, no. 71; Philadelphia 1899, no. 31; New York 1909, no. 71; The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91, no. 49; The Hague 1994–95, no. 11.

EX COLL.: Ferdinand Adolph, count of Plettenberg and Witten (sold Amsterdam, April 2, 1738, to Willem Lormier); Willem Lormier, The Hague, 1738–56; J. W. Frank, The Hague; John Hope, Amsterdam, 1774–84; his heirs, Bosbeek, Heemstede, 1784–94; Henry Hope, London, 1794–1811, brought to England ca. 1796; Henry Philip Hope, London, 1811–39; his nephew Henry Thomas Hope, Deepdene, Surrey, 1839–62; his widow, Adèle Bichat, 1862–84; her grandson Lord Henry Francis Pelham-Clinton-Hope, London, 1884–98; [Coinaghi and Asher Wertheimer, London, 1898]; William L. Elkins, Philadelphia, 1898–1903; Mrs. W. L. Elkins and George Elkins, 1903–19; given in 1924 to the Philadelphia Museum of Art (E1924-3-17).

## 55. *Cattle and Sheep in a Stormy Landscape*

1647

Oil on wood, 18¼ x 14¾ in. (46.3 x 37.8 cm)

Signed and dated lower left:

Paulus. Potter. f. 1647.

The National Gallery, London

Compared with the bright sunlight of Potter's characteristically peaceful farmyard scenes and landscapes, the atmosphere in this small painting appears almost threatening. The dramatic formations of white and dark gray clouds contrast with a few patches of blue, and it is uncertain whether a storm is building or the sky is about to clear up. Seen from below and positioned against the brightest portion of the sky, the young bull and the black cow in the foreground become monumental, commanding presences. In the background the lighting is reversed. Here, the peacefully resting and grazing animals, bathed in sunlight, are surrounded by windswept trees and silhouetted against the menacing dark clouds. The diagonal streaking behind them may be rain driven across the land by the wind. A similar effect can be observed in Rembrandt's etching *Landscape with Three Trees* of 1643.<sup>1</sup>

Potter painted this picture in 1647, while he was probably still living in Delft. Among the pictures completed in the same year are his most famous work, *The Bull* (Mauritshuis, The Hague), the wonderful *Farmyard near The Hague* (Duke of Westminster Collection), and *Figures with Horses by a Stable* (cat. no. 54). The present painting and the previous one, which are similar in size as well as identical in date, were considered to be pendants when they were part of the Hope collection in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> In their publications on British collections both John Smith and Gustav Waagen supported this contention.<sup>3</sup> However, the fact that there are other works by Potter from the same period with similar dimensions and that the two pictures in this exhibition have vastly different compositions make it unlikely that they were conceived as a pair.<sup>4</sup>

Potter's early works with their Italianate settings reflect the style of artists such as

Rembrandt's teacher Pieter Lastman (ca. 1583–1633), Claes Moyaert (1590/91–1655), and Moses van Uyttenbroeck (1595/1600–1648).

By 1643, however, Potter began to concentrate on the people and animals of the Dutch countryside. *Landscape with Milkmaid* of 1643 is the first Dutch landscape in Potter's oeuvre without any Italian mountains or antique ruins.<sup>5</sup> *Four Cattle in a Meadow* of 1644<sup>6</sup> was inspired by Pieter van Laer's 1636 series of etchings of farm animals, including cattle; it represents the first pure animal painting in the Netherlands, the type of picture for which the *beestenschilder* (animal painter) Potter was to become famous.<sup>7</sup> The increasing naturalism of his subsequent works is indicative of the painter's interest in animal anatomy, as well as in spatial effects and the tactile qualities of different surfaces. From the mid-1640s Potter turned once again to painters who had sojourned in Italy, such as Van Laer (1599–1642?) and Jan Both (ca. 1615–1652), whose depiction of bright natural light and atmospheric effects greatly influenced him.<sup>8</sup> In the present painting Potter uses bright silvery sunlight, pronounced shadows, backlighting, and dramatic silhouettes to great effect.

*Cattle and Sheep in a Stormy Landscape* displays affinities with, and some differences from, two later pictures by Potter. In 1649 he painted a larger work, *A Young Bull and Two Cows in a Meadow*.<sup>9</sup> While the viewer of the present painting must imagine the expanse behind the silhouetted elevations of the meadow, in the later picture the viewpoint is slightly higher, and therefore more of the landscape is visible. The second painting is *The Bull*, also from 1649.<sup>10</sup> Here, the landscape beyond is invisible to the viewer and merely suggested by the gaze of one of the cows. Yet the advancing bull is a more immediate threat due to the absence of any visual barrier such as the tree branch and plants in the foreground of the present painting.

The interpretation of the three paintings has been a matter of debate. It may be argued that cattle are first and foremost a reminder of life in the country and thus would have appealed to Dutch city dwellers, who idealized the countryside as a place of rest and spiritual regeneration. Cows have also traditionally been associated with the earth, fecundity, prosperity, and spring — associations that in



the context of the seventeenth-century Netherlands can be linked to the importance of dairy farming to the Dutch economy. Dairy farming was at its most successful toward the middle of the century, and many handbooks on the breeding and keeping of cattle were published. During this time cows became popular pictorial subjects. The beautiful cows of Aelbert Cuyp (1620–1691), for example, recline in the afternoon sunlight on lush green meadows. The cow may thus be viewed as a symbol of national pride, combining general concepts of spring and fertility with the specific economic success and productivity of the Dutch nation.<sup>11</sup> This interpretation, while convincing when applied to depictions of well-fed Dutch milk cows and peaceful farmyard scenes, does not entirely fit the present painting. The juxtaposition of the sturdy young bull suspiciously eyeing the viewer and the reclining cow suggests a division of roles: while the cow represents the fertility and wealth of the land, the bull stands for alertness and strength. One author has recently suggested that the picture be seen in a political context connected to the signing of the Treaty

of Münster. According to this argument, the watchfulness of the formidable, if callow, bull may be interpreted as a symbol of the vigilance of the Dutch populace, constantly mindful of the need to protect the country and to safeguard its welfare and economic prosperity.<sup>12</sup>

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1. B./Holl. 212. See A. Walsh 1985, p. 137. For another picture by Potter showing a comparable stormy landscape with windswept trees, see *Landscape with Pigs before a Storm* (1646; with the dealer Robert Noortman, Maastricht), illustrated in *The Hague 1994–95*, p. 72, fig. 1.
2. On the Hope collection, see Niemeijer 1982, especially pp. 193–94, nos. 190, 191.
3. J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 5 (1834), p. 153, no. 87, and Waagen 1837–39, vol. 2, pp. 146–47. See also *The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91*, pp. 366–67.
4. *Two Cows and a Bull* (private collection, on loan to the City Art Gallery, York) is an example of a work of the same year with similar dimensions.
5. Collection Friis Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, inv. no. 5982.
6. Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel.
7. A. Walsh 1985, pp. 137, 145, and *The Hague 1994–95*, p. 24, and nos. 3, 4. For Potter's characterization as a *beestenschilder*, see Weyerman 1729–69, vol. 2, p. 203.

8. *The Hague 1994–95*, pp. 25–26.
9. Royal Collection, London; illustrated in White 1982, no. 154, pl. 122. See also *The Hague 1994–95*, p. 31, fig. 21.
10. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, inv. no. 872B. See also *The Hague 1994–95*, p. 31, fig. 22.
11. For a more detailed discussion of the symbolism of cattle, see Spicer 1983, pp. 251–56, and Chong in Dordrecht, Leeuwarden 1988–89, pp. 56–86.
12. A. Walsh 1985, pp. 420–23.

REFERENCES: A. Walsh 1985, pp. 137, 196, 216, 379; Sutton 1990, p. 240; *The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91*, p. 367; MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 315, no. 2583; Walsh and Buijsen in *The Hague 1994–95*, p. 29, no. 7.

EXHIBITED: London 1815, no. 139; London 1843, no. 89; London 1850, no. 67; Manchester 1857, no. 1006; London 1881, no. 82; *The Hague 1994–95*, no. 7.

EX COLL.: Jan and Pieter Bisshop, Rotterdam, 1752; Adriaen and John Hope, Amsterdam, 1771; Thomas Henry and Henry Philip Hope, London, brought to England ca. 1796; Henry Philip Hope, London, 1811–39; his nephew Henry Thomas Hope, Deepdene, Surrey, 1839–62; his widow, Adèle Bichat, 1862–84; her grandson Lord Henry Francis Pelham-Clinton-Hope, London, 1884–98; [Colnaghi and Asher Wertheimer, London, 1898]; George Salting, London; bequeathed by him in 1910 to The National Gallery, London (2583).

## ADAM PYNACKER

Schiedam ca. 1620–1673 Amsterdam

*Arnold Houbraken (in 1719) and later biographers report that the artist came from the village of Pynacker, near Delft, but he was almost certainly born in the harbor town of Schiedam (slightly west of Rotterdam) in 1620 or early in 1621. His father, Christiaan van Kerckhoven (also called Pynacker), was a wine merchant from Delft. In 1609 Christiaan married Maria Jansdr Graswinckel, who came from a prominent Delft family. The couple moved to Schiedam shortly after their marriage. In 1618 Prince Maurits appointed Christiaan to the vroedschap (town council) of Schiedam; he served as schepen (alderman) in 1622 and later held nine other municipal posts in the city. Adam Pynacker and his sister Maria were the only two of six children who were not stillborn. Between 1649 and 1651 the painter was often in Delft, where he was closely associated with the son of a wealthy brewer, Adam Pick (ca. 1622–before 1666). Pick was an innkeeper, art dealer, and*

*still-life painter who had studied with Evert van Aelst (1602–1657). Pynacker probably stayed at Pick's inn, "The Big Vat."*

*Houbraken reports that Pynacker spent three years in Italy; a recent biographer concludes that this was probably about 1645–48. A painting by Pynacker is listed in a Delft inventory dated November 12, 1652, and three others were recorded by Bramer in drawings dating from about the same time. Pynacker is also recorded in Schiedam in 1651 and 1652; in about 1654–55 he apparently worked in Lenzen at the Brandenburg court. He was in Delft on May 17, 1657, when he borrowed 1,700 guilders from his cousin Jorst Willemsz van der Hoeft. On September 7, 1658, his marriage to Eva de Geest of Leeuwarden was announced in Schiedam; the marriage took place one year later in Dantumadeel, near Leeuwarden. Like Vermeer, Pynacker converted to Catholicism at the time of his marriage. His wife was the daughter of the*

*respected Leeuwarden portraitist Wybrand de Geest (1592–ca. 1661) and (like Rembrandt's wife Saskia) a member of the distinguished Uylenburgh family. A daughter of the Pynackers was baptized as a Catholic in Schiedam on April 3, 1661. The family evidently moved to Amsterdam in about 1661–62; the painter was buried there on March 28, 1673. At the time of his death Pynacker lived on the Rozengracht, near the art dealer Gerrit van Uylenburgh (ca. 1625–after 1677) and painters such as Rembrandt (1606–1669), Jan Lievens (1607–1674), and the Italianate landscapist Johannes Lingelbach (1624–1674).<sup>1</sup>*

WL

1. This biography is based entirely upon Harwood 1988, chap. 1, on the artist's life, where full references to documents and earlier literature are provided. For a map of Amsterdam with the addresses of artists, dealers, and collectors indicated, see Berlin, Amsterdam, London 1991–92, pp. 62–63. Gerrit van Uylenburgh (son of the better-known Hendrick, who died in 1661) lived on the Lauriergracht, one canal south of the Rozengracht.





# 56. *Landscape with a Goatherd*

ca. 1650–53

Oil on panel, 15¼ x 24 in. (38.7 x 61 cm)

Signed lower right: A Pynacker

[AP in monogram]

The Saint Louis Art Museum,  
Saint Louis, Missouri

This well-preserved picture could be said to summarize some of the main motifs and qualities of Pynacker's early Italianate landscapes. In several of them he structures the composition with the help of geometric architecture, the broad planes and sharp edges of which are emphasized by strong contrasts of light and shadow. Even in the harbor, river, and woodland views that do not feature prominent buildings there is an architectonic quality; horizontal and especially vertical elements, the latter including trees and surprisingly sheer precipices, are linked together by long diagonal recessions. In a few early pictures the sense of design is remarkably close

to that of contemporary church interiors by Houckgeest and De Witte, and more expectedly to that of Van der Poel and Potter (see cat. nos. 52, 54).

Harwood dates the present picture to about 1650–53, when Pynacker often depicted figures tending animals in the sunny countryside. In the late 1640s and early 1650s a number of Dutch painters followed the Utrecht artist Jan Both in depicting idealized visions of Italian landscape, and Netherlandish scenery of nearly equal tranquillity. Pynacker's vision of this ruggedly beautiful realm comes close to that of the slightly older Jan Asselijn, who worked in Rome during the early 1640s and in Amsterdam from 1647 until his early death, in 1652. Asselijn was particularly fond of languorous diagonals, which, whether formed of farmhouses, riverbanks, or ancient ruins, saunter off into sunsets like aqueducts crossing great plains. Effects of sunlight like those employed picturesquely here to sculpt a wall, pick out the primary colors in the center of the composition, or draw attention

to the couple by the water in the distance occur quite similarly in Asselijn's earlier and contemporary work.<sup>1</sup>

However, in other respects Pynacker is more reminiscent of the two stay-at-homes among the Italianate landscapists and their sympathizers, Aelbert Cuyp and Paulus Potter. Cuyp's golden tonalities and his delicate arrangements of foliage to frame and embrace the flood of light are if anything surpassed here in the branches along the top of the ruined wall and in the vines on the even more attractively decrepit brickwork to the right. Potter's palette is similar also, but the most Potteresque features here are the suggestion of textures, the grouping of the young man and animals facing this way and that (compare the woman and the horses in cat. no. 54), and the quiet counterpoise of the whole. Harwood suggests plausibly that a panel of the same size, *A Farmer's Wife, Child, and Herd at a Well* (Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel), was painted by Pynacker as a pendant to the

present picture, and in that work the influence of Potter is more obvious.<sup>2</sup>

It may be imagined that Pieter de Hooch, despite his different subject matter, would have admired particular aspects of Pynacker's style. The light flooding through the doorways of De Hooch's early tavern interiors, for example, in a panel in Zurich where a trumpeter is silhouetted against a rough wooden door (cat. no. 23), is analogous to passages found in Pynacker's Italianate genre scenes. In some works the Schiedamer seems to anticipate De Hooch's courtyard views. But there were probably only a few direct connections between the two painters. They shared a period and to some extent a regional aesthetic that favored leisurely and at times idyllic scenes, the appeal of which was greatly enhanced by restful compositions, harmonious tonalities, and *schilderachtig* passages: "painterlike" motifs like those found here in the foreground to both sides. The areas of focus in the painting form a sort of triptych devoted to natural beauty, in which the patron saint is a careless peasant with whom we may for a few moments identify.

WL

1. See Steland-Stief 1971, pls. XI, XIII, XXXVII, XLVI–XLVIII, LIV. An especially similar design is found in Asselijn's *Landscape with a Ruined Aqueduct and Herders* of 1646 in the Accademia di San Luca, Rome (Steland-Stief 1971, no. 102, pl. XXXVII), although the placement of a herder in the center foreground is found elsewhere, for example, in the *Landscape with a Ruined Aqueduct and Herder (The Ford)* of about 1643–44 (no. 101, and Trnek 1992, no. 11).
2. See Harwood 1988, p. 56, no. 24, pl. 24.

REFERENCES: Harwood 1988, no. 23 (with additional literature).

EXHIBITED: Cardiff 1960, no. 59.

EX COLL.: George Cavendish, 1st Earl of Burlington, thence by descent to Lord Chesham, Mrs. Reginald Astley, and Mr. R. Theisger; [Edward Speelman, London, 1982]; purchased in 1982 by The Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis, Missouri, Museum Shop and Friends Funds, and Funds given by Christian B. and Ethel K. Peper, Mrs. John M. Olin, Mr. and Mrs. Oliver M. Langenberg, Jacob Heiman and L. O. Kipnis, by exchange; Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Jackes, Mr. and Mrs. Newell Augur, Mr. and Mrs. Lester A. Crancer, Jr., Mrs. Clark P. Fiske, Mr. and Mrs. James H. Grove, Mrs. G. Gordon Hertslet, Miss Helen M. Longmire, The John Allan Love Charitable Foundation, Columbia Locomotive Company Charitable Trust, Mrs. Tyrell Williams, by exchange; Mr. and Mrs. Charles W. Lorenz, Mrs. W. Welles Hoyt and General and Mrs. Rollin Tilton, by exchange; The John R. Goodall Trust, Mrs. G. L. Harris, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin M.

Johnston, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Ruwitch, Mr. and Mrs. Ethan A. H. Shepley, Jr., Mrs. Charles Yalem, by exchange; Mr. and Mrs. George K. Conant, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Sam Langsdorf, Jr., Mr. and Mrs. Russell Fette, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Block, Mrs. Earl Bumiller, Mr. and Mrs. Max Diamant, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas F. Eggleston, Gallery of the Masters, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. Richard Knip, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Kodner, Dr. and Mrs. William A. Murphy, Dr. and Mrs. Eli R. Shuter, Versie T. Walser, and 316 additional donors to the 1982 Annual Appeal (150:1982).

## 57. *View of a Harbor in Schiedam*

Early 1650s

Oil on canvas, 27¼ x 18 in. (55.5 x 45.5 cm)

Signed in monogram (autograph?) left center, on the bridge abutment: AP

Collection Mrs. Edward W. Carter

In this serene view of a Dutch harbor, evidently the artist's hometown of Schiedam, Pynacker brings the light of a late afternoon on the Mediterranean to the north. The copy illumination of the setting sun recalls landscapes by Jan Both and Italianate scenes by Pynacker himself, such as the so-called *Farmhouse at the Bend of a River* of about 1648 (fig. 270) and *An Italian Seaport* of 1650 (private collection, Great Britain).<sup>1</sup> It has been suggested that Pynacker may have spent some time in Utrecht before his probable trip to Italy (ca. 1645–48?).<sup>2</sup> But actual residence in Utrecht is hardly necessary to explain the artist's familiarity with works by Both, Jan Baptist Weenix, and other Italianate landscape painters of that school. By the late 1640s imaginary views of Italian countryside were being painted in several Dutch cities, including Haarlem (Nicolaes Berchem), Amsterdam (Jan Asselijn), and Dordrecht (Aelbert Cuyp, who never went to Italy). Artists working in this vein clearly enjoyed a fairly broad market. Furthermore, the works of an earlier generation of Italianate painters, especially Cornelis van Poelenburgh, had been collected at the Dutch and Bohemian courts in The Hague since the late 1620s.<sup>3</sup>

The resemblance between Italianate scenes of the mid-seventeenth century and this picturesque Dutch townscape underscores the fact that the celebrated Delft attention to convincing qualities of daylight was part of

a broader trend in the 1650s. Lighter palettes, usually with more local coloring than that found here, were generally favored in landscape painting and other genres throughout the Netherlands. But the particular quality of bright light and the comparatively restricted palette found in this canvas and in pictures by other artists active in or near Delft during the early 1650s—compare, for example, the works by Potter in this exhibition (cat. nos. 54, 55); *The Sentry* by Fabritius (cat. no. 20); the early De Hoochs (cat. nos. 23, 24); and Van der Poels like the one in Riga (cat. no. 52)—may be more closely related to the Italianate landscapes of Both, Cuyp, Pynacker, and others than is usually supposed.

In any case, comparison between Potter's "use of special lighting effects including *contre-jour*" and Pynacker's similar qualities (Harwood cites the *Landscape with Cattle* of about 1649 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) places the painters in a broader context, which has less to do with influence than with taste.<sup>4</sup> In the present work Pynacker demonstrates how effectively the picturesque tonalities and silhouetting effects found firstly in landscapes by Both could be employed in a predominantly architectural subject. De Hooch's early tavern interiors and his Delft courtyard views were compared above with Pynacker's *Landscape with a Goatherd* (see the discussion under cat. no. 56) and similar works. De Hooch's main source of inspiration in his early genre interiors, the Rotterdammer Ludolf de Jongh, himself painted a number of Italianate and pastoral landscapes before turning mostly to genre scenes in the early 1650s.<sup>5</sup>

Pynacker also shares with Potter, Fabritius, De Hooch, and other Delft painters of the

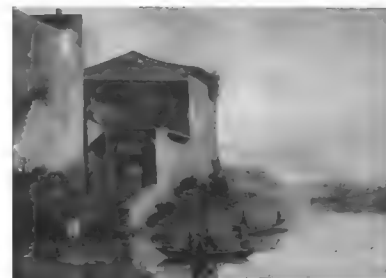


Fig. 270. Adam Pynacker, *Farmhouse at the Bend of a River*, ca. 1648. Oil on wood, 18¼ x 26½ in. (48 x 67.5 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin



early 1650s a taste for structured compositions, of a sort that is restful rather than rigid, harmonious rather than orderly (compare Daniel Vosmaer's "harbor" view, cat. no. 86). The sails floating like Cartesian clouds in the wind (would such a tall ship leave its mainsails unfurled at quayside?) and the building on the right counterbalance the townscape's horizontal elements, while the low arch of the drawbridge is answered by the graceful curves of the boat in the foreground. In abstract terms, the design is remarkably similar to that of *The Sentry* (cat. no. 20), in which Fabritius approaches the arched entrance to a city from an oblique angle of view and finds in this subjective framing a more intimate version of Pynacker's peaceful environment (there is, curiously, a sail visible beyond the wall and roof seen through Fabritius's archway). Analogies may be found in De Witte as well; in the *Oude Kerk* view in Montreal (cat. no. 91), the diagonal recession across the foreground (which is filled with objects serving the same pictorial purpose as Pynacker's logs) leads to the long recession across the middle ground. In both paintings, gentle resistance to the flow of space is offered by the flow of light. The pervasiveness of light in De Witte (who paints architecture as if he were a landscapist) and in Pynacker also evokes the sense that whatever corner of space might be defined, what-

ever street or harbor or church might be constructed, they remain modest gestures in an endless void.

However inventive, the composition is said to have been based on an actual site near the house of Pynacker's father in Schiedam.<sup>6</sup> The conjunction of the inn on the right with the ships makes one wonder if the painting might have been conceived as a tribute to Pynacker *père*, since he supported his family mainly as a wine merchant and as joint owner of at least three merchant vessels.<sup>7</sup> However, the inn is closed, and the busy port of Schiedam is nearly as still as the harbor in Vermeer's *View of Delft* (fig. 23). A small crowd, mostly children, gathers around a man who evidently reads from a paper, perhaps reporting some minor news. A boatman in the foreground appears to offer his services to the strolling gentleman. Other figures would do as nicely, if they were equally well placed.

In this canvas and other works of the early 1650s Pynacker looks forward to Vermeer in the most general terms, which could be described as those of light, space, and composition but may be defined even more broadly. An understated but extraordinary artfulness, evident in almost every passage of the picture, is played against the powers of observation, in an attempt to discover the most reassuring beauty in the everyday.

W L

1. Harwood 1988, nos. 6, 15, pls. I, III. The "farmhouse" might better be described as an old villa, given its large buildings around a courtyard, a small turret embellishing the roofline, and the stone ramp down to the river. Compare paintings by Both such as *Landscape with a Draftsman* (in the Carter collection) and *Southern Landscape with Travelers* (Montreal Museum of Fine Arts), both dating from the second half of the 1640s; Montreal 1990, nos. 15, 16.
2. Harwood 1988, pp. 24–25.
3. See The Hague 1997–98a, no. 19.
4. The quote is from Harwood 1988, p. 23. For the Rijksmuseum panel, see Harwood's no. 12, pl. II.
5. See Fleischer 1989, chap. 2, and figs. 31, 32, 35–39, 43–48. Fleischer mentions Pynacker in relation to De Jongh solely in connection with a motif Pynacker is supposed to have borrowed in the early 1660s. It seems possible that Italianate scenes of about 1650–55 by De Jongh, such as *A Shooting Party* (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin) and *Hunters in a Hilly Landscape* (location unknown), were partly inspired by the artist's neighbor in Schiedam, Pynacker; for these two pictures, see Fleischer 1989, figs. 39, 47.
6. See Harwood 1988, p. 60.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

REFERENCES: Walsh and Schneider in Los Angeles, Boston, New York 1981–82, no. 20; Harwood 1988, p. 24, no. 30; Duparc and Graif in Montreal 1990, no. 44.

EXHIBITED: Los Angeles, Boston, New York 1981–82, no. 20; Montreal 1990, no. 44.

EX COLL.: [Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1974]; Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter, Los Angeles, 1974; the present owner.

# JAN HAVICKSZ STEEN

Leiden 1626–1679 Leiden

Steen gave his age as twenty when he enrolled in Leiden University in November 1646. This and the fact that his parents, the Catholic grain merchant and brewer Havick Steen (1602–1670) and Elizabeth Capiteyn (whose father was the city clerk of Leiden), married in November 1625 indicate that the future artist was born in 1626. The Steen family had been in Leiden for at least two centuries and may be described as upper middle class, although Jan's father owed most of his income to the prosperity of the brewing industry in the 1630s and 1640s.<sup>1</sup>

Steen was the eldest of at least eight children. He appears to have been given a good education in primary school and Latin school, but his enrollment in the university probably had more to do with its privileges (exemption from civic-guard service and from paying duties on wine and beer) than with plans for a career.

He registered as a master in the painters' guild in Leiden on March 18, 1648. His teacher is not recorded, but Jacob Weyerman's biography (1729–69), based on information provided orally by Steen's friend Carel de Moor, relates that he was apprenticed to Nicolaus Knüpfer of Utrecht and then to the Haarlem painter Adriaen van Ostade. If so, this would have been in the period 1640–45. According to Arnold Houbraken (1718–21) and Weyerman, Steen also studied with Jan van Goyen in The Hague, where he married Van Goyen's daughter Margriet on October 3, 1649. It has been suggested plausibly that Steen was the landscapist's assistant, not his pupil, in the late 1640s.<sup>2</sup>

Steen's first child, Thaddens, was baptized in a Catholic church in The Hague on

February 6, 1651. A daughter, Eva, was born in 1653. In March 1654 Steen joined a civic-guard company in The Hague, and in July 1654 he leased "The Snake" brewery in Delft. His father evidently contributed the capital while the artist managed the business. Steen must have moved to Delft by the fateful autumn of 1654; at the time, the art market was depressed and the brewing industry in Delft was in decline. In July 1657 Steen described himself as a former brewer, and by the spring of 1658 he had briefly resided in Leiden and moved to the nearby village of Warmond.<sup>3</sup>

In 1660 the artist and his family moved to Haarlem, where he joined the painters' guild in 1661. The mid-1660s were financially strained because the Second Anglo-Dutch War affected the art market (as the first "English" war had in 1652–54). Steen was still settling debts in Delft in 1667. By 1669 his circumstances appear to have improved but his wife died in the spring of that year. The artist's mother died in September 1669 and his father in March 1670. Their Leiden house was left to Steen, who moved with his children and rejoined his native city's guild in 1670. He held offices in the guild during the next few years, becoming dean in 1674. Yet another war, with the French in 1672, again disrupted the art market, and Steen opened a tavern called "The Peace." On April 22, 1673, he married Maria van Egmond, who had two children and a number of debts. The couple's son, Theodorus, was born in the summer of 1674.

Steen died less than five years later, at the age of fifty-three. He was buried in the Pieterskerk, Leiden, on February 3, 1679.

According to Houbraken and Weyerman, his last years were in good part devoted to drinking in the company of Frans van Mieris and other artist friends.

W.L.

1. See Bok 1996–97 on the artist's life (p. 26 on his birth and childhood). Bok's biography supersedes all others, where Steen's date of birth is usually given as 1625 or 1626.
2. Ibid., p. 28, on the evidence for Steen's training in the 1640s.
3. See ibid., pp. 29–31, on the Delft, Leiden, and Warmond episodes.

## 58. *A Burgher of Delft and His Daughter*

1655

Oil on canvas, 32½ x 27 in. (82.5 x 68.6 cm)  
Signed and dated bottom center, on the lower step: JSteen 1655 [JS in monogram]

Private collection

New York only

This portrait of a prominent citizen of Delft and his daughter at the front door of a house on the Oude Delft was painted in 1655; in the previous year Steen leased a brewery on the opposite side of the same canal, not far from this location.<sup>1</sup> Since no earlier commissioned portraits or townscapes by Steen are known and since he was not a local painter (he never registered in the Delft guild) it seems likely that this picture, a work of exceptional quality and imagination, came about through a personal connection.<sup>2</sup>

Presumably the sitter actually did live on the Oude Delft, but it may not be assumed that the modern house on the left in Steen's picture or even its approximate location corresponded closely with reality. The bridge to the right appears to have been placed arbitrarily for formal reasons and in order to support the city crest of Delft and a passing witness to the home owner's concern for the poor.<sup>3</sup> The size and arrangement of the trees







Fig. 271. Nicolaes Maes, *The Lacemaker (The Virtuous Woman)*, ca. 1655. Oil on wood, 29½ x 23¾ in. (74.9 x 60.3 cm). Wallace Collection, London

behind the sitter have clearly been calculated to frame the two adult figures, the tower of the Oude Kerk (which has been substantially slimmed; compare fig. 1), and, over the man's shoulder, the Prinsenhof, where the Chamber of Charity met.<sup>4</sup>

Indeed, few Dutch paintings illustrate as well as this one how even the most lifelike views of an actual site—there is no disputing that the picture is delightfully evocative of a stroll along the Oude Delft—are carefully constructed both in formal and iconographic terms, largely on the basis of pictorial precedents. The composition follows a format common in contemporary genre interiors, for example by Steen's fellow Leideners Isaac Koedijck and Quiringh van Brecklenkam, and by Nicolaes Maes. While many examples could be cited, a comparison with Maes's *Lacemaker (The Virtuous Woman)* of about 1655 (fig. 271) will suffice, since it features a similar corner of space (complete with receding wall and window, square tiles, raised platform, frontal figure, and a view to a deeper space on the right); a child and a vase of flowers to the left (Steen nudges the motif outside); and a church tower in the distance (left, complemented by a Bible on the chair). The boy is usually said to be asking for alms,<sup>5</sup> an interpretation supported by his juxtaposition to the church and cut flowers. The latter, in the present context, not only



Fig. 272. D. Moens after Ludolf de Jongh, *Officers of the Rotterdam Civic Guard before the Town Hall*, 1807. Colored drawing, after a painting (oil on canvas, 104¼ x 78¼ in. [265 x 200 cm]) ca. 1655, destroyed in 1864. Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Rotterdam

reminds one that mundane existence is transitory but also that good works lead to eternal life. That Maes in the mid-1650s also painted genre scenes set on domestic doorsteps (for example, *A Man Giving Alms to a Boy* of 1656; Hornstein collection, Montreal) and others extolling the virtues of good parenting makes it appear fairly certain that Steen based the present picture on one or more of the Dordrecht painter's works.

However, Steen was obviously inspired by other kinds of pictures as well. This portrait of a father and public figure draws upon earlier Dutch paintings of precisely those types, such as Thomas de Keyser's portrait of Constantijn Huygens with a subordinate (an attribute, one might say; see fig. 15) and the same artist's so-called *Musician and His Daughter* of 1629 (Metropolitan Museum, New York).<sup>6</sup> Whether or not the latter painting represents a professional lutenist it certainly depicts a commendable parent, setting an example for his child (as in the Van der Dussen family portrait, cat. no. 80). In Steen's painting, both of the adults are presented as good parents, to judge from the behavior of the children as well as their own. The little lady of the house is a model of good breeding, whose pose, attire, and expression reveal that she has little to learn about patrician comportment in public.<sup>7</sup> As for the little boy, he could have become a

court retainer in another twenty years had fate dealt him a better hand.

As discussed in connection with De Hooch's family portrait in Vienna (cat. no. 27), the decade of the 1650s was an innovative period in portraiture. Steen would have known some of the examples in which parents and children (including the princely family in Claes Jansz Visscher's print, fig. 155) occupied impressive terraces or front steps, and he would have recognized how some of them derived from palace portico and terrace scenes by Dirck van Delen and other architectural painters. One of the latest versions of this fashionable Dutch and Flemish form (of which Gonzales Coques, recently active in The Hague, was a leading exponent) was Ferdinand Bol's *Couple on a Terrace* of 1654 (Louvre, Paris). The stylish man and wife, who are actually on the narrow steps of an imposing house, were probably once accompanied by their offspring (Bol's *Two Children Feeding a Goat*, in the Musée de Tessé, Le Mans, appears to be a fragment from the same canvas).<sup>8</sup> As discussed in connection with De Hooch's portrait of a Delft family (cat. no. 27), the idea of using the front steps or stoop (*stoep*, in Dutch) of a building on a city street was also current in portraits of civic-guard companies, one of which Steen had just joined (see his biography above). Ludolf de Jongh's lost portrait of the Rotterdam civic guard (fig. 272) was also painted in the mid-1650s (possibly before Steen's canvas) and features in the left background a row of gabled houses receding to the tower of a distant (and actual) church.<sup>9</sup>

As if these many possible prototypes were not enough, it should also be noted that a good number of Steen's earlier genre scenes were set at the front doors of inns or houses, as in *A Pedlar Selling Spectacles outside a Cottage* (National Gallery, London).<sup>10</sup> Similar locations served for biblical subjects such as *The Dismissal of Hagar* and *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, and for scenes of charity dating earlier than those by Maes; the woman in Steen's picture is thought to have been derived from the mother (with a boy, baby, and husband) in Rembrandt's etching of 1648 *The Hurdy-Gurdy Player and His Family Receiving Alms*.<sup>11</sup> Pictures of well-to-do women on their front steps, responding to

begging boys, were also painted by Maes and by Gabriël Metsu about 1658–60.<sup>12</sup> In paintings of church interiors dating from the 1650s beggars often approach proper citizens, including, in a few cases, figures that are clearly portraits.<sup>13</sup>

Extraordinary claims have been made for this picture, for example that it represents partisan political views,<sup>14</sup> Dutch culture embarrassed by its riches,<sup>15</sup> a conflation of pictorial genres first defined in later centuries,<sup>16</sup> and a contribution to quasi-townscape painting that “seems to have had a significant impact on Pieter de Hooch’s courtyard scenes.”<sup>17</sup> Only the last concept could conceivably have been grasped by the artist himself, who would have been prouder of his familiarity with current trends than of any credit for disturbing them. He was possibly aware of a few paintings by Carel Fabritius (*A View in Delft* and *The Sentry* are the most relevant works known today; see cat. nos. 18, 20) and of one or two pictures of the same street by Egbert van der Poel (see cat. no. 50). As in contemporary Delft paintings of church interiors, the success of Steen’s original invention—for so it remains—depended upon a great deal of visual learning and then concentration on the matter at hand.

It is not clear from many reproductions that the burgher’s daughter looks right at the viewer in a reserved but agreeable way.<sup>18</sup> Steen’s description of her bearing and of her exquisite costume rivals Gerard ter Borch’s observation in contemporary works. It is also noteworthy that Steen, who gave “households” his own bad name and who saw fraud and farce in all levels of society, suggests character and sincerity in each of the figures depicted here. Similar qualities were achieved by the artist in his more lighthearted portrait of a rich young girl attended by two servants, *The Poultry Yard* of 1660 (Mauritshuis, The Hague).<sup>19</sup>

WL

1. See the plan showing the location of Steen’s brewery and of this (imaginary) house in Bok 1996–97, p. 29, figs. 2.1, 2.2. The sitter’s house was evidently located

by referring to the buildings depicted in the left background, which required leaving the nearest bridge and the apparent distance of the Oude Kerk out of consideration.

2. According to Bok (1996–97, pp. 29, 35–36, nn. 78–82), Steen leased the brewery at 74 Oude Delft from Dirck Jorisz van Adrichem (ca. 1590–after 1664), who continued to live next door. It might be wondered whether Steen’s sitter (who was obviously younger than Van Adrichem in 1655) was also a wealthy brewer, as were so many leading citizens of Delft. He was described as a burgomaster in the catalogue of the 1761 sale in Paris (where the use of the term was probably less reliable than it would have been in a Dutch inventory). The present writer has not been able to consider who was a burgomaster in Delft in about 1654–55. In Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 241, no. 878, the sitter is identified as Gerard Briell van Welhouck, who was a burgomaster of Delft in 1660. This is dismissed in later literature (for example, by Brown in London 1976, p. 82) because the portrait bears no resemblance to the only known one of Briell. Perhaps a more fruitful search, if surviving documentation makes it possible, would be to consider who was a regent of the Chamber of Charity in 1655, whether they lived on the Oude Delft, and whether they had a daughter of about the same age as the girl portrayed in the present picture.

3. As noted in Liedtke 2000, p. 158, the composition’s design recalls that of genre paintings dating from the late 1640s and early 1650s. These pictures often feature a receding wall on the left and a small doorway in the right background; in Isaack Koodijck’s *Empty Glass* of 1648 (location unknown; see Delft 1996, pp. 141–42, fig. 130), the door leads to a lower level. The resemblance between Steen’s bridge and these doorways (compare also De Hooch’s panel in Zurich, cat. no. 23) is one of the least obvious signs of his picture’s derivation from contemporary genre interiors (discussed further below).

4. On the last point, see Chapman’s entry in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, pp. 119, 121, n. 5.

5. See Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 3, under no. 1356.

6. Compare also Rembrandt’s professional portraits of Jan Rijcksen (“the Shipbuilder”) and of the preacher Cornelis Anso, each with his wife (both discussed in Berlin, Amsterdam, London 1991–92, under no. 33).

7. On this point, see D. Smith 1990, p. 167.

8. See Blankert’s reconstruction in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, nos. 48, 49.

9. See Fleischer 1989, pp. 34–37, and in this catalogue the discussion under cat. no. 27, n. 12.

10. MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 426, no. 2556, pl. 351.

11. See Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, pp. 119, 121, fig. 1.

12. See F. W. Robinson 1974, p. 32, figs. 45, 46, for the Metsu (Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Kassel) and the Maes (with the “heirs of Haab-Escher, Zurich,” according to Krempel 2000,

no. A38, fig. 53), both of which feature a prominent church tower in the background.

13. See Anthonie de Lorme’s view in the Laurenskerk, Rotterdam, dated 1653 (private collection, Hampshire; illustrated in Liedtke 1982a, fig. 63), where a begging boy approaches a distinguished couple on the left. The man (who looks at the viewer), his wife, and perhaps the couple next to them are portraits. In another Laurenskerk view by De Lorme, of 1656 (fig. 263 in this catalogue), the figure of a man (a portrait) is placed in the foreground, next to collection bags on sticks, and a poor old man to the left stands for the recipients of organized charity.

14. See S. D. Muller 1989, which is dismissed in D. Smith 1990, pp. 173–74, n. 44, and by De Jongh in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, pp. 40–41.

15. Schama 1987, p. 575; considered “an even more fanciful reading” than Muller’s by De Jongh in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, pp. 40–41.

16. Westermann 1995 and Westermann 1997, chap. 6.

17. Chapman in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, p. 121, following Sutton 1980a, pp. 24–25.

18. See the large color detail in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, p. 38.

19. Ibid., no. 12; see also no. 8 for another family portrait set at a front door, *The Leiden Baker Arend Oostwaert and His Wife Catharina Keyzerswaert* of about 1658 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 241, no. 878; Martin 1954, pp. 33–34; London 1976, no. 103; L. de Vries 1976, no. 27; L. de Vries 1977, p. 39; K. Braun 1980, no. 78; Montias 1982, p. 81; Washington 1985–86, no. 294; Schama 1987, pp. 573–75; D. Smith 1988, pp. 54–56; S. D. Muller 1989; D. Smith 1990, pp. 165–67; Westermann 1995, pp. 308, 313–15, 320, 322, 323, 324, n. 106; Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 103–6; Chapman in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, no. 7; De Jongh in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, pp. 40–41; Westermann 1997, pp. 253, 263–65, 270, 271, 275, n. 83; Vinken 1998; Liedtke 2000, p. 158.

EXHIBITED: London 1882, no. 238; London 1911, no. 95; Rotterdam 1935, no. 78a; London 1952–53, no. 554; Aberystwyth, Cardiff, Swansea 1958, no. 4; The Hague 1958–59, no. 7; London 1976, no. 103; Washington 1985–86, no. 294; Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, no. 7 (shown in Amsterdam only).

EX COLL.: Comte de Vence (sold Paris, February 9–17, 1761, no. 109); Engelbert Michael Engelberts and Jan Tersteeg (sold Amsterdam, June 13, 1808, no. 142, for 75 guilders to Nieuwenhuys); Domert (sold London, 1811, for 88 pounds to Charleson); Alexis Delahante (sold London, June 2, 1814, no. 18); [Christianus Johannes Nieuwenhuys, London]; bought from him by Colonel Edward Gordon Douglas Pennant, 1st Baron Penrhyn, Penrhyn Castle, Wales; by descent to the present owner.

## HARMEN STEENWYCK

Delft 1612–1656 Delft?

*Harmen Steenwyck was born in Delft in 1612, the son of Evert Harmensz (d. 1654), a maker of spectacles, who had come to Delft in the 1590s from the town of Steenwyck, in Overijssel. Evert became a citizen of Delft in 1611. Harmen's brother, Pieter, was born about 1615. The family also had two daughters, Willempgen and Sara.*

*In 1628 Harmen moved to Leiden in order to receive training from his uncle, the still-life painter David Bailly (1584?–1657). One document indicates that Harmen stayed with Bailly for about five years.<sup>1</sup> On November 16 or 18, 1636, he registered with the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft as master.<sup>2</sup> His brother, Pieter, who had also trained with their uncle in Leiden, entered the guild in Delft on November 10, 1642. Two years later Pieter became a member of the guild in Leiden, however, and between 1652 and 1654 he worked in The Hague. Harmen is mentioned in an attestation dated July 13, 1637, as a schutter, or militiaman, in the Delft civic guard.<sup>3</sup> Harmen is also documented in Delft in 1644. In 1654 he traveled to East India (modern Indonesia), but returned the following year. He is last recorded in Delft on January 6, 1656.<sup>4</sup>*

A.R.

1. Bredius 1890a, p. 146, quoting a document from Leiden dated April 24, 1660.

2. Obreen 1877–90, vol. 1, p. 32, gives November 16 as the date, while Montias 1982, p. 340, lists it as November 18.

3. Montias 1982, p. 160. Steenwyck's occupation of this public office has led Montias to conclude that he must have been a Calvinist.

4. This biography relies largely on information given in Bredius 1890a, pp. 143–48, and in Montias 1982.

### 59. *Still Life: An Allegory of the Vanities of Human Life*

ca. 1640

Oil on wood, 15½ x 20 in. (39.2 x 50.7 cm)

Signed at right: H. Steenwyck

The National Gallery, London

The sharp beam of light emanating from the upper left draws the viewer's attention to the human skull placed in the center of this still life. Surrounded by an array of objects, it rests on a recorder with an incised letter A. To the right of the skull are two books and the bell of a shawm. On top of the wooden box behind the shawm stands a large earthenware jug with a piece of rope threaded through its handles. Visible behind the skull are a Japanese sword with a scabbard inlaid with mother-of-pearl, a recently extinguished oil lamp giving off a wisp of smoke, and part of a lute or theorbo. To the left of the skull are a watch and, closer to the edge of the table, a seashell, which has been identified as a *Turbo sarmaticus*, or turbo shell.<sup>1</sup> The pinkish rose and blue pieces of cloth add color accents to the picture. The composition is dominated by two intersecting diagonals formed by the beam of light and the Japanese sword.

Steenwyck has placed great emphasis on the tactile qualities of the objects depicted. The surface textures of the earthenware, paper, bone, wood, metal, and shell are rendered and juxtaposed (the rough rope, for example, against the smooth yet slightly uneven earthenware surface of the jug) with a high degree of realism.<sup>2</sup> Another striking feature of the painting is the rather harsh lighting. It both balances the composition and defines the shapes and three-dimensionality of the objects. As Walter Liedtke observes in chapter 3, the lighting remains "largely in service to solid forms," rather than infusing the picture with an atmospheric quality. The polished and somewhat airless character of the painting

may owe a debt to Balthasar van der Ast's work from the 1630s on. Thus, by and large Steenwyck cannot be classified as a typical Delft painter. His works reveal not only affinities with the Leiden tradition of *vanitas* painting but also influences from other artistic centers in the Netherlands.<sup>3</sup>

The prominence of the skull, together with the "normal array of *vanitas* objects," such as the watch and extinguished oil lamp, suggests that the painting is what has traditionally been labeled a *vanitas* still life.<sup>4</sup> Proceeding from Ecclesiastes 1:2—"Vanitas vanitatum . . . et omnia vanitas" (Vanity of vanities . . . all is vanity)—*vanitas* still lifes remind the viewer of the transience of human life and of the ultimate futility of all human endeavors and worldly possessions, which here are represented by the books (knowledge), the musical instruments (pleasure), the sword (power and wealth), and the seashell (wealth). The skull, of course, refers directly to death.

Yet the elements in the painting may also be interpreted in other ways. Skulls were study objects for scientists, as well as desirable additions to collections of *naturalia*, and their connotations may therefore be more complex.<sup>5</sup> Seashells, likewise, are ambiguous objects. Although they were traditional symbols of vanity and luxury, seashells in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were highly sought-after collector's items. Not only were they admired for their immense beauty, intricate forms, and rich colors and patterns; they were also appreciated as study objects and often formed part of collections of *naturalia*. Seashells' inclusion in paintings was a celebration of their exoticism and visual appeal.<sup>6</sup> The Japanese sword, besides being perceived as a symbol of wealth or military prowess, would certainly have been recognized as a collector's item. In the seventeenth century all sorts of weapons were imported from East and Southeast Asia and sold by Amsterdam dealers to collectors in the Netherlands and abroad.<sup>7</sup> Several artists, including Rembrandt, are said to have had them in their collections.<sup>8</sup> Like



the sword and the shell, the books and the musical instruments may refer to an active mind engaged in the assiduous pursuit of activities involving them. In this context the timepiece and skull would be reminders to use one's limited time well.<sup>9</sup> In addition to its *vanitas* connotations, therefore, the picture may instruct the viewer that a diligent and active life on earth may improve one's character and that one may even attain a degree of immortality through one's accomplishments.

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1. Koozin 1990, p. 77.

2. In chap. 3 of this catalogue Walter Liedtke connects this attention to tactile qualities with the work of

other still-life painters from the Netherlands, such as Cornelis Delff from Delft, Gerard Dou and Jan Lievens from Leiden, the Haarlem monochromists, and Jan den Uyl in Amsterdam.

3. See chap. 3, pp. 93–95.

4. Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 185.

5. Chong in *ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

6. For more on the appreciation and collecting of sea-shells in seventeenth-century Holland, see the discussion under cat. no. 4.

7. Amsterdam 1992b, nos. 252, 330.

8. For Rembrandt's collection of weapons from Indonesia and elsewhere, see the transcription of the artist's inventory of 1656 in Strauss and Van der Meulen 1979, pp. 349–88 (doc. no. 1656/12), especially nos. 312, 313, 315, 319, 320, 339.

9. Chong in Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 16; for further examples, see nos. 15, 16, 28, and *Allegory on the Death of Admiral Maerten Harpertsz. Tromp*, by

Pieter Steenwyck (Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden), on p. 14, fig. 5, which is a glorification of the life and accomplishments of a known individual. On the *Allegory*, see also Osaka 2000, no. 16, which gives a date of about 1656, the most plausible proposed thus far.

REFERENCES: Bauch 1960, p. 249; London 1976, no. 110; Grimm 1988, pp. 124–25; Koozin 1990, pp. iv, 77–78; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 434–35, no. 1256; Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, no. 36.

EXHIBITED: Brussels 1882, no. 237; London 1976, no. 110; Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, no. 36.

EX COLL.: Sir John Savile Lumley (later Baron Savile), by 1882; presented by him in 1888 to The National Gallery, London (1256).



## JACOB VAN VELSEN

Delft ca. 1597–1656 Amsterdam

Almost nothing is known about the early part of Jacob van Velsen's life. He was the son of a certain Jan Jacobsz van Velsen and Janntegen Jansdr van der Hooch and was born about 1597.<sup>1</sup> He is next mentioned on April 18, 1625, when he enrolled in the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft. Apparently his family was so poor that his mother had to pay in three installments the registration fee of 6 guilders and the first annual membership fee of 3 guilders.<sup>2</sup> It has often been speculated that Van Velsen was the pupil of Anthonie Palamedesz, but there is no documentary evidence of it. He never needed to earn a living from his painting, however. On September 26, 1626, only a year after he had entered the guild, he married Geertgen Jans Crol, the wealthy Catholic widow of Joost Hesemansz from Delft.

The artist spent his entire life in Delft but died in Amsterdam, perhaps while on a journey, on September 16, 1656. He was buried at great expense in Delft a short while later. An

enormous inventory of his possessions, drawn up at his death, reveals the family's considerable wealth.<sup>3</sup> Besides several houses in Delft, on the Oude Langendijk and on the Oude Delft, they owned houses and estates outside the city. The inventory of the house where Van Velsen lived includes about 150 paintings (unfortunately, not identified by artist), numerous pieces of Chinese porcelain, and sizable collections of curiosities and naturalia. According to a prenuptial agreement, the property was to be divided among Van Velsen's widow, his five children, and other members of the family.

AR

1. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 7, p. 239, and Montias 1982, p. 343, mention a notarial document dated October 3, 1617, in which "Jacob Jansz. schilder [painter]," who signs himself "Jacob Jansz. Velss," is said to be twenty years old.

2. This and most of what follows are based on Bredius 1915–22, vol. 3, pp. 875–86, vol. 7, pp. 239–40, and Montias 1982, pp. 157, 339.

3. For a detailed account of the inventory, dated December 9, 1656, see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 3, pp. 877–85. The inventory also states the cost of Van Velsen's burial: 737 guilders.

### 60. *A Musical Party*

1631

Oil on wood, 15¼ x 22 in. (40 x 55.8 cm)

Signed upper right: J v Velsen. 1631 . . .

The National Gallery, London

Jacob van Velsen's signature on this painting was discovered about 1895, when the false signature of Anthonie Palamedesz was removed.<sup>1</sup> The painting was then called "Le Musicien espagnol" (The Spanish Musician) — the result of confusion with another picture by Van Velsen, which bore that title on an engraving after it by François-Antoine Aveline (1727–1780).<sup>2</sup> In the center an elegantly dressed group of two men and a woman make music. The man on the right plays the violin and looks at the woman, who is beating time. She and the man next to her are singing from a score. To the right of the group is a table laid with plates, a knife, a glass, a silver jug, and, in the center, a decorated meat pie. On the floor before the table is a large wine cooler. Behind the table a boy waves a glass at the central group while a maid looks on. In the left corner, cast in shadow, a man stands casually leaning on a chair and smoking a pipe. The scene is set in a simple interior with a stone floor and plain, light gray walls.

It is not surprising that the picture passed for a work by Van Velsen's fellow townsman Anthonie Palamedesz. The subject matter, the grouping and attire of the figures, and the relatively sparse interior of Anthonie's early pictures — for example, *Company Dining and Making Music* (cat. no. 47) and *Merry Company in an Interior* (fig. 83) — seem comparable to those in Van Velsen's work. Upon closer inspection, however, considerable differences become apparent. For instance, Van Velsen's bright light, streaming in from a hidden source on the left, sets the sumptuous and colorful clothing of the music makers aglow, while Anthonie's more restrained palette results in a more muted tonality overall.



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More telling comparisons may be drawn with the elegant companies by the Haarlem painter Dirck Hals (1591–1656), the Amsterdamers Pieter Codde (1599–1678) and Willem Duyster (1598/99–1635), and Jacob Duck (ca. 1600–1667) and Gerard van Honthorst (1590–1656) in Utrecht. Although Hals's figures are usually set in ostentatious interiors and are more loosely drawn, their costumes are as vibrantly colored as those worn by Van Velsen's protagonists.<sup>3</sup> Van Velsen's focus on a small group of more tightly drawn figures finds its antecedents in the works of Codde and Duyster. In particular, Duyster's works from the second half of the 1620s, such as *Two Men Playing Trictrac, with a Woman Scoring* (fig. 273) and *Soldiers beside a Fireplace*, feature strong local colors and sharp lighting.<sup>4</sup> The



Fig. 273. Willem Duyster, *Two Men Playing Trictrac, with a Woman Scoring*, ca. 1625–30. Oil on wood, 16 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 26 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (41 x 67.6 cm). The National Gallery, London

quiet or even gloomy mood of Duyster's parties, which "barely qualify as merry companies," also seems to have made an impression upon Van Velsen.<sup>5</sup> Van Velsen must have known some painters from Utrecht as well, however. The bright lighting, simple settings, fine clothing, and still-life elements of Duck's paintings, although more restrained in palette (with tones of grays, browns, and blacks and a few muted color accents), have close parallels in Van Velsen's work.<sup>6</sup> Finally, the striking, silhouetted smoker in the foreground, who "anchors the composition" and serves as a repoussoir to emphasize the illusion of spatial depth, recalls the Utrecht Caravaggists and Van Honthorst, in particular.<sup>7</sup> While Van Velsen's restrained atmosphere and his use of space and light may relate his oeuvre to works by Vermeer and other Delft artists, his work must principally be considered in the broader context of genre painting throughout the Netherlands. An attentive observer, he amalgamated various influences in order to create his own approach.

The present picture was painted during a time when pictures of merry companies drinking, making music, dancing, and playing games began to proliferate in the Netherlands. The extent to which these scenes contain symbolic allusions and moralizing warnings against indolence and intemperance has been much debated. Music making among men and women is often interpreted either as idle pleasure or as a reference to courtship and the harmony of love. Yet it would be difficult to read overt erotic tension into the exchange between the woman and the violinist in the

present picture. She beats the rhythm so that the violin and the singing may keep apace. At most, this may be an oblique reference to the correspondence of souls that forms the basis of any relationship between man and woman.

Other elements in the painting do clearly refer, however, to sensual pleasures and their potential pitfalls. The gesture of the boy waving the glass draws the music makers'—and the viewer's—attention to the wine in the wine cooler. The potentially deleterious effects of wine and its excessive consumption were the subject of many Dutch paintings of the period (see also cat. nos. 7, 24, 25, 29, 70). Smoking was likewise often regarded with suspicion. Although earlier in the century tobacco was valued for its medicinal properties, smoking became associated with deviant social behavior. It was traditionally, albeit not exclusively, an activity of the lower classes of society, and its narcotic, or stupefying, effects had been known since the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Van Velsen seems symbolically to have flanked the musicians with instruments of perdition. Should they decide to indulge in the pleasures offered by the wine and the tobacco—so the warning goes—their seemingly innocent relationship may become irrevocably corrupted.<sup>9</sup>

AR

1. See Schleinitz 1895, p. 248. The article mentions the then-recent cleaning and the identification of Van Velsen's signature by Dr. Jean Paul Richter, the cataloguer of the Doetsch collection for the 1895 Christie's, London, sale.
2. Richter assumed that the Aveline engraving had been made after the present picture, when in fact it was

made after a picture, signed and dated 1631, showing a woman with a lute accompanying a singing man. In 1967 the picture was in the James A. Murnaghan collection, Dublin; see MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 464, n. 3.

3. Compare, for example, Dirck Hals, *Party at a Table* (1626; National Gallery, London, inv. no. 1074).
4. *Soldiers beside a Fireplace* (ca. 1628–32; Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, inv. no. 445). Another painting by Van Velsen whose figures seem closely related to Duyster's is *Merry Company*, signed and dated 1633 (fig. 88 here); see Somov 1895, p. 393, no. 1695. For an example by Pieter Codde, see *Guardroom Scene* (1630s; Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe), illustrated in Salomon 1998a, fig. 12.
5. Sutton in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. XXXIII.
6. See, for example, Salomon 1998a, pls. II, III, V, figs. 1, 67, 106. The only dated picture among these is fig. 1 (present location unknown), which is signed and dated 1628.
7. For examples, compare Judson and Ekkart 1999, nos. 56, 274, 287, 288, 292. For a comparable composition and use of a repoussoir figure by Pieter Potter (1597/1601–1653), the father of Paulus Potter, see his *Musical Company of 1630* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A3338).
8. For a more detailed account of the role of tobacco smoking in seventeenth-century Holland, see Gaskell 1987.
9. Jacob Duck used a similar combination of smoking and music making in a straightforward *Brothel Scene* that was sold at Christie's, London, July 7, 2000, no. 16; see Salomon 1998a, no. 52.

REFERENCES: Newcastle, Bolton, Lincoln, Southampton, London 1978–79, no. 7; MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 464, no. 2575.

EXHIBITED: London 1904, no. 324; Newcastle, Bolton, Lincoln, Southampton, London 1978–79, no. 7.

EX COLL.: Henry Doetsch, London, ca. 1875–95 (sold, Christie's, London, June 22, 24–25, 1895, no. 380); C. Fairfax Murray; George Salting; bequeathed by him in 1910 to The National Gallery, London (2575).

# JOHANNES VERKOLJE

Amsterdam 1650–1693 Delft

Johannes Verkolje was born in Amsterdam on February 9, 1650, the son of the locksmith Benjamin Verkolje.<sup>1</sup> According to Arnold Houbraken, the young artist was a pupil of Jan Andries Lievens (1644–1680), in whose studio he completed a number of unfinished mythological paintings by Gerrit Pietersz van Zijl.<sup>2</sup> Little else is known about Verkolje's activities in Amsterdam. In 1672 he left his hometown to settle in Delft, most likely motivated by his engagement to the Delft resident Judith Voorheul, whom he would wed in October of that year. It has long been assumed that the couple eventually had five children: three daughters, of whom only Maria (b. 1674) and Johanna (b. 1687) are known by name, and two sons, Nicolaes (1673–1746) and Johannes (1683–1760), who were also to become painters under the tutelage of their father. However, records in the Delft municipal archives indicate that the couple had two

more sons, one named Johannes, who was born in 1679 and died one year later,<sup>3</sup> and the other named Benjamin, who was born in 1684.<sup>4</sup> On June 19, 1673, Verkolje entered the Guild of Saint Luke in Delft, in which he was to serve as headman between 1677 and 1688.<sup>5</sup> He was buried in Delft on May 8, 1693. Besides his sons, Verkolje taught the painters Albertus van der Burch (b. 1672), Joan van der Spriet (active about 1700), Thomas van der Wilt (1659–1733), and Willem Verschuuring (1657–1715).

A.R.

1. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 335, and Irene Haberland in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 32, pp. 258–59.
2. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 3, pp. 222–25.
3. Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB (registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials) 58, Doopboek (Baptisms) Nieuwe Kerk, fol. 236, and DTB 43, Begraafboek (Burials) Oude en Nieuwe Kerk (entry for April 22, 1680).
4. Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB 59, Doopboek Nieuwe Kerk, fol. 22.
5. Montias 1982, pp. 347, 374.

## 61. Portrait of Johan de la Faille

## 62. Portrait of Margaretha Delff, Wife of Johan de la Faille

1674

Each, oil on copper, 12 x 16¼ in.  
(30.4 x 41.3 cm)

Signed and dated lower left, on *Portrait of Margaretha Delff*: I. VERKOLIE/1674

The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford,  
The Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary Catlin  
Sumner Collection Fund

In addition to highly finished genre scenes (see cat. no. 63) and mythological subjects Johannes Verkolje painted equally accomplished portraits.<sup>1</sup> Two examples of the latter are included in this exhibition. They are pendants on copper depicting Johan Bernardsz de la Faille (1626–1713) and his wife, Margaretha Delff (1647–1715).<sup>2</sup> Johan was the son of Bernard Bernardsz de la Faille, who was in the service of the Prince of Orange, first as steward of his estates in Klundert (in northern Brabant) and subsequently as the prince's accountant and financial adviser. His mother, Elisabeth Camerling, was the daughter of Johan Camerling (1576–1640), a prominent Delft citizen, who was not only the town's Pensionary (chief magistrate) but also served at one point as ambassador to England.<sup>3</sup> It is generally assumed that Johan's family descended from the Flemish noble merchant family Della Faille, albeit not from the branch that had emigrated to the northern Netherlands in the late sixteenth century.<sup>4</sup> However, a comprehensive study of the Della Failles has shown that this connection is based on a dubious genealogy that Johan himself commissioned in 1679.<sup>5</sup> This, of course, suggests that Johan may have deliberately attempted to elevate his social position by inventing an illustrious noble lineage.<sup>6</sup>

Margaretha Delff (1647–1715) was one of five daughters of the portrait painter Jacob Willemsz Delff the Younger (1619–1661) and Anna van Hoogenhouck (d. 1678).<sup>7</sup> Delff had held the municipal offices of councillor and

harbormaster, and the family lived for a while on the fashionable Oude Delft. Margaretha became Johan de la Faille's second wife in 1671<sup>8</sup> and bore him seven children.<sup>9</sup> Considering the prominent background of Johan's father and Margaretha's family, it is not surprising that Johan himself became an important Delft citizen and held several public offices. In rapid succession he served as city councillor in 1675, alderman in 1678, and *schout* (bailiff) in 1680, a post he held until the end of his life. He was given a grand funeral befitting his station on October 14, 1713, with no fewer than eighteen pallbearers and a bearer of the family's coat of arms.

Verkolje's two full-length portraits leave no doubt about the couple's social position and aspirations. Johan, firmly placed in the center of the picture with his left arm akimbo, is wearing a long brown coat with short sleeves and tall boots (with spurs), a costume typically worn for hunting.<sup>10</sup> Moreover he is holding a horsewhip in his right hand, and on the ground there are a powder horn and a flintlock gun.<sup>11</sup> To the right a black servant, respectfully looking up at his master, is restraining two hunting dogs. In the background one can make out a building surrounded by trees (possibly De la Faille's country estate?), in front of which other servants are tending to the sitter's horse and greyhound. In short, Johan de la Faille presents himself as a hunter, a privilege strictly reserved in seventeenth-century Holland to the aristocracy and high officers of the state.<sup>12</sup> Those who did not have the right to hunt were not even permitted to own "noble" hunting dogs such as greyhounds. During the second half of the seventeenth century, however, wealthy Dutchmen began to emulate the life-style of aristocrats. Adopting their pursuits and fashions, these burghers began to acquire country estates, and some also managed to secure titles (*burgerlijke rechten*) that included limited hunting privileges.<sup>13</sup> The fashionable portrait of Johan de la Faille — not to mention his probably embellished genealogy — most likely

reflect his ambition to enter the socially exclusive world of Holland's aristocracy.<sup>14</sup>

Margaretha Delff is shown in front of a garden pavilion with large columns and elegant draperies. In the background the view opens toward a terrace with a balustrade decorated with a lion sculpture, and beyond that a formal garden complete with a fountain. Between the columns on the left one can vaguely make out the corner of a large country house. In her portrait, too, the surroundings reflect the aristocratic ideal to which the family was aspiring. The sitter's attire represents a mixture of the contemporary and the idealized. On the one hand, the costly low-cut dress of white satin has been simplified in an attempt to give it an "antique" or classical look.<sup>15</sup> The striped underskirt and the hairstyle, on the other hand, were at the height of fashion around the time when the portrait was painted. The small spirited dog at Margaretha's feet may be interpreted as an allusion to both eroticism and marital fidelity.<sup>16</sup> It has also been suggested that the setting represents the Garden of Love, "an appropriate reference for a marital portrait."<sup>17</sup> Yet, the formal character of the two paintings suppresses any indication that the couple's relationship is based on intimacy or mutual affection.<sup>18</sup> Instead they emulate the traditional reserve and strong role characterization of aristocratic portraiture.

The exceptionally lavish period frames further underscore the precious quality of the pictures and define the roles of the sitters.<sup>19</sup> The frame of Johan's portrait makes direct reference to his activity as a hunter. At the top a putto is riding on a deer while, below, three putti are holding down a fierce-looking wild animal. At the sides putti are playing with hunting nets, guns, spears, poles, and game bags.<sup>20</sup> The frame of Margaretha's portrait is full of references to love and beauty: here the putti are appropriately surrounded by Cupid's arrows, flowers, jewels, brushes, combs, and looking glasses. Gilded frames of this elaborate type were often used for mirrors rather than pictures.<sup>21</sup>

Since Delft did not have a strong portrait tradition, Verkolje had to look outside the city for inspiration; as a result, his portraits could just as easily be said to exemplify the current style in The Hague or in Amsterdam as that in Delft.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, his small-scale, full-length portraits continue the tradition first established in the 1640s by Gerard ter Borch (1617–1681) — whose patrician subjects are, however, usually dressed in sober attire and silhouetted against plain, light grayish backgrounds.<sup>23</sup> A more immediate influence on Verkolje was the work of Caspar Netscher (1639–1684). This artist, who had registered with the guild in The Hague in 1662 after an apprenticeship with Ter Borch and a trip to France, developed portrait painting as his main interest in the years after 1667.<sup>24</sup> It has been suggested that his style derives from the elegant international court style of Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), which had been taken up in The Hague by Jan de Baen (1633–1702), Adriaen Hanneman (ca. 1604–1671), and Jan Mijtens (ca. 1614–1670).<sup>25</sup> However, Netscher chose smaller formats than did his colleagues in The Hague, who painted life-size portraits. Netscher's paintings are usually highly finished and include elegant details such as draperies, sculptures, and background views of fountains and parks (fig. 274). From the 1670s until his death he was the most sought-after portrait painter in The Hague. It is not surprising that Verkolje adopted Netscher's manner for his own portraits. His wealthy clients in Delft, whose taste had always been in tune with that of the court and patricians in The Hague, undoubtedly would have admired this aristocratic style.

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1. An example of a mythological painting by Verkolje is *Dido and Aeneas* (Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 71.PA.66). For other portraits by the artist, see chap. 3, n. 46.

2. Some of this information on the sitters comes from a letter by F. G. L. O. van Kretschmar of the Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague, dated September 30, 1983, in the curatorial file of the Wadsworth Athenaeum; see also Diane Wolfthal in Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague 1998–99, p. 300. For further background on the De la Faille family, see also









Fig. 274. Caspar Netscher, *Portrait of a Woman with a Page*, 1670. Oil on canvas, 21 x 17 in. (53.3 x 43.2 cm). Otto Naumann, Ltd., New York

Vorsterman van Oijen 1885, pp. 269–71; Van der Lely 1915; and (most important) Schmitz 1965.

3. The older couple were married on February 25, 1618. Bernard is described as from The Hague in the records of the Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB (registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials) 5, Trouwboek (Marriages) Nederduitse-Gereformeerde Gemeente (entry for February 25, 1618).

4. Kooijmans 1997, pp. 9–13.

5. Schmitz 1965, vol. 1. The genealogy was erected by the Premier Roy d'Arme (First Officer of Arms) of the Netherlands and Brabant, Pierre-Albert de Launay, on May 10, 1679 ("Généalogie de la noble et très ancienne famille della Faille, faite à la Réquisition du Seigneur Jean [Johan] de la Faille, Ecuyer [squire], Echevin [alderman] de la ville de Delft en Hollande"; Schmitz 1965, vol. 1, p. 5, n. 1). In the genealogy De Launay wrongly connects the Flemish Della Failles with a Neapolitan family originally from Constantinople. None of the surviving family documents, with the exception of two from De Launay's own day, mentions any Italian ancestors (Schmitz 1965, vol. 1, pp. 10–13). In fact, the earliest name in the genealogy that can be identified is that of a Fleming, Segher van der Faegle (ca. 1390–ca. 1444). De Launay connects Johan to the De la Failles through his grandfather Bernard della Faille, who is supposed to have been the sixth child of Bernard della Faille (1513–1573) and Isabella [de] Courseilles. However, there is no documentary evidence that the couple had a son by that name (Schmitz 1965, vol. 1, p. 140). Vorsterman van Oijen (1885, p. 269) also expressed doubts regarding this aspect of the lineage. Schmitz concludes that De Launay's genealogy is "fantasiste" (1965, vol. 1, p. 140). Evidently it was not uncommon at the time for officers of arms to falsify genealogies (vol. 1, p. 5).

6. Surviving documents show that Johan de la Faille did not have an aristocratic title, though he may have enjoyed the privileges (*heerlijke rechten*) of a country squire.

7. Margaretha Delff was the great-granddaughter of the portrait painter Jacob Willemsz Delff (ca. 1550–1601; see fig. 43), not his daughter, as has been erroneously stated elsewhere (Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague 1998–99, p. 300). She was also the great-granddaughter of the portrait painter Michiel van Miereveld, with whom her father had trained. For a full genealogy of the Delff family, see Van Riemsdijk 1894, p. 237; Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 9 (1913), pp. 14–17; and Rudolf E. O. Ekkart in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 8, pp. 664–65.

8. In the archival record Johan is referred to as a widower; Gemeentearchief, Delft, DTB (registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials) 131, Ondertrouwboeken Gerecht (Book of Marriage Licenses of the Court; entry for January 10, 1671). Johan's first wife was Anna Verschelle.

9. Johan Bernard (1672–1729), Jacob (1673–1725?), Cornelis (1674–1681?), Abraham (1676–1729), Elisabeth (1678–1745), Anna Margaretha (b. 1679), and Jacoba (b. 1681).

10. I am grateful to Maricke de Winkel for information on the dress of the sitters.

11. On these objects, see the letter of October 6, 1983, by P. Tuijn of the Jachtmuseum, Doorwerth, the Netherlands, in the curatorial file of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford.

12. For more information on hunting in seventeenth-century Holland, see Sullivan 1984, pp. 34–40.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

14. Ekkart 1995, p. 194.

15. Dresses of the period were usually more richly adorned with lace and ribbons. This simplified clothing style had been introduced by Anthony van Dyck in his portraits. For more information on costume, see Groeneweg 1997 and Gordenker 1998.

16. D. Smith 1982, p. 84.

17. Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague 1998–99, p. 300.

18. D. Smith 1982, p. 27.

19. Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague 1998–99, p. 303. The pictures are reproduced with their frames in *ibid.*, under no. 60.

20. Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, p. 337, under no. 85. Hunting accoutrements were a "favourite decorative motif for male portrait frames."

21. *Ibid.*

22. See chap. 3, p. 53.

23. See, for example, portraits illustrated in Münster, The Hague 1974, nos. 5a, b, and 36a, b. In the 1660s Ter Borch's portraits became somewhat more lavish: see *Portrait of a Young Man* and *Portrait of Hermanna Cruis* (both 1660s; National Gallery, London, inv. nos. 1399, 4596). See also Alison McNeil Kettering in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 4, pp. 380–82.

24. For information on Netscher, see Wieseman 1991; G. Jansen in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 22, pp. 915–96; and Vermeeren in The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 218–23.

25. The direct influence of portraitists in The Hague on Netscher (Wieseman 1991, pp. 124, 128–30, and G. Jansen in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 22, p. 915) is doubted by Vermeeren (The Hague 1998–99a, p. 221), who identifies French painting as the artist's main source of inspiration, albeit without giving any specific examples.

REFERENCES: Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, p. 337, under no. 85 (*Portrait of Johan de la Faille*);

Diane Wolfthal in Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague 1998–99, no. 60 (the pair).

EXHIBITED: Phoenix, Kansas City, The Hague, 1998–99, no. 60 (the pair).

EX COLL.: *Portrait of Johan de la Faille* was acquired in 1982 from the dealer Edward Speelman, London, by the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (1982.36); its pendant was acquired in 1983 from Douwes Fine Art, Amsterdam, by the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford (1983.749).

## 63. *The Messenger*

1674

Oil on canvas, 23¼ x 21¼ in. (59 x 53.5 cm)

Signed and dated: I. Verkolje 1674

Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen  
Mauritshuis, The Hague

This sophisticated genre scene—widely considered to be Verkolje's masterpiece—represents one of the last high points of Delft painting in the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> By 1674 the city was no longer an important artistic center, since most of the prominent artists associated with the Delft school had either died or moved away.<sup>2</sup> The only painters of significance Verkolje had encountered upon his arrival two years earlier were Johannes Vermeer, Hendrick van Vliet, and Cornelis de Man, and both Vermeer and Van Vliet died in 1675. Verkolje, a painter of mythological subjects, genre scenes, and portraits, has thus been credited with having been single-handedly responsible for "a sort of Indian summer in Delft painting."<sup>3</sup>

In the present picture the artist shows a grand domestic interior with a large painting on the back wall, an overdoor, ceiling decorations in the hall beyond, and expensive furniture. A stylish couple who are obviously in the middle of a game of trictrac, or backgammon, have just been interrupted by a messenger delivering a letter. The anxious and bewildered expression on the young officer's face and his companion's apprehension suggest that the content of the missive is less than welcome. The dog, apparently curious about the source of the disturbance, has come out from under the table.

Despite clues concealed in several of the picture's details, a number of scholars have





remained uncertain about the content of the letter.<sup>4</sup> An indication that the couple's domestic comfort and enjoyment are about to end is given by the game they are playing. In the seventeenth century trictrac, also known as *verkeerspel* (literally, "game of change"), was a symbol of unpredictable and sudden reversals of fortune. In his painting known as *Easy Come, Easy Go* (*Soo Gewonne, soo Verleert*), Jan Steen used the game of trictrac in combination with a figure of Fortune in order to make the point.<sup>5</sup> In earlier times the present painting was known by a similar title, based on the motto of the Dutch poet Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585–1618), *'T kan verkeren* (Things can change), which seems to capture the essence of the scene. The nature of what fate has in store for the couple becomes even clearer when we consider the painting behind them. It shows an episode from a tale in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*,<sup>6</sup> in which Adonis, paramour of the goddess Venus, went out in spite of her warnings to hunt a wild boar, which in fact had been sent by the jealous god Mars. The painting within Verkolje's painting depicts the final moment of the story, when Venus discovers her dead lover after he had been killed by the boar. The implications are obvious.<sup>7</sup> The letter delivered by the messenger calls the dashing young officer into the field, where he may suffer the fate of Adonis and leave the young woman bereaved, like Venus.<sup>8</sup> The allusion in this picture to war and its uncertainty may indirectly reflect the Dutch conflict with the French between 1672 and 1673 and the English between 1672 and 1674.<sup>9</sup>

The delivery of unwelcome news that would change people's lives was evidently a popular theme among seventeenth-century Dutch painters. Both Gerard ter Borch and Pieter de Hooch painted scenes with similar

subject matter.<sup>10</sup> The elegant setting and the highly finished technique of Verkolje's painting — note the meticulous rendering of the woman's dazzling white satin dress and the costly objects on the table — bring to mind the works of Ter Borch, Gabriël Metsu, and Caspar Netscher — rather than the works of Delft's great genre painter Pieter de Hooch.<sup>11</sup> Under the influence of De Hooch and of Delft painting in general, Verkolje's palette grew lighter after 1672, but whereas De Hooch's paintings are notable for an accomplished treatment of light, atmospheric effects, and intricate spatial arrangements (see cat. nos. 30, 34),<sup>12</sup> in Verkolje's *The Messenger* sharp drawing and surface detail are the predominant features. To be sure, Verkolje's paintings must have been fully attuned to the taste of his day. They were widely appreciated and commanded very high prices.

AR

1. It may be the painting that Arnold Houbraken mentions in his account (1718–21, vol. 3, p. 224) of Verkolje's life: "The painting, in which a trumpeter enters, is painted with remarkable naturalism."
2. Carel Fabritius died in 1654; Gerard Houckgeest left town between 1651 and 1653; and Pieter de Hooch and Emanuel de Witte moved to Amsterdam in about 1660–61 and about 1652, respectively.
3. Delft 1996, p. 213.
4. Amsterdam 1976, no. 70; Broos 1987, p. 381; and Delft 1996, p. 214.
5. See Amsterdam 1976, p. 267, no. 70. For Willem Duyster's *Trictrac Players* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. A1427), see Amsterdam 1976, no. 22. Steen's *Easy Come, Easy Go* is in the collection of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (inv. no. 2527); see Lammertse 1998, no. 58.
6. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.519–59, 710–39. The *Metamorphoses*, or *Verander-Boecken*, as the book was also known in seventeenth-century Holland, had been published in the vernacular as early as 1538. Immensely popular, it provided numerous painters with subjects and eventually became known as the Painters' Bible. Karel van Mander had devoured a large portion of his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) to the interpretation of

the *Metamorphoses*; see Sluijter in Washington, Detroit, Amsterdam 1980–81, p. 55, and Sluijter 1986, pp. 312–21.

7. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 336.
8. The interpretation of the Venus and Adonis story put forward by Van Mander ("Wtelegghingh op den Metamorphosis," in Van Mander 1604, fols. 88r–88v), in which it is suggested that Adonis died as a result of his foolishness in disregarding Venus's advice, seems to have little bearing on the present painting, since the officer has no choice: his companion may urge him to defy the order, but he must join the other soldiers in the field, even if this will ultimately lead to his premature death. For a detailed discussion of the subject of Venus and Adonis in Dutch painting, see Sluijter 1986, pp. 225–42.
9. See also Liedtke 1982d, p. 181.
10. See Gerard ter Borch's *Unwelcome News* (1653; Mauritshuis, The Hague, inv. no. 176) and Pieter de Hooch's *The Bearer of Ill Tidings* (fig. 156 in this catalogue).
11. Delft 1996, p. 214. See also Verkolje's *Elegant Couple in an Interior* (1674), which was sold at Sotheby's, London, December 7, 1994, no. 18; see Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 115, and Delft 1996, p. 212, fig. 204.
12. Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 335, where works are cited in which Verkolje follows De Hooch more closely than here. A slightly earlier picture with a darker tonality by Verkolje is *Musical Company* (1673; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A721).

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1976, no. 70; Liedtke 1982d, pp. 180–81; Washington and other cities 1982–84, no. 38; Naumann in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, pp. 335–36; Hoetink et al. 1985, pp. 308–9, no. 95, p. 456, no. 865; Paris 1986, no. 52; Broos 1987, no. 64; Delft 1996, p. 214.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1976, no. 70; Washington and other cities 1982–84, no. 37 (Washington, Fort Worth, Chicago, Los Angeles), no. 38 (Toronto, New York, Tokyo); Paris 1986, no. 52; Delft 1996.

EX COLL.: Alfred de Rothschild; Victor de Rothschild (sold at Sotheby's, London, April 19–22, 1937, no. 19, as signed and dated 1678); acquired by S. and R. Rosenberg for £1,800; collection F. Mannheimer, Amsterdam 1937–42 (?); Sichergestellte Kunstwerke, ca. 1942–46; on loan to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague, from the Stichting Nederlands Kunstbezit, 1948–60; transferred to the Mauritshuis, 1960, by the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst (865).



## JOHANNES VERMEER

Delft 1632–1675 Delft

The son of Reynier Jansz Vermeer (ca. 1591–1652) and Digna Baltens (ca. 1595–1670), Vermeer was baptized in Delft on October 31, 1632. His father was a tailor's son from Delft who trained in Amsterdam as a *caffu* worker, or weaver of fine silks and satins. By the late 1620s, however, Reynier Jansz had established himself in Delft as an innkeeper, and in 1631 he registered in the painters' guild as an art dealer. In the spring of 1641 the family moved into the "Mechelen," an inn on the Markt. The debts assumed by Vermeer's father and his death in October 1652, fourteen months before the artist joined the guild (on December 29, 1653), probably prevented the painter from training with an important master in Delft or another city; as a widow's only son the young man must have helped his mother and older sister Gertruy (or Geertruijt; 1620–1670) run the inn. In any case, the identity of his teacher is unknown.<sup>1</sup>

On April 5, 1653, Vermeer married Catharina Bolnes (ca. 1631–1688), the daughter of a wealthy divorcee, Maria Thins (ca. 1593–1680). This required his conversion to Catholicism; the artist evidently did so with conviction and came to share in his mother-in-law's association with Jesuits in Delft. Vermeer and his wife probably moved into Maria Thins's house on the Oude Langendijk shortly after their marriage.<sup>2</sup> It was there that all or nearly all of Vermeer's pictures were painted and that his many children were born. When he was buried in the Oude Kerk on December 16, 1675,

the forty-three-year-old artist left his wife with eleven children born between about 1654 and 1674 (a few had died earlier).<sup>3</sup>

Between about 1657 and the early 1670s Vermeer appears to have enjoyed the support of a wealthy collector in Delft, Pieter Claesz van Ruijven (1624–1674).<sup>4</sup> As much as half of the artist's production may have been acquired by Van Ruijven, but other distinguished owners and admirers of his work are known. Vermeer's pictures were rare and expensive in his own time; about thirty-five survive and probably represent at least three-fourths of his actual production.<sup>5</sup> The artist was also a respected member of the guild; he was appointed headman in 1662, 1663, 1670, and 1671. However, despite several sources of income, including some activity as an art dealer, Vermeer and his wife suffered severe financial difficulties during the last few years of his life. He appears to have had no pupils or contemporary imitators.

W L

1. See chap. 5, p. 147, where recent conjectures that Vermeer trained in Utrecht and Amsterdam are considered implausible.

2. See chap. 5, p. 149, where the present writer questions the view that Vermeer was not readily accepted into Maria Thins's family (as maintained in Montias 1989, p. 132).

3. See Montias 1989, pp. 337 (doc. no. 357, recording Vermeer's burial, together with an infant who had been placed in the grave on June 27, 1673), 370–73 (for the family trees of Vermeer and his wife).

4. Ibid., chap. 13; see also chap. 5 in this catalogue, p. 151.

5. The known oeuvre may be surveyed at a glance in Osaka 2000, pp. 196–207, nos. 2–36.

### 64. *Diana and Her Companions*

ca. 1653–54

Oil on canvas, 38½ x 41¼ in. (97.8 x 104.6 cm)

Signed lower left, on the rock between the dog and the thistle: J VMeer [VM in monogram]

Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen  
Mauritshuis, The Hague

The painting was transformed by cleaning and conservation in 1999–2000, when it was discovered that the area of blue sky in the upper right corner, familiar from countless reproductions, was added in the nineteenth century (it is now covered over with foliage, approximating the picture's original appearance). The canvas was also trimmed in the past, especially on the right (by about 15 centimeters).<sup>1</sup> When Vermeer finished the painting the figures must have seemed even more symmetrically arranged and confined to a shallow stage. The woman at the lower right fell almost entirely within the composition, forming with the rock and dog a broad base for the triangle that ascends to Diana's diadem, a sickle moon. This pediment-like design is buttressed by two statuesque figures in the middle ground, who—with the sky omitted—tend to close the balanced recessions to either side and to align the figure group with the frame of the composition.<sup>2</sup> The withdrawn woman in the right background has also become more prominent now that a curtain of foliage falls behind her.<sup>3</sup>

The picture probably dates from about 1653–54, around the time that the twenty-one-year-old artist joined the painters' guild in Delft (on December 29, 1653). The subject could hardly be more expected from a young painter working in or near The Hague: Diana was perhaps the most popular theme for the pastoral and hunting scenes that were fashionable at the time, especially at the Dutch and other courts (compare, for example, Gerard van Honthorst's *Diana with Her Nymphs* of 1650, in Copenhagen, which

Christian IV evidently commissioned).<sup>4</sup> The Delft artist Christiaan van Couwenbergh (see cat. nos. 14, 15) had painted pictures of Diana and her nymphs for Frederick Hendrick's palaces at Honselaarsdijk and Rijswijk in the 1630s and 1640s,<sup>5</sup> and he often treated mythological or biblical themes featuring lightly clad or naked women in sylvan settings (see fig. 63).

However, the mood in *Diana and Her Companions* is very different from that in Van Couwenbergh's winking works. It comes closer to that found in paintings of the same subject by Jacob van Loo (ca. 1614–1670), although even those poetic pictures seem convivial by comparison.<sup>6</sup> The arrangement of the three main figures in Vermeer's painting may have been developed from Van Loo's *Diana and Her Nymphs* of 1648 in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; however, the nymph bending to rub her foot also occurs in a later painting on the same theme by Van Loo (fig. 275), where the lovely figure with the bare back seems a plausible source of inspiration for the similar figure in Vermeer (who never revealed even this modest amount of bare skin again). Van Loo also lets shadows play over some of his faces, anticipating the Delft painter. It is possible that yet another version of the subject by Van Loo was known to Vermeer, since his picture seems to vary and rearrange figures found in surviving

works by the Amsterdam artist in a manner not unlike that of Van Loo himself.

Despite its several plausible sources Vermeer's picture still seems to stand apart in its expressive qualities. The reasons for this are several: his attention to the literary source (discussed below); his sympathetic observation of women; other aspects of his temperament; and the possibly personal nature of the work.

Vermeer's quiet admiration of women at their toilette — a subject Dutch artists discovered in classical and biblical sources as well as in their own surroundings — could be said to conform to a current trend. Contemporary variations on the theme range from Van Loo's languorous nymphs performing ablutions to genre scenes by Gerard ter Borch, and also to Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* of 1654 (Louvre, Paris), a canvas that is often cited as a source for Vermeer's Diana and her foot-washing attendant.<sup>7</sup> Like Rembrandt's tragic and touching work, Vermeer's picture (if hardly so profound) is remarkable for its tenderness and sincerity. One might suppose that the young artist, after his marriage in April 1653, discovered a new world of emotional experience. Of course, the notion is romantic in more than one sense. What is more certain is that the ability to sympathetically describe the private lives of women found in Vermeer's mature paintings may be traced back to his earliest works.

Perhaps the lack of drama in *Diana and Her Companions*, which seems characteristic both of Vermeer and of Delft, conspired with the restorer who painted the sky to distract critics from the important figure in the right background. Two protagonists are named in Ovid's text (*Metamorphoses* 2.442–65). "Worn with the chase and overcome by the fierce heat of the sun," Diana proposed to her companions, "Come, no one is near to see; let us disrobe and bathe in the brook." But one maiden, Callisto, who had been keeping to herself "with downcast eyes," sought excuses for delay, fearing discovery of her pregnancy and expulsion from Diana's circle. Vermeer's Callisto must be the maiden keeping to herself, with a somber, even shameful expression on her face, and fists joined protectively in front of her.<sup>8</sup> She shows no intention of removing her buttoned-up dress and robe, which contrast with her companions' loose attire (the "antique" here, as in works by Van Honthorst and Paulus Moreelse, is suggested by Dutch dress with décolletage).<sup>9</sup> The other women sit close to Diana like friends in a public bathhouse. The importance of loyalty, which Callisto betrayed, is emphasized by the dog (here in the role of "Fido"), and by the act of washing Diana's feet rather than splashing in a stream.<sup>10</sup>

That action occurs in another episode of Ovid's story, when Actaeon discovers the



Fig. 275. Jacob van Loo, *Diana and Her Nymphs*, ca. 1655. Oil on canvas, 63 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 78 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (162 x 199 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick



Fig. 276. Anonymous after Adriaen van de Venne, *Spring*. Engraving, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (10.5 x 13.8 cm). From Jacob Cats, *Houwelyck. Dat is de gansche gelegenheyt des echten staets*, Middelburg, 1625. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



naked Diana and her nymphs bathing in a pool.<sup>11</sup> Michael Montias has suggested tentatively that the young hunter's "impending presence" is indicated by the thistle to the lower left: "the prickly plant traditionally symbolizes the male element."<sup>12</sup> But the thistle was more typically employed by Dutch artists to suggest self-denial, the harder and more noble way, as on the narrow, thistle-strewn path chosen by Hercules and as in the thorny diet of the *distelvrink* ("thistle finch," or goldfinch; see cat. no. 21). In Jacob Cats's *Houwelyck* (Marriage) of 1625, in the third part on the "Christian Housewife," a prominent thistle plant and a pair of faithful dogs are found on the path chosen by a couple in the print illustrating the section *Bruyt* (Bride; fig. 276). Frans Hals placed an enormous thistle (*Männertrau* in German) in the foreground of his *Married Couple in a Garden* (Isaac Massa and Beatrix van der Laen?) of about 1622 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).<sup>13</sup> The path grown with thistles may also explain the pose of the nymph seated next to Diana (which is known from many copies after the *Spinario*, an antique statue of a boy removing a thorn from his foot).<sup>14</sup>

In Vermeer's painting the thistle refers to the path chosen by Diana, Ovid's "virgin goddess," whose purity is also suggested by the brass basin (as in one of Vermeer's later paintings; see cat. no. 71). This unexpected motif has strong Christian overtones. The basin and cloth arranged in the immediate foreground as they are here, with a sponge and a crown of thorns (of which the thistle is reminiscent), are found in paintings of The Lamentation and The Descent from the Cross (for example, Rubens's great canvas in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille).<sup>15</sup> Vermeer evidently intended to associate purity and fidelity with a Christian — perhaps even a Catholic — marriage.<sup>16</sup> Thus the unanswerable question is raised as to whether this picture was painted as a tribute to Catharina Bolnes, Vermeer's Catholic bride. Could this account for another unusual element, the contemporary costume of the nymph to the lower right? She is Diana's obedient servant and a sister to brides of Christ such as Mary Magdalene and Saint Catherine (the high-born beauty of Alexandria).

It is uncertain whether *Diana and Her Companions* was painted before or after *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (cat. no. 65).

The latter seems more mature in execution and design;<sup>17</sup> the cautious planning of the Mauritshuis picture's composition seems in accord with its tentative brushwork, except in Diana's skirt and the drapery of the figure to the lower right. But as Lawrence Gowing maintained, the "Italianate subject and style of the *Diana*" and its "comparatively conventional facture" are not decisive guides to dating, given the eclecticism of Vermeer's early work (which may also involve quotations of classical figure types).<sup>18</sup>

The two earliest known paintings by Vermeer reveal some of his mature qualities in an initial (if hardly embryonic) stage of development. The astute surveyor of artistic prototypes has already been joined by the surprising observer of color and light. In a few years the former will flourish and grow subtler, while the latter will become beguiling. Contemporary women will take the place of Diana's companions and Christ's cousins (in cat. no. 65). In *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67), for example, the closed eyes and dreamy smile recall one of Diana's nymphs, the clothing recalls another, and the painting of Cupid on the wall compares real life with mythology. Contemporary (male) viewers would have gained pleasure from Vermeer's painting by imagining Diana and her companions as young Dutch women *en déshabillé*. But such a response would have missed much of the picture's meaning. Far from suggesting a false start as a history painter, *Diana and Her Companions* shows the artist already addressing his usual theme, women in private moments, and the complications of desire.

W L

1. See Liedtke 2000, fig. 254, for a reconstruction of the picture's original format.
2. The simile is inspired by the pediments on contemporary facades, such as those of the Mauritshuis and Constantijn Huygens's house in The Hague (see fig. 16). The proportions of Vermeer's composition, the centralized triangle, and the vertical figures placed like chimneys crowning an elevation are not a reflection of architectural interests but of period taste.
3. Jørgen Wadum and his colleagues Ruthe Hoppe and Carol Pottasch kindly reviewed their work on the painting when the writer visited the conservation studio of the Mauritshuis in December 1999. The added sky was not only plausible but also more common in compositions of this type dating from the mid-seventeenth century, as seen in the paintings of Diana and Her Nymphs by Jacob van Loo that are usually compared with the Vermeer (see below, n. 6).

4. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, inv. no. 322; see Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 110, pl. 51. See the remarks on Diana subjects in Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 324–26.
5. As discussed in chap. 1 (where François Spiering's Diana tapestries are also mentioned) and chap. 3.
6. Van Loo's and Vermeer's mythological works have been compared mostly in formal terms: see Gowing 1952, p. 96 (the idea of a "direct quotation" is exaggerated); Blankert 1978, p. 15; Wheelock 1981, p. 68; Broos 1993, p. 312 (claiming that "Vermeer borrowed almost literally whole figures" from Van Loo's painting in Berlin); Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 96; and Blankert in Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 164, 312.
7. See Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 98, fig. 3, for the comparison with Rembrandt. Ter Borch, with whom Vermeer was acquainted by 1653 (see Montias 1989, pp. 102–3), had already depicted several quiet scenes of women at their toilettes (see fig. 17) and also developed his familiar motif of a young woman seen fetchingly from the back. The comparison with genre scenes is defensible not only through the coincidence that Vermeer's Diana (and Rembrandt's Bathsheba) are young women at their toilettes but also by the fact that Vermeer routinely saw the usefulness of a motif or design in one type of painting for a different kind of work. Gowing (1970, pp. 94, 96) went so far as to find "a precise parallel" to Diana's pose and expression in Jacob van Loo's so-called *Woening* (Mauritshuis, The Hague), which again, in my view, is not precise at all, but an instance of period taste (see above, n. 2).
8. Callisto was evidently identified for the first time in Liedtke 2000, pp. 192–93.
9. See The Hague 1997–98a, nos. 10, 18 (p. 143 on "nymphs"). Vermeer creates an antique impression by giving Callisto sixteenth-century dress and by letting Diana's seventeenth-century underdress fall in loose folds like ancient drapery. However, her foot-washing friend wears contemporary attire.
10. A very different interpretation of the subject and "the ritual of foot-washing" is found in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 98. It is suggested there that the painting alludes to "earthly sorrow," the prospect of death, "shared grief," and "perhaps the memory of the tragic gunpowder house explosion that ripped through Delft on 12 October 1654 and killed Fabritius, among others." Evidently the latter notion encouraged the dating of the painting to "c. 1655–1656" (p. 96).
11. *Metamorphoses* 3.173ff.
12. Montias 1989, p. 145. Prickly, indeed.
13. As discussed in De Jongh and Vinken 1961, pp. 132–37, to which Montias 1989, p. 145, helpfully refers ("on the thistle as a symbol of eroticism," however). For the Hals, the thistle, and its German name, see Washington, London, Haarlem 1989–90, p. 165, no. 12.
14. See Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 98, fig. 2 (a sixteenth-century bronze after the antique); he also refers (in n. 8) to the *Nymph alla Spina*, an earlier antique statue in the Uffizi, Florence.
15. See New York 1992–93, no. 1.
16. In contemporary altarpieces, the basin is also accompanied by the bloody nails that were removed from Christ's hands and feet. See my reference to Eucharistic symbolism in *ibid.*, p. 61. Some of the

remarks made by Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 98, concerning the Christian tradition, the ritual of foot washing, and purification, are relevant to the interpretation offered here. He sees the thistle as “another Christian reference, alluding to earthly sorrow.” How this all relates to *Diana and Her Companions* is left in the air, which Wheelock fills with an echo of the Delft explosion.

17. As maintained in Liedtke 1992–93b, pp. 94–95, and in Liedtke 2000, pp. 191, 197.

18. Gowing 1970, p. 93. Regarding one classical figure type, see above, n. 15. An engraving after an antique relief published in François Perrier’s *Iamés et Segments* (Paris, 1645) is often cited as a source for Rembrandt’s *Bathsheba* (see Clark 1966, pp. 83–84, figs. 75, 76); the fully draped figure in the print or a similar antique type may have been noted by Vermeer. The foot washer in *Diana and Her Companions* does not resemble the secondary figure in the French print or Rembrandt’s old maid but does recall the Scythian in the Marsyas group (Uffizi, Florence), which was widely known. The most antique-looking figure in Vermeer’s picture, on the left, has too many possible sources to count. About a decade earlier Emanuel de Witte studied nude female figures from the back: see his *Medusa* drawing in the Abrams Album (cat. no. 94) and his painting of 1644 *Vertumnus and Pomona* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; see Manke 1963, fig. 2). Vermeer may have been consciously presenting a variety of poses (four of them seated and bent to different degrees), rather as Caesar van Everdingen appears to have done in *Four Muses and Pegasus on Parnassus*, painted about 1648–50 as part of the decorations of the Huis ten Bosch, The Hague. For the Van Everdingen picture, see Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 29, and for the “pendant,” *Five Muses*, by Jan Lievens, see in the same catalogue p. 178, fig. 29a, no. 3.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 583, no. 3; Pliczsch 1911, pp. 12–14, 116, no. 19; Hale 1937, pp. 49, 72–73, 75, 113, 171–72, 208; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 30–31, pl. 1; Swillens 1950, pp. 63–64, 157–61, 165, no. A (as not by Vermeer); Malraux 1952, pp. 32–38, no. II; Goldscheider 1958, p. 25, no. 2; Bloch 1963, pl. 1; Bianconi 1967, no. 1; Gerson 1967, col. 741; Gowing 1970, pp. 24, 79, pls. 8, 9; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 2; Wheelock 1977a, pp. 268–69; Blankert 1978, pp. 13–17, 75–76, nn. 15, 16, 21, no. 2; Slaktes 1981, pp. 18–19; Wheelock 1981, pp. 15, 68–69; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 40, 72–74, 76, 77, 79, 164, nn. 7, 8, no. 2; Wheelock 1986a, pp. 75–77, 82–85, 89; Wheelock 1988, pp. 13, 52–53; Montias 1989, pp. 105–6, 139–40, 143, 145–46, 150, 201; Nash 1991, pp. 44, 46, 47, 53, 88; Broos 1993, no. 37; Arasse 1994, pp. 17, 88, 91–92; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 21, 25, 26, 27, 28–37, 55, 163, 164, 170; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 19–20, 24, 34, 35, 39, 88, 94, 102, 166, no. 3; Hertel 1996, pp. 114, 133; Larsen 1996, no. A1 (as not by Vermeer); Wheelock 1997, p. 3, pl. 3; Liedtke 2000, pp. 22, 269–70, n. 75, 285, n. 16, 286, nn. 34, 37, pp. 291–92, nn. 98, 188, 190, 191–97, 199, 202, 243.

EXHIBITED: London 1929, no. 313; Amsterdam 1945, no. 133; Milan 1951, no. 187; Zurich 1953, no. 170; Rome, Milan 1954, no. 175; New York, Toledo, Toronto 1954–55;

The Hague, Paris 1966, no. I; Tokyo, Kyoto 1968–69, no. 69; Washington, Detroit, Amsterdam 1980–81, no. 54; Washington and other cities 1982–84, no. 39 (shown in Tokyo only); Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 3; Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 62.

EX COLL.: [Dirksen, The Hague, before 1866]; Neville Davison Goldsmid, The Hague, 1866–75; his widow, Eliza Garey, The Hague and Paris 1875–76; (Goldsmid sale, Paris, May 4, 1876, no. 68); purchased at that sale by Victor de Stuers for the state, as by Nicolaes Maes; in 1876 entered the collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague (406).

## 65. *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*

ca. 1655

Oil on canvas, 63 x 56 in. (160 x 142 cm)

Signed lower left, on the footstool:

IVMeer [IVM in monogram]

The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

Shortly before his marriage in April 1653, Vermeer converted to Catholicism. This magnificent picture of about 1655 and a lost work, *The Holy Women at the Sepulcher* (recorded in the estate of the Amsterdam art dealer Johannes de Renialme in 1657),<sup>1</sup> were probably intended for members of the artist’s newly adopted religious community, which in Delft was concentrated in the Papists’ Corner south of the Markt and which (as in other Dutch cities) worshiped in “hidden churches.”<sup>2</sup>

In its scale and monumentality the Edinburgh canvas resembles an altarpiece, like Hendrick ter Brugghen’s *Saint Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene* (fig. 277), which is often proposed as a possible influence upon this composition.<sup>3</sup> However, the subject (Luke 10:38–42) is not devotional in the narrow sense and indeed was generally popular in the northern Netherlands, perhaps in part because of its relevance to the perennial theme (especially in Jacob Cats’s publications) of household duty.<sup>4</sup> A typical example is Pieter de Bloot’s small panel of 1637 in Vaduz (Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein), where Christ,

Mary, and Martha are gathered in the background of a rural kitchen overflowing with fish, fowl, and vegetables.<sup>5</sup> Dutch and especially Flemish painters also treated the subject on a larger scale, as is seen in Van Couwenbergh’s picture of 1629 (fig. 59), which was painted in Delft, and in the Antwerp artist Erasmus Quellinus the Younger’s ambitious canvas of about 1645 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Valenciennes).

The latter work is routinely cited in connection with the present picture, where the pose of Christ is similar to that of Quellinus’s gesturing Savior.<sup>6</sup> The same source has been suggested for Vermeer’s setting, where the open door presumably leads to a larder. However, the strong (if sketchy) recession into a narrow space, where a window, ceiling beams, and another door are visible, comes much closer to arrangements found in tavern interiors painted by the Rotterdam artist Ludolf de Jongh in the early 1650s, which were being adopted by Pieter de Hooch at about the same time (1654–55; see cat. nos. 23, 24, and fig. 250).

What is most noteworthy about Vermeer’s early style, especially in this picture, is his ability to absorb several Dutch and Flemish sources—specifically, examples by painters from Utrecht and Antwerp, the usual touchstones of artists in Delft—and nonetheless arrive at an image one would not confuse with the work of another master or school.<sup>7</sup> To some extent this reflects traditional taste in Delft; Vermeer’s figures reveal an earnestness in their expressions and in their intimate mustering that recalls Willem van Vliet’s paintings of venerable teachers with their pupils (see figs. 56, 60)—an appropriate prototype for this biblical subject. The comparison also underscores how important were Utrecht models for Vermeer—as for Van Vliet and Van Couwenbergh—even in a painting so conspicuously influenced by the fluid brushwork and rhythmic contours of Van Dyck (see fig. 278) and the other Flemish painters (in particular, Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert) who had recently worked for the court at The Hague.<sup>8</sup> Above all, Ter Brugghen (see fig. 277), of all the Utrecht painters, seems of interest for Vermeer’s intense light, strong modeling, low point of view, tight grouping, rapid recession, and, in the seated







Fig. 277. Hendrick ter Brugghen, *Saint Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene*, 1625. Oil on canvas, 59 1/4 x 47 1/4 in. (150.2 x 120 cm); cut down from ca. 63 3/4 x 50 in. (162 x 127 cm). Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio, R. T. Miller Jr. Fund

figure of Mary, the facial type, silhouetted effect, and the drapery, with a striped scarf and sash that subtly continue the lines of the table-carpet (which adds to the foreground figure's visual weight). Vermeer's sympathy with Ter Brugghen (who died in 1629) seems all the more remarkable considering that Gerard van Honthorst (1592–1656) was far



Fig. 278. Anthony van Dyck, *Virgin and Child with Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 43 x 35 1/2 in. (109.2 x 90.8 cm); with added strips 44 1/4 x 37 in. (112.1 x 94 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Lillian S. Timken, 1959

better known in the area of The Hague and that one or more works by Dirck van Baburen were owned by Vermeer's mother-in-law, Maria Thins.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the importance of other artists for Vermeer's early work, this picture seems to anticipate a few of his mature concerns. The subject (as in *Diana and Her Companions*, cat. no. 64) is feminine virtue, now set in a domestic context. Christ serves as a catalyst for a study of emotions, which each woman, in her own way, attempts to internalize. Mary looks forward to one or two pensive figures, like the seated woman in the *Mistress and Maid* (fig. 286), which is only the second instance in the artist's oeuvre of someone responding to spoken words. Martha, with her eyes downcast like a wounded lover, seems the older sister of several women in Vermeer's work: the milkmaid, the letter readers, and figures holding symbols of moderation and purity (see cat. nos. 68, 71; figs. 163, 177).

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1. See Montias 1989, p. 139.
2. Wheelock in Washington, *The Hague 1995–96*, pp. 92–94, proposes a specifically Catholic reading of the present work.
3. See, for example, Wheelock in *ibid.*, pp. 90–92. The original placement of Ter Brugghen's picture is not known, but similar works, for example by Van Baburen, were painted for churches (see Slatkes's discussion of the Oberlin painting in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, no. 20).
4. This was an exclusively Protestant concern: see Franits 1993, p. 212, n. 17; p. 235, n. 115.
5. New York 1985–86, no. 170.
6. See Washington, *The Hague 1995–96*, p. 92, fig. 2, where Wheelock properly insists that "no exact prototype has been identified." As is evident from Plomp's comparison with a figure in a painting of a different subject by Domenico Fetti (in Delft 1996, p. 25, fig. 13), this natural pose was fairly common, especially in works within or strongly linked to the Italian tradition.
7. As happened, however, in the past: see Broos's section of the entry in Washington, *The Hague 1995–96*, p. 94.
8. See *The Hague 1997–98a*, especially no. 28, by Willeboirts Bosschaert, who painted at least twenty-four religious and mythological pictures for Frederick Hendrick during the 1640s. The comparison with Van Dyck is amplified in Liedtke 2000, p. 196, with particular reference to Christ's face and hands, the animated triangle of figures, and Martha's pose.
9. Montias 1989, p. 122, and San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 247, no. 38.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 582, no. 1; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 12–13, 119, no. 36; Hale 1937, pp. 163–67; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 31–32,

pl. 2; Swillens 1950, no. B (as not by Vermeer); Maflaux 1952, pp. 29–32, no. 1; Goldscheider 1958, p. 25, no. 1; Bloch 1963, pl. 2; Bianconi 1967, no. 3; Gerson 1967, col. 741; Gowing 1970, pls. 1–3; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 1; Wheelock 1977a, p. 268; Blankert 1978, pp. 13–17, 34, 76, n. 24, no. 1; Slatkes 1981, pp. 14–17; Wheelock 1981, pp. 15, 64–67; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 40, 51, 72, 74–77, 79, 98, 164, n. 16, no. 1; Wheelock 1988, pp. 13, 19, 48–49; Montias 1989, pp. 99, 105, 107, 132, 139, 142, 146; Nash 1991, pp. 44–45, 46, 53; Edinburgh 1992, no. 71; Liedtke 1992–93b, pp. 93–96; Arasse 1994, pp. 17, 18, 41, 91–92, 124; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 21, 26, 27, 163, 169; Washington, *The Hague 1995–96*, pp. 20, 24, 34, 47, 74, 88, 100, no. 2; Hertel 1996, p. 133; Larsen 1996, no. A2 (as not by Vermeer); Wheelock 1997, pl. 2; Liedtke 2000, pp. 194–98.

EXHIBITED: London 1929, no. 310; Rotterdam 1935, no. 79; Amsterdam 1935, no. 162; Utrecht, Antwerp 1952, no. 92; Edinburgh 1992, no. 71; Washington, *The Hague 1995–96*, no. 2.

EX COLL.: In the collection of a Bristol family by the 1880s; [a Bristol art dealer in 1884]; Arthur Leslie Colley, London; [Forbes and Paterson, London, in 1901]; William Allan Coats, Skelmorlie Castle, Dalskairth, Dumfries and Galloway, Scotland, 1901–26; Thomas H. Coats and J. A. Coats, 1926–27; presented in 1927 by the latter in honor of their father to The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, (1670).

## 66. *The Procuress*

1656

Oil on canvas, 56 1/2 x 51 1/4 in. (143 x 130 cm)  
Signed and dated lower right:  
J V Meer 1656

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden,  
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister

Although signed and dated 1656—this is the only dated painting by Vermeer, apart from *The Astronomer* of 1668 and *The Geographer* of 1669—*The Procuress* has seemed to some critics atypical of the artist in both style and expression. In 1950 Pieter Swillens considered the work, if by Vermeer at all, then a surprising example of the artist's "seeking and groping" to find his way.<sup>1</sup> Eduard Trautscholdt, by contrast, stated a decade earlier that distinctive technical qualities appear in the painter's oeuvre with this picture, where "the temperament of the 24-year-old Vermeer fully emerges for the first time."<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, most writers have emphasized the picture's inconsistencies, which they perceive within the composition

itself and in comparison with other early works by Vermeer. Artistic sources and even a hypothetical period of training in Utrecht or Amsterdam are often cited in connection with this canvas.

However, when the work is seen in the context of the Delft school as it would have appeared to Vermeer himself in the mid-1650s, then it seems much less unexpected in almost every respect, including its eclectic blending of various influences. Indeed, not only does the painting mark a key moment in the artist's career—the contemporary subject of modern manners (or the lack thereof) is handled with a striking new insistence upon visual observation—but it may also be considered representative of this watershed period in the art world of Delft, when local and regional traditions were being transformed by infusions of naturalism and topicality coming for the most part from out of town. Thus, one senses but can barely explain the affinities this picture (and *A Maid Asleep*, cat. no. 67) appears to have with such different works as Van Couwenbergh's provocative *Woman with a Basket of Fruit* (cat. no. 15), De Hooch's contemporary inn scenes (cat. nos. 23, 24), Fabritius's self-portraits, townscape, and *The Sentry* (cat. nos. 17–20), and even some approximately contemporary paintings of church interiors (for example, cat. nos. 40, 81) and of still lifes set on tabletops (cat. nos. 2, 5, 8). As for the unresolved aspects of *The Procuress*, which have been analyzed with regard to space, light, focus, texture, and so on, these tend to disappear in front of the painting itself, where one is

overwhelmed by Vermeer's audacious determination to succeed on his own terms.

Caravaggesque genre scenes had been popular in Delft and nearby cities since the mid-1620s. Willem van Vliet's *Allegory* (cat. no. 85) can be considered one of the Dresden picture's many stylistic antecedents, with regard to the tight grouping of figures on a shallow stage, the importance of glances and gestures (including those of the interlocutor on the left), the attention to drapery and still-life details, and of course the Honthorstian scale and palette. The Utrecht painter's enormous reputation at the Dutch court in The Hague must have impressed Vermeer as much as it did other artists in Delft, such as Bramer and Van Couwenbergh. The latter painter especially is of interest for *The Procuress*, considering that he had painted compositions broadly similar in design and expression since his first known dated picture, the *Bordello Scene* of 1626 (fig. 279), and continued to do so in Delft and The Hague until the mid-1650s. But Vermeer also would have known works of this type by a number of artists more gifted than Van Couwenbergh, including the Utrecht painters Jan Gerritsz van Bronchorst (who in the 1650s worked in Amsterdam) and Dirck van Baburen. As is well known, Vermeer's mother-in-law, Maria Thins, owned Baburen's *Procuress* of 1622 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) or a version of it,<sup>3</sup> and similar pictures are often cited in the inventories of seventeenth-century Delft collections.

A common feature in Merry Companies painted on this fairly large scale is a balustrade

in the immediate foreground, often with a carpet thrown over it (see figs. 66, 134). The arrangement derives from Italian mural decorations and the Dutch works they inspired, such as the Surrounding Gallery in the Great Hall of Honselaarsdijk (fig. 12). Vermeer appears to have combined this motif—which, of course, implies a balcony or other elevated location—with a close, downward view of a table, as in half-length low-life pictures of the Utrecht type. Balconies with balustrades were not unknown in seventeenth-century Dutch households and taverns; Jan Steen shows different models (wood lofts and balconies) in riotous pictures such as *The Life of Mankind* (Mauritshuis, The Hague) and the *Celebration in a Tavern* (Louvre, Paris), where some of the figures appear capable of seeing balconies and tabletops simultaneously.<sup>4</sup> On the wings of Bramer's triptych-form *modello* for murals in the civic-guard headquarters in Delft (fig. 132), balconies with carpet-draped balustrades are attached to exterior walls. A similar construction would explain the rhythmic behavior of Vermeer's carpet in the immediate foreground, where it threatens to rumple the picture plane, and also the angular recession of the carpet on the right (if the corner of a balcony is assumed). And for the artist's contemporaries, the placement of his figures on a balcony would have added a psychological dimension to the viewer's space, since the depicted location would in some way be dependent upon the one he occupies. Like Bramer's figures behind balustrades in the Prinsenhof murals (see fig. 136), Vermeer's man on the left looks out to like-minded people (or so it is implied), amused onlookers at another table or on another balcony.

A viewer like Steen would have noted immediately that the young man sends an obscene signal, in the way he holds the erect neck of a lute below his upraised glass.<sup>5</sup> The fop's coarse gesture and grinning glance are entirely in keeping with the frank behavior of the other figures. And yet Vermeer manages to evoke responses in the viewer that, one imagines, would not have occurred to Van Couwenbergh. As John Nash has observed, the figure of the procuress herself, because of "her leering absorption in the activity of the lovers provides an unsettling reflection



Fig. 279. Christiaan van Couwenbergh, *Bordello Scene*, 1626. Oil on wood, 30¾ x 43¾ in. (78 x 110 cm). Formerly collection M. van Gelder, Brussels



of the fascination they hold for the viewer.<sup>36</sup> The young man's strained smile likewise "discomfits us, exposes us as voyeurs."<sup>37</sup> He is both part of the ensemble and off to the side, like a Shakespearean character wise-cracking to the audience as the action unfolds, and like Jan de Heem, sitting in bourgeois attire and rough company in Adriaen Brouwer's in-joking tavern scene, *The Smokers*, of about 1636 (Metropolitan Museum, New York).<sup>38</sup> Vermeer's figure wears slashed sleeves and a standing collar of the 1630s; as in works by Rembrandt, the outmoded costume is meant to look theatrical and dandified, and to identify the character as someone out of the ordinary. Thus the costumes clarify roles. In contrast to the couple in contemporary dress, the man on the left is a "first-person narrator" (as Nash describes him), someone from another time and place, where it is possible to be in the picture and out of it at once. With a slightly different costume and a more oblique approach Vermeer managed to repeat the trick in *The Art of Painting* (cat. no. 76).<sup>9</sup>

The other figures in *The Procuress* also slip personas: the procuress, who seems friendly and evil; the client, a dupe and protector; the whore, a predator protected by his embrace. Although a "drollery" ostensibly of the type that John Evelyn bought from Van Couwenbergh (see p. 10), Vermeer's first known picture of "everyday life" reveals a sophistication, a psychological edge, that had only recently become evident in the work of a few genre painters, such as Gerard ter Borch and Frans van Mieris.

The pose, the glance, the artistic costume, and the marginal placement of the figure on the left support the assumption that this is the only self-portrait (or any painter's portrait) of Vermeer. The turn of the head, the raised left (that is, right) hand and the more arbitrary arrangement of the other arm would be consistent with self-study in a mirror. Even more suggestive of painting "from life" is the handling of light in this area, which makes it seem as if an informal portrait by Carel Fabritius (compare cat. no. 17) has been spliced into a canvas by one of Honthorst's Delft or Amsterdam admirers. The figure also recalls Rembrandt's early self-portraits (for example, the one of 1629 in the Alte

Pinakothek, Munich), in which daylight usually falls over a shoulder, catching the cheek or tip of the nose on an otherwise shadowy face, and seeming to starch the collar with parchmentlike tautness. Fabritius followed Rembrandt in placing such half-length figures against a brightly lit wall, on which the figure's shadow measures space and the intensity of light.

As in other early works, Vermeer in this picture reviews a remarkable range of current artistic ideas and revises them according to his own inclinations, which reveal wit, subtlety, and an increasing preoccupation with the way things actually appear. The peculiar disjunctures in *The Procuress*—for example, an abrupt recession, despite the fun-house construction of space—are largely a consequence of conflicting sources, those of direct observation and those in art. An intensified attention to textures and the discreet introduction of certain "optical" effects seem a departure from the artist's only known earlier works (cat. nos. 64, 65) and look forward to paintings of the next few years. For example, the "crumbs of crystallized light" that Nash discerns in *The Letter Reader* of about one year later (fig. 163) are considered convincingly by Wheelock as Vermeer's elaboration of "a technique he first used in *The Procuress* for accenting the textures of materials."<sup>10</sup> The decorative border of the whore's head scarf is described like a crust of bread (as in cat. no. 68), while the rest resembles a film of milk. At a certain distance these contrasting textures read as lace and linen and also suggest recession, quite as the textured carpets in the foregrounds of Vermeer's first genre paintings set off the more thinly or broadly brushed forms at greater distances (as in cat. no. 65). In *The Procuress* one also finds thick, beaded highlights on the gold piping of the red jacket, and thin, blurred dots of light on the silky ribbon of the feathered hat. Other small highlights, which look like those in later paintings less surely described, are seen in the glass and especially on the lid, neck, and foot of the jug. In these distinctive passages, Vermeer's fascination with the behavior of light begins to free itself from artistic models, with no apparent help from a camera obscura or other optical device.

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1. Swillens 1950, p. 155, under "doubtful attributions."
2. Trautscholdt 1940, pp. 266 (on technique), 267 (on character).
3. See, most recently, San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, no. 38. The sources of Vermeer's *Procuress* are more fully discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 199–207.
4. K. Braun 1980, nos. 261, 361, pls. on pp. 55, 77.
5. The meaning of these motifs was evidently mentioned for the first time in Liedtke 2000, p. 200.
6. Nash 1991, p. 50. On subsequent pages Nash offers perceptive remarks about the painting's formal qualities; see especially p. 53 on viewing distance and contrasts of scale.
7. Ibid., p. 52.
8. See my discussion in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, pp. 272–74.
9. On the male costumes in the two pictures, see Shijter 1998a, pp. 269–71, 281, nn. 46–48; De Winkel 1998, pp. 332–34; and Gordenker 1999, pp. 231–35. De Winkel notes that the slashed doublets are not the same, and that the short doublet (called an "innocent") seen in *The Art of Painting* was usually worn by trendsetters of the early to mid-1660s.
10. Nash 1991, p. 90, and Wheelock 1981, p. 78.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 600, no. 41; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 17–18, 115; Hale 1937, pp. 193–95; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 20, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 48, pl. 3; Swillens 1950, pp. 155–57, no. 32 (as probably not by Vermeer); Malraux 1952, pp. 38–45, no. III; Goldscheider 1958, pp. 5, 23, no. 4; Bloch 1963, pl. 5; Bianconi 1967, no. 5; Gerson 1967, col. 741; Gowing 1970, pp. 29, 33, 34, 48, 49, 54, pls. 4, 5; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 3; Blankert 1978, pp. 13, 27–28, 55, 63, 67, 70, 155–56, no. 3; Snow 1979, pp. 38, 60, 62–72, 74, 75, 88, 97, 106, 117, 132, n. 13; 158, nn. 2, 29, 159, n. 5, 160, n. 8, 162, n. 11, 176, n. 27; Slatkes 1981, pp. 20–23; Wheelock 1981, pp. 70–74; C. Brown 1984, pp. 176, 182; Pops 1984, pp. 7, 18–20, 53, 94, 99; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 40, 47, 71, 72, 87, 90, 92, 94, 136, 157, no. 3; Mayer-Meintschel 1986; Wheelock 1988, pp. 25, 54–55; Montias 1989, pp. 107, 139, 146, 147, 148, 149, 182, 261; Nash 1991, pp. 26, 29, 44, 50, 51, 53, 54, 63, 88; Arasse 1994, pp. 17, 36, 41, 52, 91; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 5, 7, 113, 170; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 34, 60, 73, 94, 95, n. 16, 100, 118; Hertel 1996, p. 1; Larsen 1996, no. A4 (as not by Vermeer); Wheelock 1997, pl. 4; San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 248; Liedtke 2000, pp. 22, 176, 188, 197, 198, 199–202, 204, 207, 209, 213, 217, 241, 285, nn. 18, 21, 68, p. 287, nn. 79, 86, p. 288, n. 113.

EXHIBITED: Berlin 1980, no. 21.

EX COLL.: Wallenstein collection, Dux (Duchcov); acquired from that collection in 1741 for the Elector of Saxony; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (1335).



## 67. *A Maid Asleep*

ca. 1656–57

Oil on canvas, 34½ x 30⅞ in.

(87.6 x 76.5 cm)

Signed left, above the figure's head:

I·VMeer· [VM in monogram]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913

*New York only*

Vermeer's large canvas of about 1656–57 in the Altman Collection (from which works cannot be lent) was listed in the 1696 Amsterdam auction of paintings owned by Jacob Dissius (1653–1695) as a picture of “a drunken, sleeping maid at a table.”<sup>1</sup> The catalogue entry, meant to serve for the day's transaction, not posterity, has seemed to many later readers unsuitable to the artist's discreet study of a young woman's physical and emotional state. It must be partly for this reason that the “Meyd”—the same term as the one used in the preceding entry of the Dissius sale catalogue to describe the servant in Vermeer's *Mistress and Maid* (fig. 286)<sup>2</sup>—has occasionally been recast in the role of “mistress of the house.”<sup>3</sup> However, the situation, which is analogous to the one depicted in Nicolaes Maes's *Interior with a Sleeping Maid and Her Mistress (The Idle Servant)* of 1655 in the National Gallery, London; the open collar and beauty patch beside the woman's lowered eyelids; and comparison with numerous genre scenes by other Dutch artists and with other early works by Vermeer in which servants of one kind or another are presented as potential paramours (for example, Diana's companions, the prostitute in *The Procureess*, and the demure milkmaid; see cat. nos. 64, 66, 68) leave little room for doubt that the figure in the Altman painting is indeed a dozing and probably somewhat tipsy maid. As one costume historian recently noted in connection with this work, household servants in the Netherlands were often criticized for overdressing. A sumptuary law passed in Amsterdam in 1681 forbade them from wearing silk garments and jewelry.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, the large pearl earrings dangling to either side of the woman's sweetly smiling lips are also an allusion to Venus, quite as the fat little leg of her son Cupid and

the mask in the painting on the wall above the maid would have been enough to remind literate contemporaries of the theme of love unmasked. The sleep of reason produces not monsters (as it did later for Goya) but pleasant dreams, assisted by the nearly empty wineglass on the table and the warmth of a sunny afternoon (to judge from the light on the door frame, an extraordinary instance of Vermeer's own seduction by light). Sleep and daydreams also lead one—as sloth had led to other vices in Netherlandish art since at least the days of Hieronymus Bosch—to neglect domestic duties, which are signaled here by signs that an astute mistress would have promptly noted: the disorder of the furniture and tableware in the foreground (in contrast to the background); the open doors (including, perhaps, the front door of the house in the hallway, as is suggested by the streaks of light); and what appears to be a more serious oversight, a key—if that is what it is—left in the lock on the other side of the door.<sup>5</sup> In any case, the open door alone suffices to imply that not only household but also feminine virtue has been left unprotected. In earlier, more plainspoken Netherlandish prints a man coming through an open doorway might be greeted by a young woman with a smile and the line (given in a caption): “Compt vry inne” (Come right on in)—or better, in this bilingual example—“Entre hardement Pierre.”<sup>6</sup>

Radiographs reveal that Vermeer originally included a man in the background and a dog looking at him from the nearest doorway (fig. 280). The dog did not stand (like Fido) for fidelity but for the sort of impromptu relationships canine suitors strike up on the street. Vermeer replaced the maid's companions with a mirror on the distant wall (which suggests that sensory experience is fleeting) and the angled chair and pillow (perhaps another sign of indolence, as well as of recent company). On the table, a large Chinese bowl of fruit hints at the temptation not only of “Pierre” but also of Adam; the wine pitcher, a (badly abraded) *roemer* on its side, and a knife and fork (?) support the impression that an intimate party was in progress. As with the lute and glass in *The Procureess* (cat. no. 66), the knife and white jug lying open-mouthed under gauzy material (also

abraded by cleaning in the past) intimate that the tête-à-tête could have become another kind of intercourse.

The earlier state of *A Maid Asleep* seems less surprising for Vermeer (or our view of him) when one places the picture between *The Procureess* and slightly later works like *Cavalier and Young Woman* (fig. 165) and *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68). In the painting in the Frick Collection, a woman with a wineglass entertains a male visitor, while in the canvas in the Rijksmuseum an earthy maid with downcast eyes, a slight smile, and a symbolic jug is spied in a kitchen, where a Cupid appears on one of the Delft tiles in the background. Vermeer himself set in motion the process of purification that has continued in modern times, so that a seductive servant is promoted to mistress (of the more conservative kind) and a “kitchen maid conveys a physical and moral presence unequalled by any other figure in Dutch art” (pity the Pierre who tries to enter her space).<sup>7</sup> How Pieter van Ruijven, who evidently owned both *A Maid Asleep* and *The Milkmaid*, and who left them (through his widow and daughter) to his son-in-law Jacob Dissius, might smile at these prudish misinterpretations of Vermeer's understated works. He must have appreciated, and perhaps encouraged, the artist's self-editing, so that a theme familiar from emblem books, naughty prints, and paintings by artists such as Jacob Duck and Nicolaes Maes becomes, as it does here, an image as sympathetic as Gerard ter Borch's studies of young women in private moments; and a kitchen maid, although descended from the overheated cooks of Joachim Beuckelaer and Joachim Wtewael, and a cousin of the young women coyly displaying jugs and pitchers in paintings by Gerard Dou, can become the vehicle of male musings on temptation and reticence, and on the seductiveness of art. In this early phase of his work and often later, Vermeer identifies the viewer as a voyeur whose own instincts pull him forward and also keep him in his place.<sup>8</sup>

Vermeer's early history paintings have a domestic flavor and feature partly Dutch dress (evidently the same satin jacket as that worn in this picture appears in *Diana and Her Companions*, cat. no. 64). Nonetheless, one is still struck by how wholeheartedly

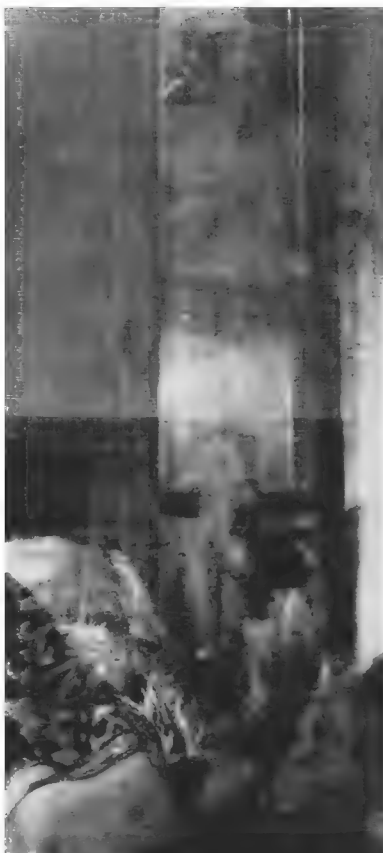


Fig. 280. Radiograph of the right side of cat. no. 67

the artist turned about 1656–57 to themes of modern manners and absorbed ideas from genre painters as varied as Van Honthorst, Van Couwenbergh, Ter Borch, Dou, Maes, Jacob van Loo, Frans van Mieris, and Pieter de Hooch. The rectilinear design, the palette, and the rich orchestration of light and shadow in *A Maid Asleep* are strongly reminiscent of domestic interiors painted by Maes (fig. 281), who had returned from Amsterdam to his native Dordrecht by late 1653, and who about 1655–56 painted fetching young maids and mothers as well as older women dozing (Vermeer seems to synthesize types in almost every instance of adaptation).<sup>9</sup> The background in the Altman picture looks like one by Maes “done over from nature” (as Cézanne said he wished to do to Poussin) or from a vantage point in the home of Vermeer’s mother-in-law. But such simple

formulas hardly suffice to explain what the painter has done. One never gains from works by Maes, or the other contemporary artists who favored frontal, compartmentalized designs like this one, the impression that a slight shift in viewpoint would alter the composition (for example, the way the chair overlaps the doorway, or one door jamb another), or that the sudden jumps in space and shifts in focus—the “perspective” here is almost entirely a matter of focus and scale—likewise depend upon the viewer himself.<sup>10</sup> However, one does sense an awareness of these perceptual issues in some of Houckgeest’s and De Witte’s architectural paintings (see cat. nos. 37, 91) and of course in Fabritius’s *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18). The instances of fresh observation in *A Maid Asleep*, which include not only superb passages of light and color but also the forced intimacy of a downward direction of view (revising that in *The Procureess*), suggest that the painting, while “clearly a transitional work,”<sup>11</sup> goes beyond the threshold leading to Vermeer’s mature interior views (for example, cat. no. 72).

WL

1. No. 8 in the catalogue, it sold for 62 guilders; see Montias 1989, p. 364 (doc. no. 439). The Dutch is given in Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, p. 216.
2. See Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, p. 216: “7. Een Juffrouw die door een Mejd een brief gebragt word, van dito. 70-0” (A Young Lady to



Fig. 281. Nicolaes Maes, *A Young Woman Sewing*, 1655. Oil on wood, 21 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (54 x 44.5 cm). Guildhall Gallery, Harold Samuel Collection, London

whom a maid brings a letter, by the same. 70 guilders, 0 stuivers).

3. Wheelock 1995a, p. 40, who cites the costume and pearl earrings in support of this conclusion.
4. De Winkel 1988, p. 328.
5. As discussed and deciphered in Donhauser 1993.
6. Published in connection with *A Maid Asleep* in Salomon 1998b, pp. 316–19, fig. 11 (an anonymous print of about 1630).
7. The quote is from Wheelock’s discussion in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 108. Compare, if possible, *The Milkmaid* with Rembrandt’s *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer* (Metropolitan Museum, New York).
8. On the seductiveness of Venus-like figures, vision, and art, see Sluijter 1991–92.
9. See Krempel 2000 for a catalogue of Maes’s work.
10. John Nash describes these effects in *A Maid Asleep* in three pages of outstanding formal analysis: Nash 1991, pp. 56–58.
11. Wheelock 1981, p. 74.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 589, no. 16; Pletzsch 1911, pp. 29, 30, 31, 85, 118, no. 28; Hale 1913, pp. 260–64; Hale 1937, pp. 111–13; Gardner 1948, pp. 76, 78; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 33–34, pl. 4; Swillens 1950, pp. 50, 70, 78, 82, 85, 88, 104–5, no. 19; Malraux 1952, pp. 42–45, no. IV; Rousseau 1954, p. 3; Goldscheider 1958, pp. 22, 23–24, no. 3; Bloch 1963, pl. 9; Bianconi 1967, no. 7; Gerson 1967, cols. 741–42; Slive 1968; Gowing 1970, pls. 6, 7; Kahr 1972; Fahy and Watson 1973, p. 309; Sonnenburg 1973, n.p.; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 4; Blankert 1978, pp. 13, 28, no. 4; Snow 1979, pp. 38, 48, 52–59, 60, 81, 82, 88, 121, 124–26, 134, 154–58, nn. 21, 23, 27, 164–65, n. 3, 166, n. 9, 174, n. 13; Slatkes 1981, pp. 24–25; Wheelock 1981, pp. 74–75; Ainsworth et al. 1982, pp. 18–26; Pops 1984, 21, 22, 23, 41, 42, 68, 96, 98, 99, 105, n. 31; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 72, 74, 90–92, 93, no. 4; Reuterswärd 1988; Wheelock 1988, pp. 35, 56–57; Montias 1989, pp. 134–35, 146, 149–51, 152, 182, 191, 192, 248, 261; Nash 1991, pp. 18, 19, 24, 46, 54–62, 79, 125–26; Donhauser 1993; Arasse 1994, pp. 17, 29–30, 33, 36, 60, 63, 66, 109, 118; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 27, 31, 38, 39–47, 55, 59, 60, 164, 171; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 20, 24, 35–36, 58–59, 74, 77, 88, 108, 180; Hertel 1996, pp. 57, 109; Larsen 1996, p. 13, no. 1; Wheelock 1997, pp. 4, 5, 6, pl. 5; Liedtke 2000, pp. 37, 51, 148, 163, 170, 176, 188, 189, 191, 194, 201–5, 209–11, 219, 236, 269–70, n. 75, 287, nn. 96, 97, 100, 103, p. 289, nn. 15, 145, p. 292, n. 113.

EXHIBITED: New York 1909, no. 137a.

EX COLL.: Probably Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, Delft, before 1674; perhaps his widow, Maria de Knuijt, Delft, 1674–81; probably their daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven (1653–1682), and her husband, Jacob Dissius (1653–1695), Delft (sold, Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, no. 8); John Waterloo Wilson, Paris, after 1873 (sold, Paris, March 14, 1881, no. 116, to Sedelmeyer); [Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, in 1881]; Rodolphe Kann, Paris, 1881–1907; [Duveen Brothers, London]; Benjamin Altman, 1908–13; his bequest in 1913 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 14.40.611).



67

## 68. *The Milkmaid*

ca. 1657–58

Oil on canvas, 18 x 16½ in. (45.5 x 41 cm)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

London only

In the second half of the 1650s Vermeer explored various styles and subjects of genre painting, for the most part as represented by artists working in the southern part of the province of Holland, such as Gerard Dou and Frans van Mieris in Leiden and Nicolaes Maes in Dordrecht. But the Delft painter also referred to older models, such as Van Honthorst and his Utrecht and Delft followers, and even, as here, to the Antwerp-Utrecht tradition (to which Delft painters had long subscribed) of painting robustly sensual kitchen maids. The leading figures in this downstairs domain were Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer (both of whom had worked for clients in Delft), the famous Utrecht Mannerist Joachim Wtewael and his son Peter, and the Antwerp master of market scenes and still lifes Frans Snyders (who had many followers and imitators). Kitchen scenes had been painted by artists in or from Delft since the late sixteenth century: Van Mander cites Van Miereveld for his work in the genre; Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck (ca. 1568–1628; see cat. no. 123) and Cornelis Jacobsz Delff (ca. 1571–1643) painted kitchen maids surrounded by cooking pots and comestibles; and the bottom of the barrel was explored by Willem van Odekercken (active in Delft 1643–77) in works like *Woman Scouring a Vessel*, which probably dates from the 1650s (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). The composition looks like the idea of a Van Velsen disciple who had discovered the figure type in Utrecht but picked up the pot and and a fragile grasp of interior space while passing through Leiden. Vermeer, too, at about the same time — *The Milkmaid* must date from about 1657–58 — combines the sturdy type of Antwerp and Utrecht kitchen maid with the small picture scale, crystalline light, minute attention to “still-life” motifs, and a scenario (a smiling young woman leans forward to pour water or milk from a jug) that are indebted to recent paintings by Dou and Van Mieris.<sup>1</sup>

In almost all the works of this tradition there is an erotic element, which is conveyed through gestures ranging from jamming chickens onto spits to gently offering — or so the direction of view suggests — an intimate glimpse of some vaguely uterine object. In Leiden pictures like Dou’s *Girl Chopping Onions* of 1646 (Royal Collection, London), a pewter tankard seems to refer at once to male and female anatomy, a reading encouraged by the aphrodisiacal reputation of onions, the dangling bird, and the pretty maid’s friendly glance. Even milk, in our day the nectar of God-fearing farmers and good girls of all ages, was for artists such as Lucas van Leyden and Jacques de Gheyn the Younger (in their engravings *The Milkmaid* of 1510 and *The Archer and the Milkmaid* of about 1610, respectively) an allusion to the slang term, *melken*, meaning to sexually attract or lure.<sup>2</sup> Between Vermeer’s milkmaid and that familiar symbol of passion, a foot warmer, a little Cupid holds a bow and arrow, which like the woman’s gaze could strike us in the heart. But Vermeer, unlike Dou (to say nothing of Wtewael), maintains a psychological as well as a physical distance from the object of desire. The intelligent male viewer, at least, is compelled to examine his own feelings, which would appear to suggest that Vermeer was sympathetic to feminine feelings as well.

The essential reason that *The Milkmaid* has been so profoundly misread as a madonna of the meadows — “her stature is enhanced by the wholesomeness of her endeavor: the providing of life-sustaining food”<sup>3</sup> — is that the painting comes from a social context that largely disappeared in western Europe during the past century and was never quite at home in America (Jeffersonian exceptions aside). One could compose a dissertation on the social life of gentlemen and female servants or simply follow Samuel Pepys through the pages of his diary, with its oyster girls, kitchen maids, and, at an inn in Delft, “an exceedingly pretty lass and right for the sport.”<sup>4</sup>

Pieter van Ruijven owned several paintings of attractive young women by Vermeer, whose oblique and sophisticated approach to the themes of desire and self-denial (“temperance”) must have appealed to him. *The Milkmaid*, of course, was also intended as a

virtuoso display of imagination and artistry, on a scale and in a manner that invited comparison with the painter’s Leiden models. The space, as in the *Cavalier and Young Woman* (see fig. 165), is more illusionistic but seemingly less contrived than in earlier paintings like *The Procureess* and *A Maid Asleep*. Significantly, the handling of light is most remarkable in the still-life motifs. The nails in the rear wall and its many signs of wear bring to mind works by Jan de Heem and other masters of closely studied surfaces, while Willem van Aelst (see cat. no. 2) and Willem Kalf are recalled in the stippled streams and fields of light (which is not to say that Vermeer’s schemes of describing light are simply derived from theirs). The shadow cast by the pail on the wall could have been studied “from life” or in a work by Fabritius (see cat. no. 21) or another artist, such as Pieter Codde or Judith Leyster.<sup>5</sup> Vermeer had an extraordinary ability not only to absorb what other painters had done but also to appreciate what they evidently had perceived in their surroundings and to pursue similar effects in his studio. The artist’s searching study of appearances and his distillation of designs — a laundry basket and a painting or map on the wall were removed from the present picture<sup>6</sup> — lend works like this one their sense of suspension in time. However, Vermeer had no intention of suggesting “timelessness” in the manner of Poussin. Rather, he depicted moments one cannot forget. WL

1. See Liedtke 2000, pp. 210–11.

2. For Lucas van Leyden’s print, see Wuyts 1974–75 and Washington, Boston 1983, no. 26. On the meaning of De Ghcyn’s engraving, see Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, p. 99, vol. 2, cat. II, no. 217. This interpretation of the term “milking” may come from watching farm girls working under cows.

3. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 108.

4. Pepys 1985, p. 47 (entry for May 19, 1660). Later that year (October 7) Pepys learned an old saying from his patron, the earl of Sandwich: “He that doth get a wench with child and marries her afterward it is as if a man should shit in his hat and then clap it upon his head” (p. 84). Vermeer and his patron could be said to have addressed the same subject somewhat differently.

5. Compare the shadow of the violin on the plaster wall in Leyster’s *Young Flute Player* of about 1635 (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm; illustrated in Hofrichter 1989, no. 38, pl. XIV).

6. See Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 108, 110, on Vermeer’s elimination of these motifs.





REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1 (1752), pp. 34, no. 2, 62, no. 7, 221, no. 20; Thoré 1858–60, vol. 1, pp. 68, 69, 75, 76, 82, 86; Thoré 1866, pp. 298, 303, 306, 332–23, 328, 439, 467, 553–54, no. 25; Havard 1888, p. 10, no. 28; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 589–90, no. 17; Pletzsch 1911, pp. 36–37, 113, no. 3; Swillens 1929, p. 143; Hale 1937, pp. 70, 98, 102, 113, 175–77, 180, 200; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 36–37, pl. 9; Swillens 1950, pp. 74, 85, 135, 140, no. 18; Malraux 1952, p. 104, no. XXX; Goldscheider 1958, pp. 33–34, no. 9; Bloch 1963, pl. 16; Bianconi 1967, no. 12; Gowing 1970, pls. 16, 17; Sonnenburg 1973, n.p.; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 7; Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 572, no. A2344; Wheelock 1977a, p. 282; Blankert 1978, pp. 32, 35, 40, 63, 64, 65, no. 7; Slatkes 1981, pp. 32–35; Wheelock 1981, pp. 39, 66, 86–89, 90, 96, 116; C. Brown 1984, p. 149; Pops 1984, pp. 33, 35, 41, 48, 95, 97, 98; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 48, 64, 98–101, 102, 108, 157, 158–59, 169, n. 92, no. 7; Wheelock 1988, pp. 37, 66–67; Montias 1989, pp. 161, 196, 199–200, 250, 255; The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91, pp. 65–68; Nash 1991, pp. 26, 28–29, 94–96; Arasse 1994, pp. 9, 33, 50, 61–62, 87, 95, 103, 115, n. 35, 121, n. 43; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 18, 50, 61, 62–71, 77, 139, 165, 173; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 34, 40, 54, 55, 57, 59, 73, 88, 118, 123, 143, 178, no. 5; Delft 1996, pp. 203–4, 208; Hertel 1996, pp. 44, 206; Larsen 1996, pp. 17, 18, 25, no. 4; Frankfurt 1997, p. 36; Priem 1997, pp. 104, 214, no. 43; Wheelock 1997, p. 6, pl. 9; Liedtke 2000, pp. 131, 194, 207–13, 216, 220, 235, 257, 288, nn. 135, 139, p. 289, nn. 142, 145, 22, p. 294, n. 209.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1872, no. 142; Amsterdam 1900, no. 70; Paris 1921, no. 105; London 1929, no. 302; Rotterdam 1935, no. 81; Amsterdam 1935, no. 163; New York 1939, no. 398; Detroit 1939; Detroit 1941; Zurich 1953, no. 171; Rome, Milan 1954, no. 176; The Hague, Paris 1966, no. II; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 5; Amsterdam 2000, no. 136.

EX COLL.: Probably Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, Delft, before 1674; perhaps his widow, Maria de Knuijt, Delft, 1674–81; probably their daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven (1655–1682), and her husband, Jacob Dissius (1653–1695), Delft (sold Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, no. 2); Isaac Rooleeuw, Amsterdam, 1696–1701 (sold Amsterdam, April 20, 1701, no. 7); Jacob van Hoek, Amsterdam, 1701–19 (sold Amsterdam, April 12, 1719, no. 20); Pieter Leendert de Neufville, Amsterdam, before 1759; Leendert Pieter de Neufville, Amsterdam, 1759–65 (sold Amsterdam, June 19, 1765, no. 65, purchased by Yver); (Dulong sale, Amsterdam, April 18, 1768, no. 10, purchased by Van Diemen); Jan Jacob de Bruyn, Amsterdam, 1781–98 (sold Amsterdam, September 12, 1798, no. 32, purchased by J. Spaan); Hendrik Muilman (sold Amsterdam, April 12, 1813, no. 96, to J. de Vries for L. J. van Winter); Lucretia Johanna van Winter, Amsterdam, 1813–45; Hendrik Six van Hillegom, Amsterdam, 1845–47; Jan Pieter Six van Hillegom and Pieter Six van Vromade, Amsterdam, 1847–99/1905; Six van Vromade heirs; acquired in 1908, with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt, by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-2344).

## 69. *The Little Street* (*Het Straatje*)

ca. 1658–60

Oil on canvas, 21 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (53.5 x 43.5 cm)

Signed left, below the windows: i VMeer  
[VM in monogram]

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

*New York only*

Since at least the 1860s, when “half of Europe” began visiting the private museum of the Six family in Amsterdam, this painting has been one of the defining images of Delft.<sup>1</sup>

It has the peculiar distinction of being one of Vermeer’s best known and least typical pictures, although Sir John Murray, in 1823 (forty years before Thoré-Bürger discovered Vermeer), said of the canvas, “The whole is touched with that truth and spirit which belong only to this master.”<sup>2</sup>

Without disputing Murray’s sentiment, it may be said that no painting by Vermeer reveals a sympathetic response to the work of Pieter de Hooch quite so clearly as this one. De Hooch painted a fair number of courtyard and related views, drawing upon Delft motifs, from about 1657 onward (see figs. 253, 255; cat. nos. 27, 30, 31, 33). These pictures celebrate the virtues of domestic life—a theme almost untouched by Vermeer—while exploring the picturesque possibilities of narrow streets, alleys, courtyards, and closely clustered houses, like those to the west of the Oude Delft, where De Hooch lived at the time. Vermeer brought his own design sensibility to the subject, but his view of an old house (the facade would date from about 1500),<sup>3</sup> evidently from across a canal, is strongly reminiscent of De Hooch in a number of details and to some extent in the composition as a whole.

For example, in De Hooch’s early courtyard scene in Toledo (fig. 255), the composition is divided similarly into sections representing the rear of a house, the pavement, the white-washed brick wall of the courtyard, and a view of rooftops and sky. The maid to the left occupies a pivotal place in the arrangement, as does Vermeer’s maid in the alley (notwithstanding her small scale). Analogous compositions had been painted somewhat earlier

by Gerard ter Borch (*The Grinder’s Family* of about 1653, in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) and by Carel Fabritius (cat. no. 20), but De Hooch developed the type much further on his own and also depicted interiors that are closely related in subject and design (see fig. 149).<sup>4</sup> In 1658 he began to favor frontal designs relieved by views through doorways, as in the courtyard scenes in the National Gallery, London, and in a private collection (cat. nos. 30, 31), in *A Dutch Courtyard* (cat. no. 33), and in several similar pictures (compare the slightly later *Woman and a Maid in a Courtyard* [fig. 253] with the panel in Toledo and with *The Little Street*).

The taste for such orderly compositions clearly developed in good part from genre interiors by Ludolf de Jongh and by De Hooch himself, and before them by Hendrick Sorgh, Nicolaes Maes (see fig. 281), and others. But De Hooch greatly enriched the trend by bringing to it all the humble embellishments that age, weather, and vegetation had to offer. Here, too, there were many precedents, in pictures of inns and farmhouses by Isack van Ostade,<sup>5</sup> in stable scenes by Potter (see cat. no. 54), in peasant houses depicted by Egbert van der Poel, and in many other works. But in De Hooch’s oeuvre—and, one is tempted to say, in Delft (on the strength of paintings by Potter, Pynacker, Fabritius, Van der Poel, Vermeer, and Daniel Vosmaer, as well as by De Hooch)—these naturalistic incidents were carefully combined with a Dutch version of classical design. The synthesis was achieved to quite deliberate aesthetic effect and was adopted not only by Vermeer but also by Hendrick van der Burch, Daniel Vosmaer, and even Van der Poel (cat. nos. 12, 52). Of course, such a historical sketch reduces to a simple scheme the consequences of taste, intuition, and as many accidents as one finds in all the brick walls and cobblestones of De Hooch and Vermeer.

Vermeer would have been the first to recognize the wonderful effects of space, light, color, and texture in De Hooch’s exterior views of about 1658. These are for the most part surpassed in *The Little Street*, which should be understood (as with Vermeer’s responses to Ter Borch and Frans van Mieris) as a tribute to the slightly older artist, an instance of local *aemulatio*.<sup>6</sup> The extraordinary



passages of description (and of “observation,” in the case of details the painter actually saw) could be discussed for hours, time better spent in front of the picture itself. It is only there that one can appreciate how, despite superbly impressionistic effects (for example, in the rooftops to the left, the ivy, and the watery cobblestones), it would be utterly mistaken to speak of glossed-over details. One might consider what could have been done with the doorframe around the alleyway, or with the pair of green shutters, which exhibit well-worn edges and surfaces, and gaps that allow them to sink into the wall. Here in a subject that could have been treated in terms of solids and space is an essay—that is, weeks of work—devoted to inflections of color and light, which have multiplied beyond the realms of costume, table-carpets, wall maps, and bread (see cat. no. 68 for the last) with the motifs in this picture: above all, mortar and brick but also lacelike leaded windows, linenlike whitewashed walls (a simile tested at the entrance of the house), and woolly walls and roof tiles. It is to this painterly end, not because of any optical instrument (eyes aside), that the depth of three houses on the left—five gables and a farther chimney fall into view—is treated like so many trees in the distance. This approach was continued in *A View of Delft* (fig. 23), which probably dates from slightly later, about 1660–61. Both pictures appear to have been owned by Vermeer’s principal patron in Delft, Pieter van Ruijven, who also had three church interiors by Emanuel de Witte in his collection.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, there is more to *The Little Street* than the attractive surfaces of a familiar world. For once Vermeer adopts a De Hooch-like theme: a family home, long cared for; the timeless routines of household work; and the blessing of children, who will, it is hoped, grow to maturity and leave the house to children of their own.<sup>8</sup>

Vermeer appears to have combined and modified motifs taken from different houses in Delft, as De Hooch did in his courtyard views.<sup>9</sup> The connection with those compositions is underscored again (if faintly) by the *pentimento* of a woman sitting in the doorway of the alley.<sup>10</sup> The motif recalls the little girl in the doorway in one of De Hooch’s two courtyard views dated 1658 (cat. no. 31), while

the similar painting in London (cat. no. 30) could have suggested to Vermeer the deeper placement of the maid. But his wide knowledge of what other artists had done and his possible sources in actual architecture cannot be combined in some simple equation to explain how this painting came about. Vermeer creates the impression, at once false and true, that he surveyed all the latest pictorial ideas and then put them aside, turning to a view out the window. W L

1. This estimate of attendance at the “Galerie Six” was offered in Van Lennep 1959, p. 140; quoted by Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 105, 107, n. 17.
2. Murray 1819–23, p. 155, quoted and discussed in relation to the Six collection by Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 105.
3. See Meischke, Zantkuijl, and Rosenberg 1997, p. 21, figs. 20–22. I owe the reference to Chapman 2000, a draft of which was kindly sent to me by the author.
4. See Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 106–8, fig. 90 (Ter Borch); Sutton’s discussion in London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 32–36; and Liedtke 2000, pp. 172–84.
5. See, for example, the two paintings by Isack van Ostade, both of 1645, in the National Gallery of Art, Washington; see also Wheelock 1995b, pp. 191–97.
6. For a brief description of *aemulatio* (emulation), see Chapman 1990, pp. 65–66.
7. On the cityscape and the church interiors by De Witte in the Dissius sale of 1696, see Montias 1989, pp. 250–51, 254–55. On *The Little Street* in Van Ruijven’s collection and in the Dissius sale, see Montias 1989, p. 200, n. 88.
8. See Wheelock 1995a, p. 53, on “transience and permanence” in *The Little Street*.
9. See Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 104–5.
10. See the infrared reflectogram reproduced in *ibid.*, p. 104.

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. I (1752), p. 35, no. 32; Thoré 1858–60, vol. 2, pp. 68, 69; Thoré 1866, pp. 298, 303, 310, 463, 467, 568, no. 49; Havard 1888, no. 50; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. I (1907), pp. 602–3, no. 47; Plietzsch 1911, p. 114, no. 4; Hale 1937, pp. 179–81; A. B. de Vries 1948, 28, 35, 48, 54, 58, pl. 7; Swillens 1950, pp. 93–96, 130, 133, 176, no. 26; Malraux 1952, pp. 56–58, no. X; Goldscheider 1958, p. 26, n. 35, no. 7; Bloch 1963, pl. 18; Bianconi 1967, no. 10; Gerson 1967, col. 742; Gowing 1970, pp. 128, 129–30, n. 96, pls. 14, 15; Sonnenburg 1973, n.p.; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimm 1974, no. 8; Van Thiel et al. 1976, pp. 571–72, no. A2860; Blankert 1978, pp. 7, 36–40, 43, no. 9; Montias 1980, pp. 58–59; Slatkes 1981, pp. 36–39; Wheelock 1981, pp. 9, 80–81; Pops 1984, pp. 2, 46, 49; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 102, 104, 105, 108, 158, 159, 167, n. 51, no. 9; Wheelock 1988, pp. 62–63; Montias 1989, pp. 149, 199, 200, n. 88, 248, 255, 364; The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91, pp. 65–66; Nash 1991, pp. 6, 12, 13, 26, 29; Heijbroek and Kloek 1992; Lindenburg 1992; London, Amsterdam 1992–93, pp. 14–15, 40–57; Arasse 1994, pp. 10, 63, 78, 118; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 48–53, 64, 77,

165, 172, 192, n. 1; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 34, 35, 59, 60, 111, 122, 123, no. 4; Delft 1996, pp. 112, 120–22; Hertel 1996, p. 136; Larsen 1996, no. 7; Priem 1997, p. 103; Wheelock 1997, p. 5, pl. 7; Kaldenbach 2000a; Liedtke 2000, pp. 37, 179, 184, 185, 195, 213, 220–21, 254, 285, n. 10, p. 289, nn. 22, 25, p. 290, n. 28; Osaka 2000, pp. 35–36.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1872, no. 143; Amsterdam 1900, no. 71; London 1929, no. 316; Rotterdam 1935, no. 83; Amsterdam 1935, no. 165; Paris 1950–51, no. 98; London 1952–53, no. 529; New York, Toledo, Toronto 1954–55; Rome 1956–57, no. 31; The Hague, Paris 1966, no. IV (shown in Paris only); London, Amsterdam 1992–93; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 4; Amsterdam 2000, no. 138.

EX COLL.: Probably Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, Delft, before 1674; perhaps his widow, Maria de Knuijt, Delft, 1674–81; probably their daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven (1655–1682), and her husband, Jacob Dissius (1653–1695), Delft (sold Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, no. 32 or no. 33); Gerrit Willem van Oosten de Bruyn, Haarlem, before 1797; his widow, Haarlem, 1797–99 (sold Haarlem, April 8, 1800, no. 7, purchased by Van Winter); Pieter van Winter, Amsterdam, 1800–1807; Lucretia Johanna van Winter, Amsterdam, 1807–45; Hendrik Six van Hillegom, Amsterdam, 1845–47; Jan Pieter Six van Hillegom and Pieter Six van Vromade, Amsterdam, 1847–1899/1905; Willem Six van Wimmennum, Amsterdam, 1905–19; Jan Six, Amsterdam/’s Graveland, 1919–21 (sold Amsterdam, April 12, 1921, bought in); Sir Henry Deterding; his gift in 1921 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-A-2860).

## 70. *The Glass of Wine*

ca. 1658–59

Oil on canvas, 25¼ x 30½ in. (65 x 77 cm)

Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

In about 1658–59 Vermeer turned to the type of composition that had been adopted somewhat earlier by De Hooch, for example in *The Visit* of about 1657 (cat. no. 25) and in *A Woman Drinking with Two Men, and a Serving Woman* of about 1658 (cat. no. 29). In addition to *The Glass of Wine*, which probably dates from about 1658–59, the paintings known as *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167) and *Young Woman Interrupted at Music* (fig. 166), both of about 1659–60, represent interiors in which figures and furniture occupy the middle ground of a deep space that is mainly defined by the recession of floor tiles, a wall and window



(or windows) to the left, and a wall in the background. As in Delft church interiors of the 1650s, linear perspective plays a conspicuous part in the composition, which, however, also suggests a natural flow of space beyond the limits of view, and a convincing sense of atmosphere through consistent gradations of color and light.

No analysis of artistic conventions can suggest the sheer beauty and extraordinary refinement of a painting like *The Glass of Wine*, which may be considered one of Vermeer's first fully mature works. Despite the parallel with De Hooch's designs and less

obvious similarities with pictures by other artists, especially Gerard ter Borch, this canvas and the Vermeers of about 1659–60 cited above no longer convey the impression (as does, for example, *Cavalier and Young Woman* of about 1657; fig. 165) of depending upon two or three principal sources. Here the artist has clearly mastered a visual language, which despite slips in syntax (as in the recession of floor tiles on the right) is employed with remarkable facility and grace. Vermeer was about twenty-seven years old when he painted this picture, and had reason to feel that his work had begun to rival that of Ter

Borch or Frans van Mieris in quality and, at least in his own city, recognition.

The present work was first recorded in the 1736 sale of Jan van Loon's collection in Delft. *Young Woman Interrupted at Music* cannot be traced before 1810, but *Young Woman with a Wineglass*, a work reminiscent of Van Mieris's in aspects of its style and especially in expression, is probably the "merry company in a room" listed in the Dissius sale of 1696 (and later more fully described), that is, a picture first acquired by Vermeer's most important patron from about 1657 onward, Pieter van Ruijven.<sup>1</sup> Thus the idea, first raised in



connection with *A Maid Asleep* and *The Milkmaid* (cat. nos. 67, 68), that Van Ruijven at least encouraged Vermeer's interest in fashionable subjects also seems appropriate to the scenes of modern manners dating from about 1658 onward.

Van Ruijven evidently owned *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168) as well.<sup>2</sup> The man's close proximity to the woman in that picture suggests a tension similar to that of the couple in the present painting, although its precise nature is not the same. The comparison reveals how closely Vermeer considered postures and gestures, the subtleties of which he must have admired in works by Ter Borch. The man in *The Glass of Wine*, unlike his counterpart in *The Music Lesson*, is cast in a dominant, not a captive, role; the woman's position seems very much subordinate to his own (compare Christ and Mary in cat. no. 65). The folds of the green cloak, one of Vermeer's most impressive passages of drapery, seem to trace the recent motion of the jug of wine. Confidence can be sensed in the carriage of the man's head and shoulders (which are covered, as if he had just arrived) and in his grip on the jug. The placement of that portentous motif within the composition seems perfectly natural and at the same time calculated to a degree; the framing of the jug within the linen nimbus of the man's cuff amplifies its significance.

The woman's pose is restrained and angular, as if her sip of wine fills an awkward pause in the conversation. A chair in the foreground, supporting a cittern, suggests the suitor's advance from another flank. The figure in the stained-glass window holds a bridle forward like a bit of advice.<sup>3</sup> She is Temperance, swathed in a cascade of drapery like the allegorical figures on William the Silent's tomb. The same window occurs in *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167), where its placement and stronger colors establish a comparison with the inexperienced wine taster. Vermeer painted several variations on the theme of temperance, or moderation, from *The Glass of Wine* onward, perhaps the most inventive being the *Woman with a Balance* (cat. no. 73).

Domestic interiors of approximately this design have been described as a distinctly Delft type, but (as discussed in chapter 5)

artists throughout the southern part of Holland and occasionally elsewhere in the province and in Antwerp had employed similar compositions for about twenty years. The arrangement here represents a late phase in a long evolution from lavish interiors of the kind Van Bassen painted (see cat. no. 7) to more accessible interior views like those depicted by Dirck van Delen in the 1630s (see fig. 85) and by Gonzales Coques in the 1640s (see fig. 152). Both of those artists, like Van Bassen and Houckgeest before them (see fig. 92), had courtly clients at The Hague during the 1640s and were well known to artists in Delft (Anthonie Palamedesz in particular). Pictures of fashionable interiors became much more naturalistic in the 1650s and 1660s than they generally had been before, and De Hooch and Vermeer were important participants in this development. However, the notion that either of the Delft painters invented a type of picture or exercised much influence on other artists—apart from De Hooch's brother-in-law, Hendrick van der Burch (see fig. 147; cat. no. 12), and local talent like Cornelis de Man—is a simplistic hypothesis.<sup>4</sup>

Not surprisingly, it was the most conventional versions of the corner arrangement seen here and in contemporary works by De Hooch (for example, cat. no. 29) that exercised the widest influence. The interior in *The Glass of Wine* is exceptional with regard to the close point of view (which causes the tilt of the tiles in the foreground and the accelerated recession of the bench) and the extraordinary refinement of its design, color harmonies, and superbly observed passages of light. These qualities became all the more apparent with the picture's cleaning in 1999; in particular, the cooler tones, such as the green tiles (which with their orange neighbors echo the couple's costumes) and the blues of the diaphanous curtain, the walls, and the velvet back and cushion on the chair, can be fully appreciated for the first time in decades.

An exquisite orchestration of shapes accompanies that of tone and color. A characteristic conceit is the resemblance between the cittern's neck and the lion-head finials, which together lead the eye clockwise to the songbooks spilling from the table and over the chair. The cittern also points to the pillow

in the corner, linking the dovetailed table and bench and carrying the viewer's glance across to the open window. These formal relationships, beginning with the oblique alignment of the chair, diversify the flow of space around the table and the approximately parallel bench and chair to either side, which recede toward the Ruysdael-like landscape in the background rather as, in other Delft pictures, a nave leads to a choir (or vice versa; compare cat. nos. 83, 84). There is some similarity to the design of Houckgeest's church interior in Hamburg (cat. no. 37), where there is also a dark parallelogram suspended in the foreground and similar recessions set up by the tiles. But there are actually countless analogies to be discovered in works by Houckgeest, Fabritius, De Witte, De Hooch, and other Dutch painters who, in the 1650s, looked intently at their surroundings. Vermeer was not the only but the leading master among them in creating the illusion of seeing and describing things just as they are, which, if it were true, would hardly result in a work of art like this one.

WL

1. On Van Ruijven, see Montias 1989, chap. 13. Vermeer's patron is also discussed above, in chap. 1 and in chap. 5 (see especially p. 151, nn. 96, 97).

2. See Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 8, under "Provenance."

3. Nearly the same figure occurs in *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167): see the large color detail and discussion in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 116–17, 119, n. 5, on a possible source in an actual window, with speculation about patronage. Weber (1998, p. 303) suggests that the figure in the window does not hold a bridle but decorative bands like those attached to coats of arms. But the object clearly resembles a heavy bridle (head straps and bit; numerous examples are illustrated in Liedtke 1989)—as much as might be expected in stained glass—and its symbolism is immediately pertinent to the subject at hand.

4. On the tradition of genre painting in the region of southern Holland and in the Spanish Netherlands, see Liedtke 2000, chap. 4. Earlier surveys are considered there and in Liedtke 1984b.

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 2 (1752), p. 390, no. 16; Thoré 1866, p. 552, no. 20; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 598–99, no. 37; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 64, 114, no. 37; Hale 1937, pp. 189–90; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 37, pl. 11; Swillens 1950, no. 15; Plietzsch 1951, pp. 39–40; Malraux 1952, pp. 52–56, no. IX; Goldscheider 1958, no. 11; Bloch 1963, pl. 22; Bianconi 1967, no. 14; Gerson 1967, col. 742; Gowing 1970, pls. 18–20; Grimme 1974, no. 10; Wheelock 1977a, pp. 280–81; Blankert 1978, pp. 35, 40, 41, 59, 73, no. 8; Snow 1979, pp. 38–43, 44, 52, 75, 85, 88, 92, 151–52, n. 11, 153, n. 17, 164, n. 18; Slatkes 1981, pp. 46–47; Wheelock 1981,



pp. 90–91; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 116; Pops 1984, pp. 1, 41, 42, 45, 46, 86, 96; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 47, 101, 108, no. 8; Wheelock 1988, pp. 68–69; Montias 1989, pp. 190–91, 194, 266; Nash 1991, pp. 26, 36, 68, 69, 70, 71; Arasse 1994, pp. 60, 64, 118; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 59, 89, 173; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 37, 69, 114; Hertel 1996, pp. 10, 48, 51, 57, 66–69, 182; Larsen 1996, no. 5; Fleischer 1997, pp. 250–59; Wheelock 1997, pl. 10; Liedtke 2000, pp. 150, 206, 214–18, 220, 227, 228, 235, 284, n. 170.

EXHIBITED: Washington and other cities 1948–52, no. 198 (Washington), no. 139 (New York), no. 139 (Chicago), no. 111 (Amsterdam), no. 121 (Paris), no. 130 (Berlin); Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 116; Amsterdam 2000, no. 137.

EX COLL.: Jan van Loon (sold Delft, July 18, 1736, no. 16); John Hope, Amsterdam, until 1784; his heirs, until 1794; Henry Thomas Hope, Deepdene, Surrey, d. 1862; his daughter, Henrietta Adela (d. 1884); her son, Henry Francis Pelham-Clinton-Hope, London, until 1898; [Colnaghi and Asher Wertheimer, London]; acquired in 1901 by the Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (912C).

## 71. *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*

ca. 1662

Oil on canvas, 18 x 16 in. (45.7 x 40.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, Marquand Collection,  
Gift of Henry G. Marquand, 1889

This canvas from the collection of Henry Marquand was the first of thirteen works by Vermeer to be acquired by American devotees of the artist between 1887 and 1917, when Henry Clay Frick bought his third example (fig. 286). The Marquand painting has not been traced before 1838, when it was exhibited in London as by Gabriël Metsu, who was highly admired by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century collectors. The clear light, strong local coloring, and bluish white of the woman's white linen collar and cowl make the attribution understandable, especially considering that the most similar of Metsu's paintings, *Woman Reading a Letter* (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin), was lent from the celebrated collection of Philip Henry Hope to the British Gallery in 1815. John Smith, whose extensive catalogue of Dutch, Flemish, and French

pictures (London, 1829–42) covers several genre painters but makes almost no mention of Vermeer, proclaimed “the superiority of Metsu over every artist in the Dutch School” in his glowing introduction to a list of 120 works by the master. In a one-page appendix devoted to “scholars and imitators” of Metsu, his supposed pupil the Rotterdam genre and marine painter Joost van Geel (1631–1698), Jacob Ochtervelt (1634–1682; “born about the year 1655”), and “Vander Meer, of Delft” are listed. Only one work is cited individually, *A View of Delft* in the “Hague Museum,” which depicts the city “at sunset.” As for the rest, “The subjects he chiefly delighted to represent were women busy in household occupations, or engaged in some amusement—as music, writing, reading, or cards; and these pictures are treated with much of the elegance of Metsu, mingled with a little of the manner of De Hooche.”<sup>1</sup>

With a few exceptions — *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168) being the most obvious — Vermeer in the early 1660s moved away from the type of interior that he, De Hooch, and other painters (such as Ludolf de Jongh in Rotterdam) had painted in the period about 1657–61, and adopted an approach that in some respects was closer to that of the Leiden artists Metsu and Frans van Mieris. The preoccupation with linear perspective and geometric order diminished in favor of simpler compositions, in which the view is usually brought in closer, only one figure is depicted, and the behavior of light becomes the dominant aesthetic concern.

The description of light on surfaces such as fine materials, metal, and glass had already engaged Vermeer in *The Letter Reader* (fig. 163), *The Milkmaid* (cat. no. 68), and other paintings of about 1657–58, partly in response to Leiden artists. De Hooch's style of the late 1650s offered a different model in that space and light are more broadly rendered, and details and textures generalized. A similar approach is found in the oeuvres of Carel Fabritius and Emanuel de Witte, and from the beginning Vermeer was also predisposed to an optical rather than a tactile manner. His style of the 1660s is a distinctive synthesis of qualities absorbed from various sources in a highly selective way. Light, broad areas of shadow, and pregnant spaces (as in cat. no. 73)

reveal close observation and a survey of current artistic alternatives. Qualities that might have been admired in the same sources — for example, the precise drawing that commonly accompanies an enthusiasm for artificial perspective (as in De Man's work; see cat. no. 42) and the dwelling upon surface incident for which Gerard Dou was known — were passed over by Vermeer. Pieter Teding van Berkhout's appreciation of perspective in Vermeer, expressed in 1669,<sup>2</sup> would have been appropriate for paintings like *The Glass of Wine* (cat. no. 70) and *The Music Lesson* (fig. 168), but the “most curious aspect” of the artist's work after the early 1660s was his consistent description of forms and space in terms of light and color values despite the importance of perspective in his work.

These considerations bear upon the placement of the Marquand canvas in Vermeer's oeuvre. Recently it was dated to about 1664–65 and interpreted as a mature instance of “Neoplatonic” composition, something of which no other Dutch artist has been accused.<sup>3</sup> Lawrence Gowing more plausibly suggested a date of about 1661–62 and with a surprising but incisive choice of words described the painting as “the most primitive of its type,” which he finds in more mature form in *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (fig. 169) and other works that he dates to about 1662–64 and groups together as “pearl pictures” (in honor of *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*; see fig. 18 and the discussion under cat. no. 73).<sup>4</sup>

The painting's wonderful sense of order and harmony was achieved by restricting the color scheme mostly to whites and values of the three primaries, by framing the conical figure with rectangular shapes, and by suspending animation through an intense study of light effects. In general terms, the design is a reduction of the De Hooch-like compositions found in the paintings in Berlin, Brunswick, and the Frick Collection (cat. no. 70; figs. 167, 166), where in each case a standing man hovers over a seated woman; the figures and furniture form pyramids in a Cartesian realm. The admirable but rather deliberate dovetailing of motifs (in *The Glass of Wine*, for example, the bench is slotted between the wall and table like a strip of marquetry) continues in the present picture: the woman's left arm extends the contours of the pitcher;



the map's wood bar tucks into the angle of her shoulder and head (the map originally extended much farther to the left, so that the head was framed in a corner); and the "negative" shapes within and around the contours of the figure are all given their proper visual weight (which required removing a chair from the corner).<sup>5</sup> The pose of the figure and placement of the table have a noble ancestry descending from Van Miereveld's state portraits (see cat. no. 43) to Rembrandt's *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer* (the cavalier contemplating a young woman in *The Glass of Wine* has some affinity with Rembrandt's philosopher). Of course, Vermeer did not derive ideas from these sources but simply shared with them a high regard for the classical tradition.

The painting's design exquisitely suits its subject, which is an idealized view of feminine beauty and virtue. Dou painted pictures of old women, their heads less elegantly covered, watering plants outside of windows, and also pictures of an attractive young woman opening a window or pushing a curtain aside.<sup>6</sup> Vermeer may have conflated two such images or derived his version from a Leiden model now unknown. That the artist avoids conventional narrative has been stressed by recent writers. However, a contemporary viewer would have recognized the head and shoulder coverings,<sup>7</sup> the silver-gilt basin and pitcher (with which one would not normally water plants), and the jewelry box as the accoutrements of a well-to-do city woman's toilette. That she opens or looks out the window does not disturb, indeed enhances, the sense of unself-conscious activity. Vermeer represents but a moment of private life, and a patrician ideal.

In any event, a discerning critic of the period would have recognized that a moment of real experience had been artfully transformed, so that the basin and pitcher, relieved of their immediate purpose, become symbols of purity, as they were in Early Netherlandish paintings such as *The Annunciation Triptych* (*Merode Triptych*) attributed to Robert Campin (The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The jewelry box and string of pearls on a blue ribbon are, in a sense, there for the viewer to notice, as a point of contrast with the basin and pitcher and the woman's modest attire (which significantly restyles the dress

in *The Letter Reader*; fig. 163). But, above all, the connoisseur—or, more surely, an artist such as Van Mieris—would have appreciated the astonishing reflections in the basin and pitcher, where the Persian carpet, the red lining of the jewelry box, and the blue garment on the back of the chair create shimmering patterns of color, like patterns of light cast by stained glass. The woman's hands and forearms are rendered as if their anatomy were unknown, in blurred shapes suggesting slight movement and the intensity of daylight. In her masklike serenity the woman serves as a vehicle for the artist's visual observations, not unlike the glass beakers and fine pieces of porcelain in still lifes by Willem Kalf. Compared with Vermeer's other women of the 1660s, she is somewhat inexpressive, which partly accounts for her universal appeal. She is an icon of domesticity, an intangible figure from a gentleman's dream.

WL

1. J. Smith 1829–42, vol. 4 (1833), pp. 71, 110, for the quotes. Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 148, reviews the nineteenth-century history of the Marquand Vermeer, which "Remarkably . . . was long taken for a work by Gabriel Metsu."
2. See chap. 1, p. 13, n. 56.
3. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 146; dismissed in L. de Vries 1996.
4. Gowing 1970, p. 131.
5. See the reflectogram in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 148, fig. 2.
6. See Martin 1913, pp. 106, 109–10, 115, 152; White 1982, nos. 43, 44, pls. 38, 39; Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 1, nos. 291, 294. It is possible that Dou himself synthesized these types, in a lost painting known to Vermeer.
7. See De Winkel 1998, p. 329, on the woman's *hoofdoek* and *nachtbalsdoek*. As noted in Chapman 2000, n. 44, these are associated with morning toilettes, as in Metsu's *The Intruder* (see Wheelock 1995b, pp. 164–68). However, De Hooch's serving women (see cat. no. 23) wear similar garments, suggesting that they were more generally intended for cleanliness.

REFERENCES: H.W. 1877, p. 616; Havard 1888, no. 56; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 272, no. 62 (Metsu), p. 590, no. 19; Cortisoz 1909, p. 166; Stephenson 1909, p. 172; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 50–51, 118, no. 27; Hale 1913, pp. 248–50, 368; Hale 1937, pp. 107–11; Gardner 1948, p. 76; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 36–37, pl. 10; Swillens 1950, pp. 72, 83, 85, 87, 88, 118, 144, no. 16; Malraux 1952, p. 74, no. XVII; Rousseau 1954, p. 3; Goldscheider 1958, no. 16; Bloch 1963, pl. 35; Bianconi 1967, no. 13; Gerson 1967, col. 742; Gowing 1970, pls. 38, 39; Sonnenburg 1973, n.p.; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 18; Welu 1975, p. 534; Blankert 1978, pp. 41, 73, no. 12; Perl 1979; Snow 1979, pp. 10, 59, 134; Slatkes 1981, pp. 50–51; Wheelock 1981, pp. 44, 48, 114–17; Pops 1984, pp. 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 26, 29, 41, 46, 53, 55, 89, 95; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 50, 108–9,

112, no. 12; Wheelock 1987, pp. 385, 390–91; Wheelock 1988, pp. 42, 88–92; Montias 1989, pp. 190, 266; The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91, pp. 17, 36, 40; Nash 1991, pp. 26, 28, 31, 94, 96–98; Franits 1993, pp. 126–28, 219, n. 88; Arasse 1994, pp. 50, 64, 113; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 104–11, 159, 178; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 25, 40, 61, 140, 166, no. 11; Larsen 1996, p. 18, no. 9; Wheelock 1997, pl. 17; Chapman 2000; Liedtke 2000, pp. 18, 131, 191, 202, 207, 213, 217, 220, 226–28, 233, 238, 242, 290, n. 64.

EXHIBITED: London 1838, no. 29 (as by Metsu); London 1878, no. 267; New York 1909, no. 137; Rotterdam 1935, no. 85; Amsterdam 1935, no. 167; The Hague, Paris 1966, no. IV (The Hague), no. V (Paris); Boston 1970; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 11.

EX COLL.: Robert Vernon, London, 1801(?)–49; (Vernon sale, London, April 21, 1877, no. 97, bought by M. Colnaghi); Lord Powerscourt, Castle Powerscourt, near Dublin, 1878–87(?); [Agnew, London]; [Bourgeois Frères, Paris]; [Pillet, Paris, 1887]; Henry G. Marquand, New York, 1887–89; his gift in 1889 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 89.15.21).

## 72. *Woman with a Lute*

ca. 1662–63  
Oil on canvas, 20 1/4 x 18 in. (51.4 x 45.7 cm)  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, Bequest of Collis P.  
Huntington, 1900

The picture is closely related in composition to *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* (cat. no. 71) but probably dates from slightly later, about 1662–63.<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the table and silhouetted chair in the foreground, the use of a curtain, and the greater role of shadows suggest that *Woman with a Lute* was painted within a year or so of *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* (fig. 18) and *Woman with a Balance* (cat. no. 73). The palette is also more muted than before. The overall effect, with strong contrasts of tone and blurred contours, is comparable to that of images formed in early cameras.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, the similar lighting schemes in other works by Vermeer, and the fact that contemporary artists such as De Hooch, Metsu, Van Mieris, and De Witte also made evocative use of broad, blending areas of shadow, reveal that, however extraordinary Vermeer's interest in optical effects



may have been, he also responded to contemporary taste, which is evident from a survey of French and Flemish paintings as well as Dutch art.

Like the canvas from the Marquand Collection (cat. no. 71) this one is traceable only from the early nineteenth century. The hypothesis is fraught with hazards, but one has the impression that several of the works Vermeer did not sell to his principal patron, Pieter van Ruijven, are generally more conventional in design and iconography. Here a worldly young woman, unrestrained by the map and other forms pressing in around her, glances eagerly out the window, as if expecting or even espying a dashing young man.<sup>3</sup> The enormous pearl earring and the pearl necklace, which like the ermine-trimmed jacket were luxuries not worn every day, identify the lady as a modern Venus in search of an Adonis or Mars. The viola da gamba on the floor and the flow of songbooks across the tabletop and onto the floor anticipate with some excitement the prospect of a duet. If tuning the lute hints at moderation, the thought seems appropriate, and consistent with the reminders of temperance in *The Glass of Wine* (cat. no. 70), *Young Woman with a Wineglass* (fig. 167), and *Woman with a Balance* (cat. no. 73).

The prominent placement of the chair in the foreground underscores the expectation of male companionship (compare fig. 165). The map may imply a man's absence, but Vermeer offers allusions rather than signs. In his obliquity the artist benefited from the contemporary viewer's familiarity with versions of the theme, which is found, for example, in Van Honthorst's pendant pictures of smiling sexpots, *Woman Tuning a Lute* and *Woman Playing a Guitar*, which date from 1624 and by 1632 were in the Stadholder's Quarters in The Hague;<sup>4</sup> Jan van Bronckhorst's *Woman Tuning a Theorbo* (location unknown) and similarly seductive works by that Utrecht master;<sup>5</sup> and an endless stream of string-strumming strumpets in Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch art (see Antiveduto Grammatica's *Young Woman Playing a Lute* of about 1615–20, in the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Puerto Rico).<sup>6</sup>

In about 1615 Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger, a well-known figure at the Dutch

and English courts,<sup>7</sup> painted a patrician interior with a female lute player (fig. 151), a work that is typical of his native Antwerp in its remodeling of Italian prototypes and of obvious interest for *Woman with a Lute* and other musical subjects depicted by Vermeer. Here too, a viola da gamba, a manly instrument in stature and tone, rests on the near side of the table, which is strewn with songbooks and various instruments (compare also *The Concert*, fig. 161). The compositional similarities with the present picture and other works by Vermeer require no comment and clarify their place in a long tradition of fashionable genre scenes, especially those produced in the Spanish Netherlands and the southern parts of Holland.<sup>8</sup> Far from being a contemplative picture—except for its study of light—the work would have been appreciated by its original owner for its dwelling upon love and luxury, and for bringing him into association with the sort of collectors who had owned such pictures before.

WL

1. Wheelock (in Osaka 2000, p. 180) favors a later date, about 1665. As noted above, in the discussion of cat. no. 71, *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher* originally included a larger map and a second chair, like *Woman with a Lute*.
2. Gowing 1970, p. 132, mentions "an optical device" in connection with this painting's "contrast of tone." Wheelock 1981, p. 112, associates the juxtaposition of near and far objects with a perspective frame or camera obscura.
3. Compare the reading in Osaka 2000, no. 32, which, although seemingly intended for a Buddhist audience, is actually adopted from the discussion of another picture (no. 71 here) in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 146. Vermeer is said to have "discovered in such quiet moments of contemplation, when one gazes out but looks within, a window into an individual's spiritual nature."
4. Judson and Ekkart 1999, nos. 220, 222, pls. 117, 118, XVII, XVIII.
5. Döring 1993, no. A27; see also nos. A28, A36, and others.
6. Held, Taylor, and Carder 1984, pp. 136–37.
7. Liedtke 1991a, pp. 33–35.
8. On this tradition see Liedtke 2000, chap. 4.

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1 (1752), p. 34, no. 4; Stephenson 1909, p. 172; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 61, 118, no. 30; Hale 1913, pp. 258–60; "Fiftieth Anniversary Exhibition" 1920, p. 184; Burroughs 1925, p. 142; Hale 1937, pp. 113–15; Gardner 1948, p. 78; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 40, pl. 20; Swillens 1950, pp. 67, 72, 79, 80, 83, 84, 87, no. 6; Malraux 1952, pp. 16, 68–71, no. XV; Rousseau 1954, p. 3; Goldscheider 1958, no. 18; Mirimonde 1961, pp. 37–38; Bloch 1963, pl. 52; Bianconi 1967, no. 27; Gerson 1967, col. 743; Gowing 1970, pl. 40; New York 1971, no. 13;

Fahy and Watson 1973, p. 316; Sonnenburg 1973, n.p.; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 26; Welu 1975, pp. 535–36, 541; Blankert 1978, pp. 77, n. 61, 78, n. 100, 169, no. B1; Slarkes 1981, pp. 60–61; Wheelock 1981, pp. 112–13; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 117; Pops 1984, pp. 55, 56, 57, 98; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, no. b1; Hedinger 1987, p. 57; Montias 1987, p. 75; Wheelock 1988, pp. 86–87; Montias 1989, pp. 191, 217, 260, n. 54, 265, 266; Nash 1991, pp. 22, 25, 26, 78, 101; Stockholm 1992–93, no. 128; Arasse 1994, pp. 49, 50, 64, 104, 115, 118; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 140, 150, 177; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 25, 156; Larsen 1996, no. A6 (as not by Vermeer); Wheelock 1997, pl. 18; Osaka 2000, p. 20, no. 32; Liedtke 2000, pp. 69, 167, 168, 226, 228, 232–33, 237, 260, 291, nn. 93, 96.

EXHIBITED: New York 1909, no. 135; New York 1920; Philadelphia 1930–51, no. 42; New York 1971, no. 13; Leningrad, Moscow 1975, no. 24; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 117; Stockholm 1992–93, no. 128; Athens 1992–93, no. 14; Osaka 2000, no. 32.

EX COLL.: (P. van der Schley and Daniel de Pré sale, Amsterdam, December 22, 1817, no. 62, to Coclers); purchased in England by Collis P. Huntington, New York; his bequest in 1900 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; acquired in 1925 by the Museum (acc. no. 25.110.24).

### 73. *Woman with a Balance*

ca. 1663–64  
Oil on canvas, 15 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 14 in. (40.3 x 35.6 cm)  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,  
Widener Collection

This entrancing picture of about 1663–64 was listed in the 1696 Amsterdam sale of Jacob Dissius's collection as "A young lady weighing gold, in a case by J. vander Meer, extraordinarily artful and vigorously painted."<sup>1</sup> Thus the work was most likely owned by Dissius's father-in-law, the Delft patrician Pieter van Ruijven, who acquired about half of Vermeer's paintings between 1657 and about 1670. The "case" (*kasje*) mentioned in the document was probably a frame with protective doors, of the kind that Emanuel de Witte placed on his *Oude Kerk in Delft during a Sermon* of 1651, in the Wallace Collection, London (fig. 120).<sup>2</sup> In that triptychlike arrangement the shutters, when closed, depicted a still life of fruit. This temptation of the senses led one to discover a deeper truth, represented by the act of worship. Vermeer's painting, with its prominent





Fig. 282. Jan van Hemessen, *A Girl Weighing Gold*, ca. 1530–35. Oil on wood, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (44 x 31 cm). Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin

religious picture on the wall, may have been introduced in a similar manner, although it is at least as likely that the case was simply protective, in recognition of the small work's rarity. The resemblance of the ensemble to portable altarpieces of an earlier period in the Netherlands would have been self-evident to amateurs, as would the fact that the image inside was as modern and exquisite as any painting by Gerard Dou, who appears to have slightly preceded Vermeer in placing fine frames with doors on scenes of contemporary life.<sup>3</sup>

In its subject as well as in its highly refined execution, *Woman with a Balance* is one of Vermeer's most sophisticated paintings.<sup>4</sup> Modern explanations of its meaning have accordingly multiplied; they range from reasonably straightforward but mistaken interpretations—based, in some instances, on the culturally conditioned incredulity that the woman is not pregnant—to the weirdly theological (for example, that the woman is a secularized image of the pregnant Virgin contemplating Christ's sacrifice and foundation of the Catholic Church).<sup>5</sup> Arthur Wheelock has reviewed some of the alternative readings and rightly concludes that “the essential message appears to be that one should conduct one's life with temperance and balanced judgment.”<sup>6</sup> But he overrules the seventeenth-century description

of the painting in deference to a lab report: “microscopic examination has resolved at least one dispute: the woman is not weighing gold.”<sup>7</sup> However, the absence of anything rendered in lead-tin yellow in the scale's pans does not outweigh the evidence of gold coins on the corner of the table, near a stack of weights (which like the balance has been taken out of the small box). The woman is about to weigh gold; she is as much a “gold weigher” as the gentleman in a later painting by Cornelis de Man (cat. no. 42). The fact that the pans are empty shifts emphasis to the scales themselves. The woman holds the instrument gingerly, steadies herself with her other hand on the edge of the table, and waits to see if the balance is true. Balance is the theme of the painting—that is, temperance, in a more elaborate formulation than that found in Vermeer's two earlier paintings with a figure of Temperance in a stained-glass window (cat. no. 70; fig. 167). The strings of pearls (one of them with a white ribbon), the gold chain, the luxurious housecoat, and the mirror on the wall all contribute to a catalogue of material things that will count for nothing in the end, or rather, at the beginning of eternal life.

This is made clear to the viewer, if not to the woman herself, by the Last Judgment on the wall. Or is the gold weigher's “act of judgment,” as one writer recently claimed, “as conscientiously considered as that of the Christ behind her?”<sup>8</sup> This seems a tall order for someone so preoccupied with personal possessions, and overlooks—or represses, in the Yankee tradition of Henry James—what Vermeer's patron would have noticed immediately: that the woman is beautiful, one of the artist's sensuous innocents, like the figures in other paintings the same patron evidently possessed (for example, cat. no. 67; fig. 18). Surely the collector would have taken into account the recurrence of themes and motifs in these pictures, of mirrors, pearls, and other treasures, and of women with slight, involuntary smiles who are unaware of the viewer and of the revealing juxtapositions (weighing gold, weighing souls) that are visible from his vantage point. As in contemporary genre paintings, for instance by Ter Borch (see fig. 17), and as in fancy still lifes by artists such as Willem Kalf and Willem van Aelst, the dan-

ger of seduction is actually experienced as an appeal to the senses as well as to moral sense.

In this reading of the Washington picture nothing is swept under the table-carpet: an attractive young woman, fashionably dressed,<sup>9</sup> holds a balance, the usual purpose of which was to weigh silver and gold.<sup>10</sup> She has gathered her treasures before her, gold coins, a gold chain, and strings of pearls.<sup>11</sup> The viewer sees the scales differently than she does, with the help of the painting and the mirror on the walls,<sup>12</sup> and through a knowledge of other pictures. Two examples would be *A Girl Weighing Gold* attributed to Jan van Hemessen (fig. 282) and *A Woman Weighing Gold* by Pieter de Hooch, of about 1664 (both in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin).<sup>13</sup> Although these images were made about 130 years apart, they have in common an alluring young woman, conspicuous signs of wealth, and a balance, the most familiar symbol of judgment by higher authorities.<sup>14</sup>

The scales and the painting of The Last Judgment in Vermeer's picture might have been considered in a more particular way, but how so was a matter of sectarian opinion at the time.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Vermeer, a Catholic, and Van Ruijven, a Remonstrant, there was little cause for controversy. In addition to moderation, the balance, seen together with an image of the Last Judgment, conveys the concept of free will. Salvation is not preordained, but is the individual's responsibility.<sup>16</sup> The message is consistent with the one implied in other paintings by Vermeer that appear to have been acquired by Van Ruijven. From *A Maid Asleep* onward, thoughts of pleasure and temperance are aroused and left to linger, without tipping the scales either way.<sup>17</sup> *Woman Holding a Balance* addresses the idea more explicitly, but only by including the religious image in the background. The picture remains as naturalistic and evocative as almost any other in Vermeer's oeuvre, which is a notable achievement in such a potentially didactic work.

This painting, the similarly composed *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*, and the *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* (figs. 18, 169) are among the finest works of Vermeer's career. The artist frequently recapitulated motifs and compositions; perhaps the most common source of inspiration within his own work



was *The Letter Reader* in Dresden (fig. 163).<sup>18</sup> It is fascinating to consider that the remarkable coherence of Vermeer's oeuvre probably depended not only upon his visual memory but also upon direct access to many of his own pictures. And of course one may also marvel at the prospect of having several closely related paintings by Vermeer in the same collection, so that his interpretations of themes such as making music, receiving or writing a letter, or being tempted by a beautiful woman and costly things could be savored as small ensembles, each image gaining in nuance through proximity to the other works.

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1. For the document, see Blankert 1978, p. 133, no. 16, where "box" for *kasje* is misleading; and Montias 1989, p. 363 (doc. no. 439).
2. See Manke 1963, no. 12; Liedtke 1982a, p. 82, fig. 74; and Liedtke 2000, p. 71, fig. 90.
3. Dou's *Vanitas Still Life* of about 1660 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; see Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 1, no. 308) covered the *Young Woman and a Boy in a Wine Cellar* (formerly in Dresden and now lost; see Martin 1913, p. 166, ill.). His *Still Life with a Silver-Gilt Water Pitcher and Basin* originally covered *The Dropsical Woman* of 1663 (both Louvre, Paris; see Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 1, nos. 288, 309).
4. The work was cleaned in 1994. On its style, see Wheelock 1995a, chap. 9; Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 10; and Liedtke 2000, p. 233.
5. The last suggestion was made in Gaskell 1984. On the question of pregnancy, see De Winkel (1998, pp. 331–32), who reviews some of the reasons why "it seems unlikely that Vermeer intended his women to appear in this state." Hollander 1975, pp. 108–10, is also of interest. The woman's supposed pregnancy escaped notice in the catalogue of the 1696 Dissius sale and did not become an issue until the 1970s.
6. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 142.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 140.
8. Wheelock 1995b, p. 371.
9. Her ermine-trimmed jacket flares in all directions (not only in front) over the thick, folded-over skirt. The currency of this conical cut is illustrated in many Dutch genre paintings and portraits and has a male counterpart: see, for example, Ter Borch's portrait of a stylish young man of about 1663–64, in the National Gallery, London; see MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 39–40, no. 1399, pl. 29.
10. On this point, see De Jongh 1998, p. 361, n. 58.
11. On the very high value of pearls in this period, see chap. 5, p. 166 and n. 140.
12. The motif of a mirror recalls those in *A Maid Asleep* (cat. no. 67) and *Woman with a Pearl Necklace* (fig. 18), both of which were probably owned by Van Ruijven.
13. The latter is compared with Vermeer's picture in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 142–43, fig. 1. The argument that De Hooch's picture must date slightly earlier is transparently implausible.
14. As several authors have noted (see especially Gaskell

1984), scales are the symbol of the archangel Michael, who often appears (although he does not in Vermeer's painting on the wall) in Netherlandish representations of the Last Judgment: for example, Hans Memling's great *Last Judgment* triptych of 1473 (Museum Pomorskie, Gdansk), where saved and damned souls occupy the pangs of a prodigious scale. Two public sculptures of women holding scales were within a minute's walk of Vermeer's residence: Hendrick de Keyser's figure of Justice on the facade of the Delft town hall and his figure of Justice on the front right corner of William the Silent's tomb. De Jongh 1998, p. 361, fig. 11, compares a print showing an allegorical figure of Conscience holding a balance.

15. As discussed in Cuniar 1990.
16. See Perlove 1995, pp. 163–64, for a reliable account of Remonstrant views on this question.
17. Kahr 1972, p. 131, discusses free will in connection with *A Maid Asleep*. See De Jongh 1998, pp. 352–58, on Vermeer's multivalence.
18. Gowing, with whom the writer shared special affection for *The Letter Reader*, describes this process in Vermeer (Gowing 1970, p. 135, and on several other pages).

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1 (1752), pp. 34, no. 1, 62, no. 6; Thoré 1866, pp. 555–56, no. 27; Havard 1888, no. 30; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), vol. 1, pp. 586–87, no. 10; Hofstede de Groot 1910; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 49–50, 119, no. 35, 132–33; Hale 1937, pp. 140–42, 222; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 39, pl. 17; Swillens 1950, pp. 57–58, 72, 78, 82, 84, 86, 88, 105, 118, no. 20; Malraux 1952, pp. 62–65, no. XII; Goldscheider 1958, pp. 22, 38, no. 21; Bloch 1963, no. 38; Bianconi 1967, no. 24; Gerson 1967, cols. 743, 744; Gowing 1970, pp. 44, 53, pls. 44–46; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 17; Alpers 1976, pp. 25, 35; Wheelock 1977c, pp. 439, 441; Blankert 1978, pp. 22, 42–44, 49, 54, 67, no. 15; Snow 1979, pp. 10, 34–36, 38, 44, 60, 62, 94, 97, 126, 132–36, 138, n. 5, 174, n. 24, 175–76, n. 27; Sutton 1980a, pp. 45, 68, n. 37; Naumann 1981, vol. 1, pp. 65, n. 4, 68; Slatkes 1981, pp. 54–57; Wheelock 1981, pp. 41–42, 106–9; Alpers 1983, p. xxi; Salomon 1983; Gaskell 1984, p. 557–59; Pops 1984, pp. 35, 40, 41, 64; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 118; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 48, 49, 51, 64, 112, 114–16, no. 15; Reuterswärd 1988, p. 56; Wheelock 1988, pp. 40, 82–83; Montias 1989, pp. 162, 182, 191, 255–56, 261; Cuniar 1990; Nash 1991, pp. 26, 28, 39, 98–101; Arasse 1994, pp. 26, 27–29, 33, 62, 100; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 96–103, 105, 111, 122, 124, 176, 195, n. 1, 196, nn. 10, 13; Wheelock 1995b, pp. 371–77; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 31, 41–42, 54–55, no. 10; Hertel 1996, pp. 215, 229; Larsen 1996, no. 12; Wheelock 1997, pl. 16; Liedtke 2000, pp. 175, 226, 233–37, 242, 262, 291, n. 97, 292, n. 110; Osaka 2000, p. 20, no. 33.

EXHIBITED: New York 1912, no. 49; Detroit 1925, no. 33; Chicago 1933, no. 80; Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 118; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 10; Osaka 2000, no. 33.

EX COLL.: Probably Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, Delft, before 1674; perhaps his widow, Maria de Knuijt, Delft, 1674–81; probably their daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven (1655–1682), and her husband, Jacob Dissius

(1653–1695), Delft (sold Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, no. 1); Isaac Rooleeuw, Amsterdam, 1696–1701; Paulo van Uchelen, Amsterdam, 1701–3; Paulo van Uchelen the Younger, Amsterdam, 1703–54; Anna Gertruijda van Uchelen, Amsterdam, 1754–66 (sold Amsterdam, March 18, 1767, no. 6, purchased by Kok); Nicolaas Nieuhoff, Amsterdam (sold Amsterdam, April 14, 1777, no. 116, bought by Van de Boogaert); (Trochel et al. sale, Amsterdam, May 11, 1801, no. 48, bought by Van der Schley); King Maximilian I Jozef, Nymphenburg, before 1823; (sale of the king of Bavaria, Munich, December 5, 1826, no. 101, purchased by Caraman); Victor-Louis-Charles de Riquet, duke of Caraman, Vienna and Paris, 1826–30 (sold Paris, May 10, 1830, no. 68); Casimir Périer, Paris, 1830–32; his heirs, Paris, 1832–48 (sold London, May 5, 1848, no. 7, bought by Lord Hertford); Auguste Casimir Victor Laurent Périer, Paris, 1848–76; Jean Paul Pierre Casimir Périer, Paris, 1876–1907; Countess De Ségur-Périer, Paris, 1907–11; [P. and D. Colnaghi, London, and M. Knoedler and Co., New York, 1911]; Peter A. B. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Philadelphia, 1911–15; Joseph E. Widener, Lynnewood Hall, Elkins Park, Philadelphia, 1915–42; his bequest in 1942 to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (1942.9.97).

## 74. *Girl with a Red Hat*

ca. 1665–67

Oil on wood, 9 5/8 x 7 1/8 in. (23.2 x 18.1 cm)  
Signed top center, in the tapestry: IVM  
[in monogram]

National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.,  
Andrew W. Mellon Collection, 1937

While there are many signs of sympathy in Vermeer's earlier descriptions of women, he seems to have taken a closer interest in them as individuals in the mid-1660s. The figures in paintings such as *Woman with a Pearl Necklace*, *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, *A Lady Writing*, and *Mistress and Maid* (figs. 18, 169, 170, 286) include intriguing, if less conventionally attractive, women than those the artist had depicted before, with the significant exception of a few figures in his early history pictures (cat. nos. 64, 65). A similar development is found in Vermeer's unexpected *tronies*. The now-defunct term refers to "heads," "faces," or "expressions" (compare the French *troune*, or "mug") and to a type of picture familiar from many examples by Rembrandt and his followers.<sup>1</sup> The majority of Dutch *tronies* appear to have been based upon live models, including the artist in





Fig. 283. Willem van Vliet, *Young Archer Wearing a Turban*, ca. 1640. Oil on wood, 25½ x 22½ in. (65 x 57 cm). Private collection, New York



Fig. 284. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Flora*, ca. 1654. Oil on canvas, 39½ x 36½ in. (100 x 91.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Archer M. Huntington, in memory of his father, Collis Potter Huntington, 1926

question or a colleague, but the works were not intended as portraits. Rather, they were meant as studies of expression, type, physiognomy, or any kind of interesting character (an old man, a young woman, a “turk,” a dashing soldier, and so on). It is worth recalling Constantijn Huygens’s well-known reference to a *tronie* “in my Prince’s house, a picture of a so-called Turkish potentate, done from the head of some Dutchman.”<sup>2</sup>

An exotic costume was often one of the *tronie*’s main selling points, as is illustrated by the picture to which Huygens referred, Jan Lievens’s *Oriental* of about 1628 (Gemäldegalerie, Potsdam-Sanssouci).<sup>3</sup> Appealing examples were also painted in Delft—for example, by Willem van Vliet (fig. 283). These works were collector’s items, in most cases produced for the open market. Garments that looked foreign, “antique,” costly, or simply curious (for example, the hat and cuirass in Fabritius’s *Self-Portrait* of 1654, cat. no. 19) were of interest for their own sake and frequently offered opportunities to show off painterly techniques. The description of fine fabrics like silk, satin, and velvet was recognized as a test of virtuosity; Ter Borch, Van Mieris, and several other painters were admired for their ability

to imitate materials that changed colors with the play of light.<sup>4</sup> Such a passage might be set against something very different to the senses of sight and touch, like the tender skin of a young woman, a fur or feathered hat, or the silk and wool weave of a tapestry. The choice of colors—for example, the closely valued tones in the *Study of a Young Woman* (cat. no. 75) or the primaries (a blue and yellow scarf, red lips) in *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (fig. 285)—and of every other quality in works of this kind was determined subjectively in the studio.

For a painter who excelled in the observation of light there was hardly a more suitable vehicle than the subject of the present picture: a bust-length figure of a young woman in a wrap of luxurious material, an outrageous hat, moist lips set between glistening pearls, and daylight streaming in from a nearby window on the right. That the model has distinctive, somewhat androgenous features and conveys a certain attitude (which one would have needed to carry off such a costume) adds considerably to the work’s “curiosity,” a term routinely employed by connoisseurs of the period to express admiration. One also gains a sense of contemporary taste by comparing a painting such as Rembrandt’s *Flora* of about

a decade earlier (fig. 284), which although not a *tronie* must have had a similar appeal. In each picture a woman with an interesting face and, it seems, personality is (or was) lost in her own world. Light flows in from the side, playing over the abundant folds of a costume from another time and place. The extraordinary headgear (Flora’s once extended much farther in front of her brow) allowed the artists to cast shadows over the figures’ features, perhaps suggesting (as in Rembrandt’s *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer*) the mobility of thoughts or feelings. With such a painting it is pointless to complain that a chair finial is improperly aligned or that a hand (like Flora’s left) is out of scale: the artist did whatever worked best in that particular passage. He would have had larger issues in mind, like the legacy of Titian, the reputation of Rembrandt, or the example of Carel Fabritius.

Two *tronies* by Fabritius and two by Samuel van Hoogstraten were listed in the 1676 inventory of Vermeer’s estate, along with a *tronie* (perhaps by Vermeer) in an upstairs room.<sup>5</sup> “A tronie in antique dress, uncommonly artful,” and “Another ditto Vermeer” together with “A pendant of the same” are listed consecutively in the catalogue of the



1696 Dissius sale,<sup>6</sup> which suggests that one or more of the known paintings of this type by Vermeer had been owned by his patron Pieter van Ruijven. The present picture, the *Study of a Young Woman* (cat. no. 75), and the *Girl with a Pearl Earring* (fig. 285) probably all date from the same period, about 1665–67.<sup>7</sup>

Almost every aspect of this picture in Washington has been associated with the camera obscura, including its small size, wood support (on which a portrait by another artist had been painted),<sup>8</sup> space, focus, fluid execution, and particular light effects. Wheelock advanced the least plausible of these hypotheses—that Vermeer may have worked on wood “to achieve the sheen of an image seen in a camera obscura”<sup>9</sup>—but at the same time he qualified the idea that the artist imitated the device’s light effects. It is clear that Vermeer’s blurred and radiant highlights, while possibly inspired by experience with a camera obscura, were employed arbitrarily, with a constant concern for artistic effect. The perhaps illogical alignment of the lion-head finials (which do not necessarily belong to the same chair), the pattern of the tapestry, and the quickly sketched and scratched scarf at the woman’s throat obey the same aesthetic rather than optical rules, although Vermeer’s effects of color and light are remarkably naturalistic.

The painting bears a strong if general resemblance to artists’ self-portraits studied in mirrors, including Rembrandt’s earliest examples and, perhaps, the figure on the left in *The Procuress* (cat. no. 66). The model’s pose recalls that in Rembrandt’s *Self-Portrait* of 1640 (National Gallery, London) and in the many works that famous picture influenced.<sup>10</sup> These *tronies* and self-portraits in imaginary attire usually feature drapery thrown over the shoulder, some kind of loose or high collar, a large beret tilted at a rakish angle, and in many cases a gold or pearl earring.<sup>11</sup>

The technical aspects of *Girl with a Red Hat* have been discussed by Wheelock.<sup>12</sup> The painting’s closeness in style and execution to other works of the mid-1660s and a proper understanding of Vermeer’s intentions in pictures of this kind suffice to dismiss any doubts about its authorship.<sup>13</sup> But it remains an anomaly, perhaps the most daring work by an artist who usually proceeded with the greatest care.

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1. See Van der Veen’s essay on *tronies* and portraits by Rembrandt in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, pp. 69–80.
2. Worp 1891, p. 128, and Huygens 1971, p. 81.
3. See New York 1995–96, vol. 2, pp. 44–45, fig. 50.
4. On the challenge of rendering fine fabrics, see Van de Wetering 1993.
5. Montias 1989, pp. 339–41 (doc. no. 364, rooms 3, 5, 10). See also Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 163.
6. Montias 1989, p. 364 (doc. no. 439, nos. 38–40).
7. See, most recently, Liedtke 2000, pp. 242–45, where the disputed *Girl with a Flute* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) is also discussed.
8. Wheelock’s suggestion in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 163, that Vermeer may have painted the present picture over a *tronie* by Carel Fabritius has nothing to recommend it. The underlying work appears to be a conventional portrait by a hand other than Fabritius or Vermeer, who would probably not have destroyed what he admired.
9. Ibid., p. 162.
10. See, most recently, Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, nos. 13 (the Rembrandt), 45 (Bol).
11. See, for example, the paintings by Govert Flinck illustrated in Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 2, nos. 675, 680, 681, 683 (the last is now in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires).
12. See Wheelock 1995a, chap. 11, and Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 160.
13. Vermeer’s responsibility is questioned in Blankert 1978, no. B3, and in a few other places, without plausible arguments.

REFERENCES: Thoré 1866, p. 567, no. 47; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 602, no. 46a; Hale 1913, p. 359; Hale 1937, pp. 132–33; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 40, pl. 22; Swillens 1950, no. G (as not by Vermeer); Malraux 1952, p. 96, no. XXVII; Goldscheider 1958, no. 25; Bloch 1963, pl. 56; Bianconi 1967, no. 32; Gerson 1967, col. 740; Gowing 1970, pp. 21, 138, 148, pl. 57; Fahy and Watson 1973, p. 313; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 21; C. Brown 1977, p. 57; Wheelock 1977a, pp. 292, 298; Blankert 1978, pp. 73–74, no. B3; Wheelock 1978; Slaktes 1981, pp. 96–97; Wheelock 1981, pp. 39, 130–31; Pops 1984, pp. 68, 71, 76, 96, 99; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, no. b3; Wheelock 1988, pp. 37, 45, 100–101, 114, 126; Montias 1989, pp. 265–66; Gregory 1993, p. 144; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 18, 119, 120–27, 134, 154, 159, 180; Wheelock 1995b, pp. 382–87; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 26, 51, 168, 176, 178, 204, no. 14; Larsen 1996, no. A7 (as not by Vermeer); Wheelock 1997, pl. 23; Liedtke 2000, pp. 210, 242–45, 257, 292, nn. 142, 143, p. 293, nn. 152, 167.

EXHIBITED: New York 1925, no. 1; New York 1928, no. 12; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 14.

EX COLL.: Probably Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, Delft, before 1674; perhaps his widow, Maria de Knuijt, Delft, 1674–81; probably their daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven (1655–1682), and her husband, Jacob Dissius (1653–1695), Delft (perhaps in the latter’s sale, Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, possibly no. 38, 39, or 40); (LaFontaine sale, Paris, December 10, 1822, no. 28); Louis Marie, Baron Arthalin, Colmar, 1823–56; Gaston, Baron Laurent-Arthalin, Limay

(Seine-et-Oise), 1856–1911; Baroness Laurent-Arthalin, Paris, 1911–25; [Knoodler Galleries, London and New York, 1925]; purchased from them in November 1925 by Andrew W. Mellon, Pittsburgh and Washington, D.C.; deeded by him on March 30, 1932 to The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Pittsburgh; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1937 (1937.1.53).

## 75. *Study of a Young Woman*

ca. 1665–67

Oil on canvas, 17¼ x 15¼ in. (44.5 x 40 cm)

Signed upper left: IVMeer

[IVM in monogram]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles  
Wrightsmen, in memory of Theodore  
Rousseau Jr., 1979

New York only

In the 1696 sale catalogue of paintings owned by Jacob Dissius, the son-in-law of Vermeer’s patron Pieter van Ruijven, “A *tronie* in antique dress, uncommonly artful” is listed as number 38 and is followed by “39. Another ditto [*tronie* by] Vermeer;” and “40. A pendant of the same” (see the discussion of *tronies* under cat. no. 74).<sup>1</sup> Almost any costume with a bolt of material thrown over the shoulder could explain the reference to a figure as in “antique” dress, which meant merely outdated, not necessarily classical. The entire costume in the present painting from the Wrightsmen collection or in *Girl with a Red Hat*, and the headgear in *Girl with a Pearl Earring* in the Mauritshuis (fig. 285), would have been termed antique by Dutch critics and cataloguers of the seventeenth century, quite as the costumes in *Diana and Her Companions* (cat. no. 64) could have been so described.

It is more curious that two of the *tronies* in the Dissius sale were considered pendants. The Wrightsmen and Mauritshuis paintings are almost identical in size and are close in composition: the figures are similarly posed against dark backgrounds, and each wears a pearl earring and an elegant scarf that falls behind her head. The models may or may not have been Vermeer’s daughters, but neither picture was painted as a portrait.<sup>2</sup> The paintings are studies of expression, physical types, and visual qualities such as the behavior of



Fig. 285. Johannes Vermeer, *Girl with a Pearl Earring*, 1665–67. Oil on canvas, 17½ x 15½ in. (44.5 x 39 cm). Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis, The Hague





Fig. 286. Johannes Vermeer, *Mistress and Maid*, ca. 1666–67. Oil on canvas, 35½ x 31 in. (90.2 x 78.7 cm). Frick Collection, New York

light. Whether the two canvases were conceived as pendants, which would have been exceptional for *tronies*, is quite uncertain but cannot be dismissed out of hand. The differences between the pictures are as remarkable as the similarities.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, the Maurits-huis painting is more immediately appealing, but the Wrightsman picture is equally impressive in its naturalism and perhaps more so in

its suggestion of character. The less conventional physiognomy suits the thoughtful, sideward glance and the very different smile; there is no question which young woman would have posed for Martha and which for Mary had Vermeer, some years after painting these studies, undertaken to treat again the subject of Christ's visit to the house of his cousins (see cat. no. 65).

As discussed with regard to *Girl with a Red Hat*, the painting of fine materials, with many shifts of color in changing light, was recognized in Vermeer's day as one of the most challenging tests of artistic ability. Masters whom Vermeer admired, in particular Gerard ter Borch and Frans van Mieris, were celebrated for their skill in this area. The materials depicted in the present painting are not

secondary but essential motifs, meant for the connoisseur's eye and imagination. The coloring of the face and lips accords with that of the costume, in a more muted manner than that found in *Girl with a Pearl Earring*. The gradual transition from light to shadow on the young woman's intriguing face, which would probably not respond as well to the strong light employed in the Mauritshuis picture, is in sympathy with the subtle shifts of tone in the drapery. In the other work a contemporary jacket, strongly colored and with faceted folds, provides a solid base for the sculptural head. The modeling, the palette, and the figure's glance have a directness not found in the Wrightsman painting, where the contours are blurred, the shadows are softer, and the highlights are either muted (as in the angular pocket of folds to the lower right) or glisten like a glass mosaic, the staccato pattern of which hints at the weave of luxurious fabric. There is something dreamlike about the illumination in *Study of a Young Woman* that enhances the sense of disengagement from the viewer in both form and mood. At the bottom of the picture, the resting forearm and back of the wrist represent one of Vermeer's willful elisions of what is known (in this case, anatomy) in favor of what might be seen (depending upon the observer). The flesh tone also slightly enhances the viewer's concentration upon the face.

The dark background in this painting, the Mauritshuis picture, and the *Mistress and Maid* in the Frick Collection (fig. 286) brings to mind works by contemporary artists such as Frans van Mieris, Karel Dujardin, and Michiel Sweerts. In 1666 Sweerts published a series of engravings representing bust-length figures, a few of which anticipate Vermeer's studies of young women in their compositions and "antique" costumes.<sup>4</sup> Sweerts also painted a number of *tronies* during his Amsterdam residence (1660–61), as well as works like *Clothing the Naked* (fig. 287), which include memorable studies of expression and character.<sup>5</sup> The beautiful daylight and velvety backgrounds seen in works by Sweerts (and, less frequently, in paintings by Dujardin, Van Mieris, and others), where one also finds characters whose unclassical features (a Netherlandish topos) are underscored by curious expressions and sideward glances, are qualities that place Vermeer's *tronies* and pictures like *Mistress and Maid* in a broader context. He was an artist of exquisite taste but the taste was of his time.

WL

1. Montias 1989, p. 364 (doc. no. 439, dated May 16, 1696).
2. According to Wheelock (1981, p. 132), the Wrightsman picture is a portrait, whereas the Mauritshuis painting and the *Girl with a Red Hat* "are idealized studies." But neither is idealized in the usual sense, or "classical" as claimed in Osaka 2000, p. 186 (see

- Liedtke 2000, pp. 242–45, fig. 303, comparing Vermeer's *tronies* to earlier examples by Jan Gerritsz van Bronchorst and other Utrecht artists). To entertain the notion of portraiture (as has been done recently in novels and an opera) would imply that Van Ruijven or some other patron had a personal interest in the models. In the absence of evidence suggesting a strong bond between them the hypothesis is implausible. Evidence to the contrary survives (assuming, for the sake of argument, that the artist's daughters served as models): in 1665, at about the time Vermeer's *tronies* were painted, Van Ruijven's wife left 500 guilders to the painter in her will, but specifically excluded his children should they survive him. See Montias 1989, p. 323 (doc. no. 301).
3. In 1982 the works were placed side by side during off-hours of the Mauritshuis exhibition in New York. They appeared more consistent in quality and immediacy than one might have imagined from reproductions.
  4. Kultzen 1996, nos. E7–19, pls. 131–43.
  5. Among Sweerts's *tronies*, see in particular the so-called *Portrait of a Young Maidservant* in a private collection, Paris (ibid., no. XXIV, pl. 97).

REFERENCES: Plietzsch 1911, pp. 57–58, 115, no. 11; Hale 1937, p. 182; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 38, pl. 15; Swillens 1950, pp. 105–6, 154, no. 29 (as probably not by Vermeer); Malraux 1952, pp. 119–20, no. 1; Goldscheider 1958, no. 33; Seligman 1961, pp. 240–45; Bloch 1963, pl. 46; Bianconi 1967, no. 23; Gerson 1967, col. 743; Fahy and Watson 1973, no. 32; Grimme 1974, no. 34; Blankert 1978, p. 59, no. 30; Snow 1979, p. 141, n. 15; Slatkes 1981, pp. 104–5; Wheelock 1981, pp. 132–33; Pops 1984, pp. 76, 77, 107, n. 12; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, p. 142, no. 30; Wheelock 1988, pp. 102–3; Montias 1989, pp. 47, 196–97, 221, 261, 266; Nash 1991, p. 19; Arasse 1994, pp. 17, 73, 87, 90, 121; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 123, 181; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 27, 75; Larsen 1996, no. 16; Wheelock 1997, pl. 26; Liedtke 2000, pp. 242–44.

EXHIBITED: Düsseldorf 1904, no. 398; The Hague, Paris 1966, no. VI (The Hague), no. VII (Paris).

EX COLL.: Possibly Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, Delft, before 1674; possibly his widow, Maria de Knuijt, Delft, 1674–81; possibly their daughter, Magdalena van Ruijven (1655–1682), and her husband, Jacob Dissius (1653–1695), Delft; (perhaps in the latter's sale, Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, no. 38, 39, or 40); probably Dr. Luchtmans (sold Rotterdam, April 20–22, 1816, no. 92); by 1829 Prince Auguste Marie Raymond d' Arenberg, Brussels; his family, Brussels and Schloss Meppen, 1833–early 1950s; [Jacques Seligmann and Company, New York, 1955]; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, New York, 1955–79; their gift in 1979 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 1979.396.1).

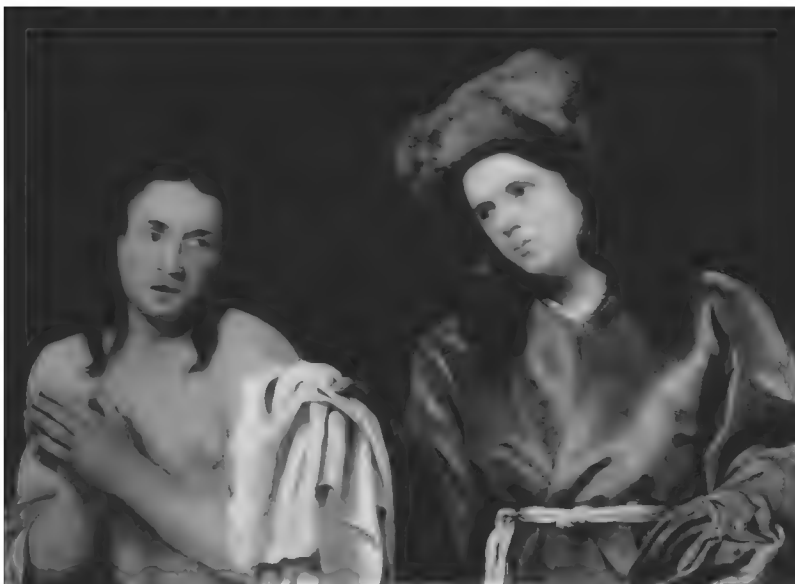


Fig. 287. Michiel Sweerts, *Clothing the Naked*, ca. 1660–61. Oil on canvas, 32½ x 45 in. (81.9 x 114.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1984



## 76. *The Art of Painting*

ca. 1666–68

Oil on canvas, 47 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 39 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (120 x 100 cm)

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

No picture is more important to the theme of this exhibition than Vermeer's celebrated canvas *The Art of Painting*, which the artist retained in his own household between its execution about 1666–68 and his death. It seems very likely that he intended the work as an extraordinary demonstration piece, that is, a visual discourse on the status of his own profession and also a concrete example of what painting could achieve. In this Vermeer was accepting a challenge from contemporary artists such as Gerard Dou, who had painted several self-portraits (for example, fig. 288) in which excellence is claimed both symbolically and by the sheer virtuosity of particular passages.<sup>1</sup> As usual, however, Vermeer's knowledge of numerous precedents and his distinctive sensibility produced an invention that does not quite resemble any other artist's work.

The importance of sophisticated patrons for the arts in Delft has been noted on numerous pages of this catalogue. Of particular interest for *The Art of Painting* are the many connoisseurs, diplomats, and other distinguished parties who came to Delft in order to see its historic and artistic monuments and to visit the studios of highly skilled artists and artisans. At least since the time of the Delft sculptor Willem van Tetrode (see cat. nos. 141, 142), diarists and other writers recorded their impressions of artworks in the city. A poem devoted to Van Tetrode's new altar ensemble in the Oude Kerk, written by the Haarlem humanist Hadrianus Junius (Adriaen de Jonghe, 1511–1575),<sup>2</sup> anticipated by a generation Karel van Mander's descriptions (in 1604) of the majestic altarpieces that had been painted in Delft by visiting artists such as Frans Floris, Maerten van Heemskerck, Jan van Scorel, and Pieter Aertsen, and by Delft's own Anthonie Blocklandt (see chapter 2). When the Utrecht canon and art lover Aernout van Buchell was in Delft (1598) he noted the outstanding artists and collectors there and stopped at the house of the still-life painter Elias Verhulst (d. 1601), whose wife showed the potential customer

paintings of "almost all types of flowers," shells, and other curiosities.<sup>3</sup> More purposeful visits to the studios of Michiel van Miereveld and other portraitists and to the tapestry workshops of François Spiering, Karel van Mander the Younger, and Maximiliaan van der Gucht were made by discriminating clients, many of them connected with the government or the court in The Hague.

The tradition of great patrons visiting artists' studios would have been familiar to Vermeer from direct experience as well as from written and oral accounts. By the mid-seventeenth century there existed a symbiotic relationship between famous artists and discerning patrons, each gaining in reputation and self-esteem by associating with the other. The ancient forefathers Apelles (who was awarded the beautiful Campaspe by Alexander the Great) and Saint Luke himself (who painted the Virgin) had modern counterparts in artists like Titian, Rubens, Van Dyck, and Velázquez, who had been honored by princely (if not divine) visitors to their studios. Alexander, too, had his followers, in contemporary patrons like Charles I and Philip IV (who visits Velázquez in *Las Meninas*), and in more accessible connoisseurs such as Constantijn Huygens, Pieter Spiering Silvercroon, Balthasar Monconys, and other courtly and patrician art lovers (see chapter 1). In the case of Pieter Teding van Berkhout (see fig. 296), it would appear that the young

gentleman was for the most part accruing credit to himself by visiting the studios of Dou (in Leiden), Caspar Netscher (in The Hague), Cornelis Bisschop (in Dordrecht), and "a famous painter named Vermeer," all in 1669.<sup>4</sup> It would almost seem—indeed, may have been—that the francophone diarist from The Hague was following instructions found in Pierre Le Brun's "Essays on the Wonders of Painting" (1635), which observed that "to know how to discourse on this noble profession, you must have frequented the studio and disputed with the masters, have seen the magic effects of the pencil, and the unerring judgment with which the details are worked out."<sup>5</sup>

In a novel one might tell the tale of how the French diplomat Balthasar de Monconys went to Vermeer's studio on August 11, 1663, but the artist had nothing on hand to show him. And so Vermeer conceived *The Art of Painting*, which would reveal to subsequent visitors "the magic effects" of his brush (which is what Le Brun meant by "pencil") and the cleverness with which he could describe not only his own occupation (Allegories of Painting were common enough) but also the very place in which the connoisseur found himself.<sup>6</sup> In fact, several circumstances could have inspired Vermeer to paint such a picture, which is his largest work dating from later than *The Procuress* of 1656 (cat. no. 66).<sup>7</sup> By the mid-1660s he was highly regarded—to



Fig. 288. Gerard Dou, *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1665. Oil on panel, 23 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 17 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (59 x 43.5 cm). Private collection, Boston



Fig. 289. Quiring van Brecklenkam, *The Painter's Studio*, 1659. Oil on wood, 19 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 14 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (49 x 36.5 cm). State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg



judge from his position in the Guild of Saint Luke, the prices paid for his pictures (600 guilders, according to Monconys), the support of his patron Pieter van Ruijven, and what is known of his involvement with amateurs in Delft and The Hague. A number of Dutch painters had depicted themselves—or artists like themselves—in imaginary studios, sometimes with models resembling figures found in their own paintings, and occasionally with curious customers. One of the most interesting for Vermeer's picture is *The Artist's Studio* of about 1657 by Frans van Mieris (formerly in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), which shows the seated painter engaged in conversation with his attractive model and apparently (like Apelles) falling in love.<sup>8</sup> Dou's *Self-Portrait* of 1665 (fig. 288) does not include a model but features several attributes similar to those in Vermeer's painting (discussed below). A work formerly ascribed to Job Berckheyde, *The Painter's Studio* of 1659 (fig. 289), is actually another Leiden example since the picture has been convincingly reattributed to Quiringh van Brekelenkam.<sup>9</sup> It shows a seated client studying a landscape while another visitor (a middleman?) looks on with a concerned expression. The dandified artist—his costume bears comparison with that of Vermeer's painter—casts a knowing glance at the viewer. The latter, in 1659, would likely have been a visitor to the artist's studio.

The full range of Vermeer's sources was reviewed recently in a persuasive study of the picture's meaning.<sup>10</sup> His most immediate models were not works like Maerten van Heemskerck's *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* of 1532 (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem), although there is something virginal and radiant about Vermeer's blue-robed muse. He must have referred firstly to contemporary studio scenes in which the setting and figures bring to mind other works by the actual painter. In an amusing example by the Antwerp artist Joos van Craesbeeck (fig. 290), a painter in a feathered beret faces away from the viewer and works on a typical Van Craesbeeck, *The Five Senses* set in a tavern. The models look like neighbors who have agreed to hold appropriate poses for an hour or so. Of course, the artist at the easel contributes to the representation of sight, and turns the picture into an allegory of the art of painting. The still life on the table, the impres-

sive description of light, the treatment of surfaces like those of the pewter tankard and the wood stool, and the illusionistic repoussoir to the left testify to Van Craesbeeck's various abilities, quite as the conception of the whole reveals his inventiveness.<sup>11</sup>

It could be said that Vermeer surveys similar territory from a higher point of view. His artist paints a variation on a theme by Vermeer, a beautiful young woman demurely posing in a sunlit room (which in its scale and marble-tiled floor must bear no resemblance to the artist's top-floor studio).<sup>12</sup> As in the witty compositions by Van Brekelenkam, Van Craesbeeck, Van Mieris, and other contemporary masters, it is the scene as a whole, not the canvas on the easel, that reminds one of pictures by the painter himself. In the many debates about *The Art of Painting*'s iconography, too little account has been taken of the fact that the canvas remained, as Vermeer evidently intended, in his own house, where he was more likely to receive art lovers than delegations supporting Painting not Sculpture, Dutch art not Italian, or classical rhetoric.<sup>13</sup> The picture was not painted for a particular patron or for presentation to the painters' guild, but for Vermeer himself, "in order to have an outstanding specimen of his art in his studio."<sup>14</sup> Thus the identification of the painter in the picture with Vermeer himself was meant to be self-evident, and the young woman's pose and expression make it plain that like any model she is just playing a part. One cannot imagine this relaxed, coy creature (see fig. 143) as an illustration in Ripa's compendium of allegorical figures, although her attributes are borrowed from one of them, namely, Clio, the muse of history.<sup>15</sup>

Most writers on *The Art of Painting* have concluded accordingly that Vermeer, despite his own success as a genre painter, echoes the theoretical platitude that the highest calling of an artist is to represent historical subjects.<sup>16</sup> However, Clio's laurel crown and trumpet refer to honor and fame, or *Eere-Roem*, as the Dutch translator of Ripa, Dirck Pietersz Pers, rendered her name. The large book indicates that significant achievements will be recorded for posterity: Clio, in this context, is the muse of future history. Thus art conquers mortality, as claimed by critics such as Philips Angel and by contemporary painters such as Dou.<sup>17</sup> In

the latter's *Self-Portrait* (fig. 288), the books refer to learning and the mask to imitation—conception and execution, one might say—while the mask also contributes to a *paragone* of the arts, a comparison between the standards of representation possible in painting, sculpture, and perhaps tapestry. The material draped over the windowsill is set beside the books, a clear glass vase with liquid, the vessel's shadow, the tapestry and the entirely different shadow it casts, and the stone cartouche: in other words, a catalogue of things sculpture cannot represent convincingly (except sculpture itself). Vermeer also sets different kinds of drapery next to books and a plaster mask, which in a glance raises the question of imitation and dismisses sculpture from contention. Implicit in the comparison between mediums is that between the senses of touch and sight, a subject on which Aristotle was considered an authority and which Rembrandt must have intended to address (along with other issues) in his *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer* of 1653 (Metropolitan Museum).

*The Art of Painting* faithfully reproduces three other art forms, a tapestry, a sculpture, and a masterpiece of engraving in the form of a *Kaart Figuratie* (Illustrated Map; see the discussion under cat. no. 134).<sup>18</sup> The map itself is a remarkable passage of trompe-l'oeil painting; Vermeer compares the texture of the plaster wall and conveys the map's stiffness and weight (long ripples radiate from the nails above). With his usual economy he also employs the creases and folds of the map to enliven the interval between artist and model (compare the effect of the map in fig. 165).

The map further suggests that the art of painting has brought fame to the Netherlands, as writers like Cornelis de Bie (1661) maintained.<sup>19</sup> Political interpretations of the map and of the Habsburg eagle in the chandelier have been advanced unconvincingly and overlook the importance of these motifs as examples of the art of painting's remarkable capacity to describe appearances, including the most intangible qualities and fleeting effects. The complicated masterpiece of metalwork, with its molten reflections and elusive detail (such as the standing figures), is a tour de force with which few motifs in contemporary still-life painting can be compared.<sup>20</sup> The object hangs above the painter like one

of the baskets suspended from the rafters in households by Jan Steen,<sup>21</sup> but instead of attributes forecasting future ruin the chandelier offers evidence of astonishing talent and supports the picture's promise of lasting fame.

The tapestry is an illusionistic device reminiscent of Parrhasios's veil,<sup>22</sup> and also of feigned curtains hanging in front of earlier Delft pictures (for example, De Witte's picture showing the figure of Fame on the rear of William the Silent's tomb; cat. no. 93). The silhouetting effects of the tapestry, the painter, and the model (compare fig. 65) enhance the impression of receding space when the canvas is viewed at a certain distance (which the perspective construction defines as about seven feet, or slightly more than two meters).<sup>23</sup> For contemporary viewers, the tapestry also created a more specific illusion, that of being at a threshold between two rooms. One finds a similar arrangement (if not the same effect) in the background of Thomas de Keyser's portrait of Constantijn Huygens (fig. 15), where our view of the connoisseur's inner sanctum would be comparable with the one found in the present picture if we were about to enter the study through the doorway in the background. In both paintings, the tapestry faces into an impressive interior and we are in another, less important space (like a hallway). Vermeer also used tapestries to help define thresholds in two slightly later pictures, *The Love Letter* (fig. 177) and *Allegory of the Faith* (cat. no. 77). But in neither case is the effect as illusionistic as it is in *The Art of Painting*, where the modeling, textures, and effects of light on the tapestry are much more naturalistic. Brilliant passages of description are found in unexpected places, like the upper left corner of the picture where loose threads (compare those in fig. 173) dangle from the vague pattern of the tapestry's back, and sunlight sprinkles down the black border and curving folds (which, along with the tapestry's colors, are echoed in the map).<sup>24</sup>

One might suppose that the chair in the foreground is provided for the connoisseur, especially since the vanishing point (which is slightly to the lower left of the ball on the map bar) coincides approximately with the vantage point of a seated figure in that location. But Vermeer always used perspective in a subtle manner, often (as here) to draw the

Fig. 290. Joos van Craesbeeck, *An Artist Painting "The Five Senses,"* ca. 1655. Oil on wood, 19 1/4 x 26 in. (48.5 x 66 cm). Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris



viewer toward a certain area of the composition and at the same time to hold him at a contemplative remove (compare *The Concert*, fig. 161). The chair (like several others in Vermeer's oeuvre) is a hospitable repoussoir, which in this picture completes a continuous recession from the tapestry to the table and the female figure. The design of the floor tiles, the receding edge of the table—interrupted only by the drawing book, a critical link between artist and model—and the latter's placement at an intersection of rectilinear lines are among the formal devices that focus attention upon "Clio," who like Vermeer's letter readers (compare fig. 169) and the woman with a balance (cat. no. 73) is a faintly smiling young woman with downcast eyes. The viewer seems to share in the artist's act of concentration, which itself is assisted by shapes and lines leading toward the model: the bar and lower border of the map, the alignment of the easel, the leftward diagonals in the floor, and so on. (Everything about the artist's pose, not just the turn of his head, seems responsive to his companion in the studio.) Finally, the secondary recession to the right, from the chair in the foreground to the matching chair in the background, gives one a strong sense of looking over the artist's shoulder. His blurred hand, braced by the maulstick and (like the model's head) crowned by a laurel wreath, fascinates the observer, even while Clio seduces him. Rarely does one have the feeling, in front of a great work of art, of somehow completing the composition simply by looking at it. Illusionistic paintings always imply the viewer's presence, but here the involvement is more intense, as if one has

entered into a complicated relationship with the figures in the scene.

So many of the qualities and conceits of this picture are characteristic of Vermeer that it is a wonder the work seems so uncontrived. Visitors to the exhibition, or to Vienna, will discover countless refinements in the painting, depending upon their own perceptual preoccupations. One might dwell upon the seemingly infinite gradations of light, the quiet echoes in coloring, the endless essays on texture (as in the artist's hair), or the deft and often witty examples of patterning. (For example, the blacks, whites, and veins of gray in the floor tiles are picked up in the artist's slashed doublet and the folds of his shirt.) The diamond shape of the floor tiles is repeated in Clio's book, which focuses the viewer's attention no matter how much his eyes might be tempted to wander.

Vermeer's allegory of painting is like no other, except in its symbolism. With regard to the latter, one of the most analogous of Netherlandish pictures is a small image on copper which was probably meant to be kept in the painter's workshop (fig. 291). A winged and trumpet-toting figure of Fame leads a contingent of connoisseurs into a studio, where for comparative purposes a sculptor and evidently an engraver are also at work.<sup>25</sup> The painter's art is superior, but the picture does not demonstrate why. Vermeer's visitors, by contrast, saw the present picture and understood that the art of painting was unsurpassed. WL

1. On Dou's *Self-Portrait* of about 1665, see Washington, London, The Hague 2000–2001, no. 29.

2. See Veldman 1977, p. 104.



Fig. 291. Attributed to Hendrick van Steenwyck the Elder, *Art Lovers Welcomed by Fame in an Artist's Studio*, ca. 1600. Oil on copper,  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. (9.5 x 18.4 cm). Private collection, Paris

3. Montias 1982, pp. 55–56; see also Pollmann 1999.
4. On Teding van Berkhout, see chap. 1, p. 15 and n. 56.
5. Le Brun 1849, as quoted in translation (without giving a page number) by Van de Wetering in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, p. 60. For photographs of Teding van Berkhout's penned remarks, see Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 50, fig. 4.
6. On Monconys's visit, see Montias 1989, pp. 180–81. Sluijter (1998a, pp. 265–66) stops just short of this scenario when he writes: "With such a magnificent example of his abilities he would no longer disappoint important visitors, as was the case with the French connoisseur and diplomat Balthasar de Monconys."
7. *A View of Delft* (fig. 23) is just slightly smaller but not a comparable work. The later *Allegory of Faith* (cat. no. 77) is nearly as tall but about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. (11.1 cm) narrower.
8. The painting was destroyed in World War II; illustrated in Naumann 1981, no. 19. See Blankert 1978, p. 49, fig. 36, and especially Sluijter 1998a, p. 273, fig. 12.
9. See Fleischer 1988, p. 72, where the connection with other Leiden studio scenes is emphasized, and fig. 4-7, for another studio scene by Van Mieris. The Van Brecklenkam was also compared (as by Berckheyde) with Vermeer's painting in Gowing 1970, p. 141.
10. Sluijter 1998a. For a review of earlier analyses, see Hertel 1996, pp. 18–21, 167–70, 176–86, 200–204. Sluijter very effectively considers various authors who praised painters for bringing honor and fame to their country or city. However, he mistakenly repeats another scholar's suggestion that Vermeer (who was dead at the time) influenced the lines about himself and Carel Fabritius in Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, pp. 833–54 (Sluijter 1998a, p. 269).
11. Compare the studio scenes by Jan Miense Molenaer (1631) and Adriaen van Ostade (ca. 1667) mentioned in Wheelock 1981, p. 128, figs. 73, 75, and *The Smokers* by Adriaen Brouwer (Metropolitan Museum; discussed in Liedtke 1984a, pp. 5–10). A work closer to Van Craesbeeck's is Matheus van Helmont's picture of a painter's studio, dated 1652 (with Lawrence Steigard Fine Arts, New York, in 1999), in which the interior and the figures look like they have been repeated from other works by Van Helmont.
12. See Montias 1989, p. 341 (doc. no. 364), the inventory of movable goods from Vermeer's estate: room

- no. 10 ("Above in the back room") and room 11 ("In the front room" upstairs). Among the items worth citing—the inventory includes copper bedpans, a wicker chair, and "some rummage not worthy of being itemized"—are two easels, three palettes, a "cane" (maulstick) with an ivory knob, ten canvases, six panels, a desk, two Spanish chairs, two table carpets, five folio volumes, twenty-five other books, and a painting of Cupid (see no. 78 in this catalogue).
13. On the latter, see Miedema 1998.
14. Sluijter 1998a, p. 265. In Wheelock 1981, p. 2 (commentary to the frontispiece), it is noted that "the theme would have been appropriate for the newly decorated St. Luke's Guild, where ceiling paintings illustrated the Seven Liberal Arts. To these seven was added an eighth, *Painting*, a gift to the guild from Leonaert Bramer. . . . Whether or not [Vermeer] intended the guild to have [his own allegory of painting] is not known." But one can guess, considering that at the time Vermeer's painting would have been valued at over a thousand guilders, and that it refers specifically to him as well as to his profession. Other writers have repeated the suggestion that the painting was intended for the guild but refused or returned before Vermeer's death (see Sluijter 1998a, p. 278, n. 8, where the idea is dismissed).
15. The source in Cesare Ripa's *Icnologia* (see Ripa 1644) was first pointed out in Hultén 1949 (see Sluijter 1998a, p. 265).
16. See, for example, Gowing 1970, p. 139; Wheelock 1981, p. 128; Haak 1984, pp. 449–50; and Wheelock 1995a, pp. 130, 131. See Sluijter 1998a, pp. 265, 278, nn. 1–6.
17. See Sluijter 1993 and Sluijter 1998a, pp. 266–67.
18. In this revised edition of 1636 Claes Jansz Vischer modernized a map of 1594 by Johannes van Doetecum. See Dumas 1991, pp. 222, 233–34, nn. 27, 29, 653.
19. See Sluijter 1998a, pp. 267–71.
20. See the detail illustrated in Wheelock 1995a, p. 133.
21. See Metropolitan Museum 1984, p. 90.
22. The story is told in Pliny's *Historia naturalis* (Natural History); see in this catalogue no. 21, n. 13.
23. See Wadum's diagram of the composition's perspective construction in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 70, fig. 5b. The distance from the vanishing point to either of the distance points is about one and three-quarters times the width of the canvas (which

is about four feet). This results in a conservative angle of view of about thirty degrees.

24. On the notion that these and other effects in *The Art of Painting* might owe something to the use of a camera obscura, see Liedtke 2000, pp. 247–49.
25. See Van de Wetering in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, pp. 61–62. He suggests that the figure by the globe in the corner may be an engraver. This seems plausible, although it may be meant as a model posing as a scholar in his study.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 585–86, no. 8; Hale 1937, pp. 200–204; Neurdenburg 1942; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 20, 40–41, pl. 23; Hultén 1949; Swillens 1950, pp. 50, 71–72, 99–102, 130, 131, no. 25; Van Gelder 1951; Sedlmayr 1951; Malraux 1952, pp. 116–18, no. XXXIV; Tolnay 1953; Van Gelder 1958b; Goldscheider 1958, pp. 39–40, no. 24; Badt 1961, pp. 19–24, 101–17; Bloch 1963, no. 62; Bianconi 1967, no. 30; Gowing 1970, pls. 50–52, 60; Miedema 1972; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 23; Blankert 1978, pp. 11, 43, 46–49, 56, 59, 62, 70, 75, n. 11, 155, no. 19; Welu 1978; Snow 1979, pp. 10, 12, 59, 68, 80, 81, 85, 94, 96–116, 139, n. 6, 142, n. 17, 152, n. 14, 154, n. 21, 162, n. 8, 164, n. 18; Slatkes 1981, pp. 76–79; Wheelock 1981, pp. 2, 128–29; Alpers 1983, pp. 165–69; C. Brown 1984, p. 215; Haak 1984, pp. 449–50; Pops 1984, pp. 1, 46, 61–64, 68, 71, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 100; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 10, 57–58, 60–61, 126, 140, 142, 172, no. 19; Montias 1989, pp. 189, 191, 196, 201–2, 219, 221, 229–30, 338–39, 350; Nash 1991, pp. 24, 26, 41, 119–26; Asemissen 1993; Arasse 1994, pp. 7, 17–18, 19–20, 22, 34, 36, 40–58, 85, 93, 114, n. 26, 116, n. 40, 122, n. 13; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 1, 5, 61, 126, 129–39, 147, 159, 164, 165; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 27, 34, 41, 47, 50, 52, 60, 67, 74–75, 76, 78, 118, 154; Hertel 1996, pp. 7, 10, 14, 18–21, 40–41, 72, 106, 113, 129, 146–47, 151, 166, 167–70, 176–86, 200–204; Larsen 1996, p. 14, no. 17; Wheelock 1997, p. 7, pl. 24; Miedema 1998; Sluijter 1998a; Washington 1999–2000; Liedtke 2000, pp. 65, 72, 195, 201, 210, 229, 247–51, 252, 257, 261, 287, n. 86, 293, nn. 175, 186, 293–94, n. 190, 294, n. 200.

EXHIBITED: Zurich 1946–47, no. 426; Brussels and other cities 1947–52, no. 148 (Brussels), no. 193 (Amsterdam), no. 191 (London), no. 124 (Washington, New York, Chicago, San Francisco), no. 176 (Oslo); Vienna 1953, no. 264; Zurich 1953, no. 173; Rome, Milan 1954, no. 177; Delft, Antwerp 1964–65, no. 113 (shown in Delft only); The Hague, Paris 1966, no. IX (shown in Paris only); Washington 1999–2000.

EX COLL.: The artist's widow, Catharina Bolnes; transferred to her mother, Maria Thins, February 24, 1676;\* evidently sold at auction on March 15, 1677, in Delft;† possibly Baron Gerard van Swieten (d. 1722), prefect of the Imperial Court Library, Vienna; estate of his son, Gottfried van Swieten (d. 1803), as by Pieter de Hooch; acquired in 1813 by Count Johann Rudolf Czernin (1757–1845); by descent to Count Eugen Czernin (1892–1955) and Jaromir Czernin (1908–1966); Adolf Hitler (from October 11, 1940, to the spring of 1945); Munich Collecting Point, 1945; transferred on November 17, 1945, to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and in 1958 to the museum's permanent collection (9128).

\* See Montias 1989, pp. 338–39 (doc. no. 363).

† See *ibid.*, p. 350 (doc. no. 379).



## 77. *Allegory of the Faith*

ca. 1670–72

Oil on canvas, 45 x 35 in. (114.3 x 88.9 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York, The Friedsam Collection,  
Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931

This canvas of about 1670–72 is the only known history picture of any kind to have been painted by Vermeer after the early *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* (cat. no. 65), which partly explains, together with profound changes in thought and taste, why the work has been underrated by modern critics. To some extent we are still Thoré-Bürger's disciples, praising Vermeer's pictures when they resemble photographs and lamenting those which for some reason fail to achieve that goal.<sup>1</sup> One scholar, apparently confusing the personification of the Catholic Faith with the personas of Sarah Bernhardt, refers to the "wild turning" of the woman in this painting, a figure which contemporaries of the artist would not have seen as in motion, or even posing in the usual sense.<sup>2</sup> Another writer on Vermeer explains that "the iconographic demands of this subject strained the credibility of his realistic approach."<sup>3</sup> But where is that approach in the present picture, apart from the reflections in the glass sphere and the terrestrial globe? Contemporary paintings by Gerard de Lairese, in their figures, drapery, and some passages of light, are more naturalistic than this picture, which, however, would likely have met with the classicist's approval.<sup>4</sup> The proper standard by which to judge the work is not other paintings by Vermeer but other Dutch and Flemish illustrations of abstract concepts, such as Adriaen Hanneman's *Allegory of the Peace*, a very large canvas painted in 1664 for the Assembly Room of the States of Holland in The Hague and still in situ (now the Eerste Kamer in the Binnenhof; see fig. 78, to the right).<sup>5</sup> Compared with that histrionic picture, Vermeer's painting reveals his characteristic reticence. This must have seemed appropriate to the work's intended location, which was not a large public building but a *schuilkerk* (hidden church) or, far more likely, the home of a wealthy Catholic individual.

The interior, "seen as bourgeois by numerous scholars,"<sup>6</sup> is nothing of the sort, but a

grand room with a high ceiling, a marble floor, and an altar. The tapestry in the foreground sets the chamber apart from the viewer's space, like a chapel in a private house or, more accurately, like a vision made more accessible by its resemblance to a place of worship, meaning Catholic worship in a clandestine church. De Jongh concluded that the painting was commissioned by the Jesuits in Delft, since Vermeer possibly referred to a Jesuit publication for the motif of a glass sphere and because of his mother-in-law's Jesuit sympathies.<sup>7</sup> But Michael Montias maintains that the Jesuits in Delft—not a place for them to be experimental—would probably "have insisted on a more conventionally religious iconography." He continues, "a commission by a wealthy patron with a more discerning taste—or more willing to let Vermeer exercise his own fastidious taste—is more probable."<sup>8</sup> Circumstantial support for this opinion comes from the painting's earliest known provenance: the estate of a Protestant postmaster, Herman van Swoll (1632–1698), in Amsterdam.<sup>9</sup> It is far more likely that he purchased or inherited the painting from a Catholic owner than that he acquired it in an ecclesiastical liquidation sale.

For the iconography of the painting, Vermeer almost certainly consulted Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603) in the Dutch translation by Dirck Pietersz Pers (Amsterdam, 1644). However, no image in that influential volume was simply adopted; Vermeer merged Ripa's explanations of "Christian Faith" and "Catholic Faith," each of which is offered in two versions.<sup>10</sup> The artist literally interpreted Ripa's remark that Faith has "the world under her feet" by inserting a terrestrial globe; as with Vermeer's maps, it was copied from an actual model, published by Hendrick Hondius in 1618.<sup>11</sup> It seems very likely that the artist would have discussed such an innovation with his patron,<sup>12</sup> as well as amplifications of Ripa's imagery, such as the painting of the Crucifixion in the background (based on a composition by Jacob Jordaens),<sup>13</sup> the ebony and gold crucifix, and the glass sphere.<sup>14</sup>

Vermeer appears to have drawn a parallel between the figure of Faith glancing upward at the sphere, and the Virgin in blue behind her, looking up at Christ. The sphere is a symbol of Heaven and God the Father; like the soul compared with the body, the transparent

object contrasts with the physical world below.<sup>15</sup> It has been suggested plausibly that Saint John the Evangelist, who occupies a key place in Vermeer's composition, serves as the viewer's intercessor by gesturing toward Christ and holding a cloaked hand to his breast.<sup>16</sup> The heartfelt gesture is repeated by Faith, whose upward gaze is visually strengthened by the figure of John.

In the immediate foreground the "cornerstone" of the Church (Christ) crushes a serpent (the Devil), which with the apple refers to original sin. The serpent also recalls Saint John the Evangelist, who (it is said) was ordered to drink a cup of poisoned wine by the emperor Domitian. When John lifted the cup, the wine flowed from it in the form of a snake. The chalice on the table (defined as an altar by the crucifix and Bible) refers to the Eucharist and is, as Ripa specified, a symbol of the Christian faith.<sup>17</sup>

The subject of the tapestry in the foreground (a simpler one covers the dais) has been identified as Eliezer and Rebecca, and interpreted as a prefiguration of the main scene.<sup>18</sup> It seems more likely that the tapestry suggests revelation of truth, a holy image, and sacred space. In Dutch interiors tapestries often covered doorways leading to other rooms (see figs. 15, 177). Vermeer was adept at creating psychological barriers with curtains, table-carpets, and the like (see figs. 161, 163; cat. nos. 66, 67); here the tapestry establishes a threshold between the viewer's space and a spiritual realm.

Of course, the entire composition of *Allegory of the Faith* recalls that of the *Allegory of Painting* (cat. no. 76), which dates from a few years earlier. But despite their similarities in design the two pictures are worlds apart in execution and especially in their approach to allegory. Extraordinary effects of space and light in the studio scene create the illusion of an actual visual experience, which "Clio," a flesh-and-blood model playing a part, does nothing to diminish. In the present picture, by contrast, the female figure is not an actress but an idea, and this is clarified by the style in which she is painted. Unlike the contrasts of light and shadow on the globe and other objects near her, the shadows defining folds in the figure's drapery suggest no more substance than that found in the painting behind

her or in the gray blocks of text in the book. And, of course, the figure type is extremely idealized. One might be tempted to compare heads by Guido Reni and hands by Van Dyck until one actually does so and sees how much more convincingly modeled those forms are.

In any case, it is hardly necessary to resort to comparisons with Italian and Flemish painters when Dutch contemporaries of Vermeer offer closer analogies. If one considers late works by Van Honthorst, early works by De Lairese, and paintings of the 1660s and 1670s by artists such as Caesar van Everdingen and Karel Dujardin (see, for example, the latter's *Allegory of the Immortal Fame of Art Vanquishing Time and Envy* of 1675, in the Historisches Museum, Bamberg),<sup>19</sup> then it becomes clear that in *Allegory of the Faith* Vermeer intensified his tendency from about 1670 onward to adopt the classicist manner because it suited the subject matter. Similar adjustments were made by artists who worked primarily in other genres: for example, Gabriel Metsu in *The Triumph of Justice* of the late 1650s (Mauritshuis, The Hague)<sup>20</sup> and Adriaen van de Velde in *The Annunciation* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), which the landscapist painted in 1667, probably for a hidden church in Amsterdam.<sup>21</sup> The development is all the more expected in Delft, where the classicist style had never fallen out of favor. Perhaps, for some admirers of Vermeer, the present picture will always seem disconcertingly out of character, but they might more closely consider the character of Catholic society in seventeenth-century Delft. WL

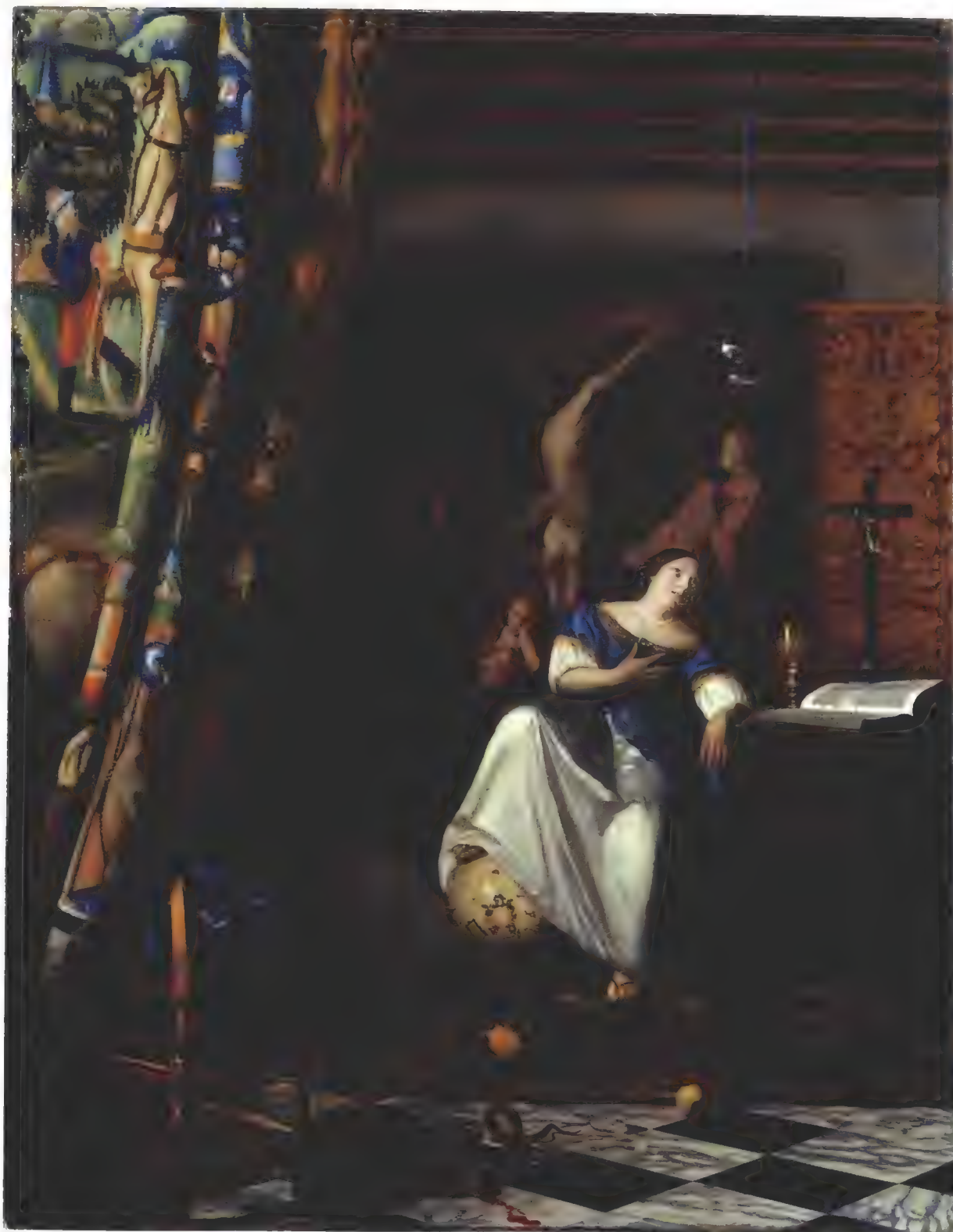
1. On Théophile Thoré (aka Thoré-Bürger), see Blankert 1978, pp. 67–69, and Hertel 1996, pp. 38–41. Blankert writes of Thoré's articles in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1866), "At this time was born the notion, nearly axiomatic in modern art literature, that Vermeer and the Impressionists were doing the same thing."
2. This remark, from Pops 1984, is quoted in Hertel 1996, p. 214, without citing the page.
3. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 194.
4. On De Lairese's aesthetic, see Kemmer 1998. The remark made here about De Lairese's style is strongly supported by the direct confrontation of the female figures in his *Apollo and Aurora* of 1671 (Metropolitan Museum) and in the *Allegory of the Faith*.
5. See Ter Kuile 1976, no. 79, fig. 21, and Vermeeren in The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 60, 64, fig. 7.
6. Hertel 1996, p. 218, maintaining that the design of Vermeer's interior "not only serves this iconography of color [detailed in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*] but develops it." In Wheelock 1981, p. 148, it is maintained

that "the presence of a crushed snake in a Dutch interior is jarringly wrong" (this is slightly tempered in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 194), that the whole image "is rather silly and contrived," and that in summary "Vermeer made only one mistake, the painting traditionally known as the *Allegory of the Faith*."

7. De Jongh 1975–76, p. 75. On the emblem in question, by the Jesuit author Willem Hesius, see Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 192, fig. 1. In the emblem a winged boy symbolizing the soul holds up a glass sphere in which the sun is reflected. "The accompanying poem," Wheelock reports, "compares the capacity of the sphere to reflect the vastness of the universe with the ability of the mind to believe in God." This does not come close to suggesting that the glass sphere in Vermeer's picture "extends the [supposed] Jesuit content of the allegory" (Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 192). Hesius's emblem, published in *Emblematum Sacra de Fide, Spe, Charitate* (Antwerp, 1636), makes particular use of a motif that embodies the infinite, that is, heaven or God.
8. Montias 1989, p. 202, n. 94. See below, n. 13, on another question of sectarian iconography. Whatever the religious order, it seems unlikely that a clandestine church serving a small religious community would have commissioned a painting depicting an allegory of the Catholic Faith as opposed to a more familiar devotional subject. For example, Gerard van Honthorst, in the 1620s or 1630s, painted a *Christ Crowned with Thorns* for the parish church of Saints Mary and Ursula in Delft (Van Eck 1999, pp. 73, 87, no. 2, under Van Honthorst, and Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 62, pl. 26). See also Schillema 1992.
9. See Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 194, and his self-congratulatory footnote on p. 195, n. 24.
10. See Hertel 1996, p. 218, where it is noted that the Dutch edition expands upon the Italian model by adding two more entries on the subject of faith.
11. See Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 190, 195, n. 7, where the observations in Welu 1975, pp. 541–43, are summarized.
12. A different conclusion is reached by Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 192, where he suggests that since two or three of the motifs added by the artist to Ripa's imagery "belonged to his own household" (which is far from certain; see below, n. 14), then "it stands to reason that Vermeer, not a patron, decided to incorporate them." This seems a nice formula for failure to make a sale, especially considering that the painting's subject and iconography are quite particular in the first place. The complicated relationship between the picture and Ripa's text (described as "artistic license" in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 190) strongly suggests the collaboration of a patron with informed opinions of his own. According to Hertel (1996, p. 218), "Vermeer combines prescriptions, or rather, he draws loosely upon all six entries" on the subject of faith in Pers's translation.
13. On Vermeer's borrowing from Jordaens, see Hertel 1996, pp. 211–17, 256–57, nn. 177–80. It is noted there that the type of "the solitary, vertically hanging Christ was called *Jansenisten-kerus* by Jordaens' contemporaries, as it was taken to refer to the Jansenist teaching that the promise of redemption referred to

the chosen few, not to all Catholics." Hertel adds, "The matter may have been important to Vermeer, as the split of the clergy in Delft into Jansenists and Jesuits was crucial for a Roman Catholic."

14. A few objects in the painting may have been in Vermeer's household, to judge from the inventory of his estate made on February 29, 1676: see Montias 1989, pp. 339–44 (doc. no. 364). Jordaens is not named, but "a large painting representing Christ on the Cross" was in the "interior kitchen," and a (probably small) "painting of Christ on the Cross" was "over in the basement room" (pp. 340, 341; see also pp. 155, 188–89). Also in the interior kitchen (a very different room from the "little back kitchen," the "cooking kitchen," and the "washing kitchen," which follow on the list) were nine other paintings and "about seven ells of gold-tooled leather on the wall." A fair amount of furniture stood in the "great hall," along with ten portraits of Thins family members, paintings of the Virgin and of the "Three Kings," and "an ebony wood crucifix" (p. 342). The last may correspond to the one depicted in *Allegory of the Faith*.
15. On the sphere, see Hertel 1996, pp. 220, 226–28; see also above, n. 7. Actual glass spheres (and the brass spheres commonly featured in chandeliers) evidently appealed to Vermeer's contemporaries because they reflect everything around them in microcosmic form. In his *Inleyding* of 1678 Van Hoogstraten illustrates a floating glass sphere as an attribute of Thalia, "de Kluchtspiegelster" (the satirist; see Hertel 1996, p. 227, fig. 53). Like conventional mirrors, the object was assigned *vanitas* significance when reproduced in still lifes: for example, Pieter Claesz's *Vanitas Still Life* of about 1635 (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; see Liedtke 2000, fig. 61) and Willem Kalf's *Still Life with a Brazier and Silver Vessels* of about 1645 (private collection; currently on loan to the Metropolitan Museum; see Bergström 1956, fig. 223). The same meaning is usually implied in genre pictures, such as Pieter de Hooch's *Musical Company* of about 1674 (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen; see Hertel 1996, pp. 49, 226, fig. 14). See also Hertel 1996, p. 259, n. 216. However, in Caesar van Everdingen's *Amor Holding a Glass Orb* of about 1660 (private collection, Germany)—where the skull under the infant deity's foot is analogous to Vermeer's terrestrial globe—the sphere evidently stands for the cosmos or universe (see Blankert in Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, p. 198, citing Knipping 1974, pp. 41, 42, 58, 59).
16. Hertel 1996, pp. 214, 215.
17. On John, one of whose attributes is a chalice and snake, see *ibid.*, pp. 211–17.
18. Knauer 1998, especially p. 72 ("Thre Ehe galt unter anderem als ein Symbol der See, wie auch der Kirche als Braut Christi"). Unfortunately for this thesis, the figure of Rebecca is obscured by a fold, and a medieval tower appears in the background. For this common type of tapestry see, for example, *The Journey of Jacob and His Family to Egypt* (Audenarde, ca. 1560–80), in the Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, County Durham, England (Audenarde 1999, no. 30, reproduced with a second example in the trade; my thanks to Tom Campbell of the Metropolitan Museum for this reference). On the left, a man on foot leads a young lady on horseback; behind her,



two camels serve as pack animals. Vermeer could easily have seen such a composition and hit upon the idea of placing the woman on a camel (which is mounted and bridled as if it were equine), perhaps to create a compact image of Old Testament times.

19. See Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, p. 271, n. 1, fig. 51b.  
20. Broos 1993, no. 25.  
21. Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, no. 64.

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1 (1752), pp. 48, no. 25, 216, no. 8, 438, no. 11, vol. 2, p. 248, no. 152; Thoré 1858–60, vol. 2, p. 86; Thoré 1866, p. 566, no. 41; Havard 1888, no. 46; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), pp. 582–83, no. 2; Plietzsch 1911, pp. 82–84, 117, no. 20; Hale 1913, pp. 304–7; Barnouw 1914; Burroughs and Wehle 1932, pp. 44–46; Hale 1937, pp. 75, 115–17; Van Peet 1946; Gardner 1948, p. 76; A. B. de Vries 1948, pp. 19, 43–44, pl. 29; Swillens 1950, pp. 21, 50, 72, 81, 84, 85, 86, 96–99, 102, 116, 118, 135, 171, no. 24; Malraux 1952, pp. 106–8, no. XXXI; Rousseau 1954, p. 3; Slive 1956, p. 8; Goldscheider 1958, p. 39, no. 36; Bloch 1963, pl. 79; Bianconi 1967, no. 42; Gerson 1967, col. 743; Gowing 1970, pls. 71–73; Sonnenburg 1973, n.p.; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 35; Welu 1975, pp. 529, n. 5, 541, 544; De Jongh 1975–76, pp. 69–75; Blankert 1978, pp. 10, 58–59, 75, n. 2, 77, n. 48, no. 29; Snow 1979, pp. 10, 110–112, 126, 139, 145, n. 24, 154, n. 23, 170, n. 29; Slatkes 1981, pp. 16, 74, 78, 106–9, 130; Wheelock 1981, pp. 16, 44–45, 148–49; Gaskell 1984, pp. 558, 561; Pops 1984, pp. 68, 71, 74, 75, 95, 107, n. 11; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 10, 12, 45, 51, 54, 55, 64, 142, no. 29; Welu 1986, pp. 264–65; Montias 1987, pp. 73–74; Wheelock 1988, pp. 42–43, 118–19, 120; Montias 1989, pp. 149, 155, 188, 189, 191, 192, 202, 215, 257, 266; The Hague, San Francisco 1990–91, p. 52; De Boer 1991, pp. 49–50, nn. 7–9; Nash 1991, pp. 19, 21, 25, 26, 28, 30, 35–36, 41, 44, 49, 82, 100, 106, 108, 120, 122, 123; Arasse 1994, pp. 84–86; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 5, 37, 185; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 27, 34, 41, 55, 61, 68, 88, 168, no. 20; The Hague 1996a, pp. 75–76; Hertel 1996, chap. 12; Larsen 1996, pp. 25, 27, 34, no. 28; Wheelock 1997, pl. 33; Hedquist 2000; Liedtke 2000, pp. 72, 195, 252, 254, 261–63, 286, n. 48, 294, n. 218, 296, n. 272.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1952, no. 324; Dallas 1953; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 20.

EX COLL.: Herman Stoffelsz van Swoll, Amsterdam, before 1698 (sold Amsterdam, April 22, 1699, no. 25); (sale, Amsterdam, July 13, 1718, no. 8); (sale, Amsterdam, April 19, 1735, no. 11); [David Ietswaart, sold Amsterdam, April 22, 1749, no. 152, bought by Ravensberg]; private collection, Austria, 1824; Dmitrii Shchukin, Moscow, 1899; [Wächtler, Berlin, 1899, sold to Bredius]; Abraham Bredius, The Hague, 1899–1928, on loan from his collection to Mauritshuis, The Hague, 1899–1923, and to the Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1923–28; [F. Kleinberger, Paris, 1928]; Michael Friedsam, New York, 1928–31; his bequest in 1931 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 32.100.18).

## 78. *Young Woman Standing at a Virginal*

ca. 1670–72

Oil on canvas, 20¼ x 17¼ in. (51.8 x 45.2 cm)  
Signed on the side of the virginal facing the viewer, upper left corner: IVMeer [IVM in monogram]

The National Gallery, London

## 79. *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*

ca. 1670–72

Oil on canvas, 20¼ x 18 in. (51.5 x 45.6 cm)  
Signed to the right of the woman's head: IVMeer [IVM in monogram]

The National Gallery, London

These two paintings in the National Gallery, London, are the same size and are generally dated to the same period, about 1670–72. Their subjects are similar and their compositions complementary, especially by the standards of this artist, whose *Geographer* and *Astronomer* (figs. 174, 175) of 1668–69 were almost certainly intended as pendants (with seated and standing figures, as here).<sup>1</sup> However, a few writers have maintained, partly on the basis of the London pictures' apparent provenances in the seventeenth century, that they were not conceived as a pair, and that they may have been painted a few years apart.<sup>2</sup>

As with other works by Vermeer, the meaning of the two pictures appears fairly straightforward when one attends to their most salient motifs. Two attractive and fashionably attired young women answer the (presumably male) viewer's gaze with smiles. Their expressions and postures differ: the standing woman seems reserved or shy, while the seated woman appears disarmingly sociable. Her glance, the open songbook, and the viola da gamba in the foreground may be considered invitations to a romantic duet (compare cat. no. 72).

A second figure stands upright and stares at the viewer in *Young Woman Standing at a Virginal*. Scholars generally agree that the large painting on the wall, depicting Cupid holding up a card, was adopted from a well-known emblem book by Otto van Veen, in which the similar image is entitled "Only One" and a

verse explains that "a lover ought to love only one. / A streamer disperst in partes the force thereof is maymed" (that is, diminished).<sup>3</sup>

The picture of Cupid is flanked (from the viewer's perspective) by paintings of rugged landscapes, which Gregor Weber has shown are both derived from a single mountain landscape by the Delft artist Pieter Groenewegen (fig. 293).<sup>4</sup> The steeper terrain depicted on the virginal's lid has been described as "pastoral," as it might be in Tibet, but for European viewers the term will seem more suitable to the Arcadian landscape in *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*. Behind the figure in that painting, a version of Dirck van Baburen's large canvas *The Procureess* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) suggests something like one lover an hour rather than one for life. Some similarity in bearing is sensed between the virginal-player in each picture and the painted figure behind her.

A contemporary viewer of the National Gallery's paintings would have seen them—despite their nearly identical subjects—as depicting somewhat different occasions as well as female types: a daytime visit to a young lady, and a more private, perhaps evening encounter with a lady friend.<sup>5</sup> The educated amateur may have understood Cupid's message and probably would have recognized the contrast of rocky and idyllic landscapes from the story of Hercules at the Crossroads and its many interpretations in literature and art. The theme of Sacred and Profane Love, which also compares the narrow and the beaten path, would likely have come up in conversation among early admirers of the works.<sup>6</sup>

Whether those same viewers would have discerned the differences in style that some historians have noted seems less certain. Pendant pictures, especially still lifes and genre scenes, presented artists with opportunities to display an expressive range of formal qualities. Here the contrasts in light, color, and compositional structure complement the differences in mood. The darker interior is bolder in color and livelier in almost every aspect, with showy patterns on the tapestry, in the faux marbling of the virginal, and in the highlights on the dress. Thrusting diagonal lines, including the off-center recession of the space as a whole, animate the intimate corner,



Fig. 292. Detail, cat. no. 78

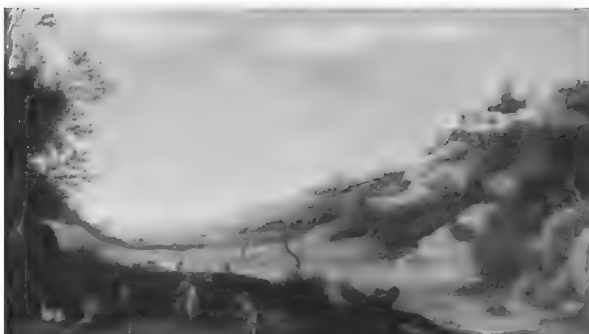


Fig. 293. Pieter Groenewegen, with figures by Esaias van de Velde, *Mountain Landscape with Travelers*, 1640. Oil on wood, 15 x 26¼ in. (38 x 68 cm). Hoogsteder and Hoogsteder, Amsterdam

which compared with the spare and luminous space in the other picture has a look of inviting closeness. The walls seem to embrace the viewer, together with the young woman's wide-open eyes, while in the other room the perspective scheme, the placement of the figure and furniture, and the woman's focused glance tell the observer exactly where he stands. The carefully modulated light and the balance of upright and level lines lend the composition an air of rationality, which a sensible suitor could also read in the woman's face. Her expression and the seemingly inflexible (for the moment) arrangement of forms around her come close to discouraging the visitor, who is nevertheless drawn forward by things he does not quite comprehend: orthogonals, red ribbons, and the hope and fragility that are written, together with firmness, in the lady's eyes and lips.

It is true that the pictures' subtle signs could be interpreted somewhat differently, depending upon one's own preoccupations and personality. A viewer more attentive to movement and posture, a music master perhaps, might notice first the stillness of the standing woman, who could be waiting for the curtain to rise, whereas the other woman, although seated, is more active, and well into her performance. Her posture and low chair seem to lend her the leverage she desires on the keyboard; she must be playing chords. It is not clear whether the standing woman sounds a note, but if so, different music (without a songbook) is being played.

If one focuses more precisely on painting technique, other conclusions may be reached. It has been noted that the painter "articulates

the physical structure of the intricate frame behind the standing lady with various impastos," but he "summarily renders the frame surrounding Van Baburen's *The Procuress* with broad, flat strokes of yellow paint." This distinction is taken as evidence, along with similar observations, that the canvases may have been painted two or three years apart.<sup>7</sup> The same critic considers that the differences in lighting, for instance on the satin skirts, indicate some decline in the descriptive abilities of the artist, whose "creative energy," at about the age of forty, "had begun to lag," especially in *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*.<sup>8</sup>

But this analysis overlooks the consistency with which Vermeer contrasts the two interiors, evidently to suit their occupants. The mosaic of gold highlights on the Italianate frame of *The Procuress* finds sympathetic responses in the border of the tapestry and the back of the chair. By contrast, the calligraphic relief of the French-style frame in the brighter interior accords with the delicate details of the lady's sleeves, bows, and curls (compared with which the seated figure's curls seem a Morse code of highlights). The subtler light on the dress of the standing woman is consistent with the light and shadow on the virginal and the chair, and with the finely nuanced palette of the composition as a whole. Blues and whites occur in ever-changing combinations, in the dress, the chair, the paintings, the marble patterns on the virginal and on the floor, in the highlight on the ebony frame, and in the shadows cast in the corner of the room and over the woman's features. These and other formal

qualities color our impressions of the young women, one of whom seems forward, entertaining, and probably insincere, the other frank, refined, and reliable.

The early provenances of the National Gallery's paintings are less certain than has been supposed. In the 1682 inventory of Diego Duarte's extensive collection of Italian and Northern European pictures "A work with a young woman playing on the virginal with other motifs [*bywerck*] by Vermeer" was valued at 150 guilders.<sup>9</sup> This may have been one of the present pictures, but it could also have been another one. It is also unclear whether the work described as "A young lady playing the clavecin by Vermeer" in the 1711 Delft inventory of the movable goods owned by the widow of Nicolaes van Assendelft was either of the London paintings, as has been assumed.<sup>10</sup> Recent examination of a canvas depicting a young woman seated at a virginal, in the collection of Baron Rolin, Brussels, suggests that it cannot indisputably be rejected as an autograph work by Vermeer.<sup>11</sup> However, even if the National Gallery's pictures were separated at an early date (about ten years after they were painted), this hardly militates against the hypothesis that they were conceived as a pair. In the period about 1672, when Vermeer evidently sold very little, he may have been more than willing to sell the works separately. And like *The Astronomer* and *The Geographer*, each picture can stand alone. It is possible that the artist, although he intended the pictures to be seen together, allowed for the possibility of their separation. In his daily experience he did not discover a perfect world.

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1. On *The Astronomer* and *The Geographer* see, mostly recently, Liedtke 2000, pp. 263–64.
2. As noted by Brown in MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 466–67. MacLaren considered the painting with a standing woman, no. 1383, to date from about 1670, and the other canvas, no. 2568, to date a little later. Blankert in Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, nos. 25, 31, proposed dates of about 1670 and 1674–75. Brown considers such precise datings of Vermeer's work insupportable and dates both pictures to about 1670. However, he is skeptical of the argument that the paintings were conceived as pendants, claiming that both paintings "simply allude in a nonspecific way to the traditional association of music and love" (MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 467). Wheelock, by contrast, in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, nos. 21, 22, complicates the iconography and separates the paintings on stylistic grounds, dating them to about 1672–73 and about 1675. The testimony of the artist's widow on April 24 and 30, 1676, implies that Vermeer was not devoting much time to painting in the last year of his life, and indeed "had been able to earn very little or hardly anything at all" since the French invasion of 1672. See Montias 1989, p. 345 (doc. no. 367).
3. O. van Veen 1608, pp. 2–3. This English version is given in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 199, n. 3, without identifying the source. See De Jongh 1967, pp. 49–50. A painting of Cupid is listed in the 1676 inventory of Vermeer's estate (Montias 1989, p. 341, doc. no. 364). The one copied by Vermeer is usually associated with pictures by Caesar van Everdingen, who worked on the murals in the Huis ten Bosch (see fig. 67 here); see Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, p. 196.
4. Unpublished information, as reported in Spliethoff and Hoogsteder 2000.
5. Light may come from windows behind and in front of the tapestry in the room with the dark window in the corner, although the light in both pictures, however naturalistic, is employed willfully. The more important concern is what the viewer plainly sees: a room filled with sunlight, as opposed to one darkened by shutters, and intimate.
6. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 200, claims that *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*, considered on its own, "examines a more complex theme [than that treated in the other painting]: the choice between ideal and profane love." The idea of resonant heartstrings (p. 202) is discouraged by the placement of the viol's bow, which prevents vibration.
7. Wheelock in *ibid.*, p. 196.
8. Wheelock 1981, p. 154.
9. See Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 202.

10. See Broos in *ibid.*, pp. 48, 198, 203.
11. See Gowing 1970, p. 157, pl. 80. The painting was rejected in Wheelock 1981, p. 45, fig. 53, and has not been seriously discussed for about twenty years. In 1999 it was examined by curators and conservators at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and considered to be possibly authentic. The picture's condition and the quality of published photographs make it exceedingly difficult to form a proper impression of the work.

#### CAT. NO. 78. *Young Woman Standing at a Virginal*

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1 (1752), no. 12 (possibly); Thoré 1866, pp. 326–28, 459–60, 467, 556–57, no. 29; Havard 1888, no. 32; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 592, no. 23; Alfassa 1911; Plietzsch 1911, p. 117, no. 22; Hale 1937, pp. 154–56; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 44, pl. 30; Swillens 1950, pp. 67, 73, 79–80, 82, 86–87, 89, 102–3, 108–9, 118, no. 1; Malraux 1952, p. 84, no. XXII; Goldscheider 1958, no. 34; Bloch 1963, pl. 81; Bianconi 1967, no. 40; Gerson 1967, col. 743; De Jongh 1967, pp. 48–50; Gowing 1970, pls. 74, 76, 78; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 32; Blankert 1978, pp. 10, 53, 54, 55–56, 59, 77, n. 64, no. 25; Slatkes 1981, pp. 88–89; Wheelock 1981, pp. 16, 42, 76, 98, 152–53, 154; Pops 1984, pp. 92, 94; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 128, 134, 142, 167–68, n. 58, no. 25; Wheelock 1988, pp. 122–23; Montias 1989, pp. 150, 191, 220–21, 256, 266; Nash 1991, pp. 19, 36, 50, 114–18; Arasse 1994, pp. 29, 61, 93, 96, 108, 110; Weber 1994, pp. 98–99; Weber 1994a, pp. 295–96; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 157, 185; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 38, 39, 42, 48, 57, 174, no. 21; Jowell 1996, p. 116; Larsen 1996, pp. 34–35, no. 23; Wheelock 1997, p. 6, pl. 34; Liedtke 2000, pp. 204, 254, 258–61, 264, 295, nn. 252, 254, 256.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1866, no. 108; Amsterdam 1867, no. 274; The Hague, Paris 1966, no. XI (The Hague), no. XII (Paris); London 1976, no. 116; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 21; Southampton, Leeds 1999.

EX COLL.: Possibly the painting cited as "A work with a young woman playing on the virginal with other motifs by Vermeer," in the collection of Diego Duarte, Antwerp, 1682 (sold by 1691); (possibly "A young lady playing the clavecin" in the Jacob Dissius sale, Amsterdam, May 16, 1696, no. 37); possibly "A young lady playing the clavecin by Vermeer" in the estate of the widow of Nicolaes van Assendelft (1630–1692), Delft, 1711; (possibly "A clavecin player in a room, by Vermeer of Delft, artfully painted," in an Amsterdam sale of 1714);\* (Danser Nijman sale, Amsterdam, August 16, 1797, no. 169, as "A young lady standing to play a clavecin; on the wall hang paintings; very fine in execution," to Bergh); possibly in the collection of Edward Solly,

Berlin and London, before 1844; Edward William Lake (sold London, July 11, 1845, no. 5, to Farrer); J. T. Thom (sold London, May 2, 1855, no. 22, to Grey); Théophile Thoré, Paris, before 1866–69; inherited from him by the Lacroix family, Paris, 1869–92; (Théophile Thoré sale, Paris, December 5, 1892, no. 20, to the dealer Bourgeois and/or Lawrie and Company); purchased in 1892 by The National Gallery, London (1383).

\*Recorded in Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1, p. 176, no. 12.

#### CAT. NO. 79. *Young Woman Seated at a Virginal*

REFERENCES: Hoet 1752–70, vol. 1 (1752), no. 12 (possibly); Thoré 1866, pp. 327, 557, no. 30; Havard 1888, no. 33; Hofstede de Groot 1907–27, vol. 1 (1907), p. 593, no. 25; Alfassa 1911; Plietzsch 1911, p. 117, no. 25; Hale 1937, pp. 156–57; A. B. de Vries 1948, p. 44, pl. 31; Swillens 1950, pp. 67, 73, 80–81, 86–87, 89, 103, 108–9, 116, no. 2; Malraux 1952, pp. 83–84, no. XXI; Goldscheider 1958, no. 35; Bloch 1963, pl. 85; Bianconi 1967, no. 41; Gerson 1967, col. 743; Gowing 1970, pls. 75, 77, 79; J. Walsh 1973, n.p.; Grimme 1974, no. 33; Blankert 1978, pp. 27, 59, 77, nn. 48, 64, no. 31; Slatkes 1981, pp. 90–93; Wheelock 1981, pp. 16, 24, 33, 45, 70, 152, 154–55; Pops 1984, pp. 91, 93, 94, 98, 101, n. 1; Aillaud, Blankert, and Montias 1986, pp. 146, 166–67, n. 58, no. 31; Wheelock 1988, pp. 43, 124–25; Montias 1989, pp. 122, 146, 188, 192–93, 198, 215, 256, 259, n. 51, 266; Nash 1991, pp. 114–16; Arasse 1994, pp. 22, 23–24, 29, 109, 118; Weber 1994a, pp. 287–90; Wheelock 1995a, pp. 5, 117, 157, 186; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 17, 38, 42, 51, 54, 70, no. 22; Jowell 1996, p. 122; Larsen 1996, pp. 34–35, no. 24; Wheelock 1997, p. 4, pl. 35; Liedtke 2000, pp. 200, 254, 258–61, 264, 295, nn. 252, 254, 260.

EXHIBITED: London 1894, no. 93; Paris 1898, no. 85; London 1900, no. 15; Paris 1914, no. 26; London 1976, no. 117; Birmingham 1989–90, no. 83; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 22.

EX COLL.: The same as for *Young Woman Standing at a Virginal* (cat. no. 78) until after 1714 (the Amsterdam sale); reportedly in the collection of Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655–1729), Elector of Mainz and Archbishop of Bamberg, Schloss Weissenstein, Pommersfelden; Count von Schönborn, Pommersfelden (said to have been in the lost catalogue of 1746; sold Paris, May 17–, 1867, no. 78); purchased at that sale by Théophile Thoré; by inheritance to the Lacroix family, Paris, 1869–92 (sold Paris, December 5, 1892, no. 32, to Sedelmeyer); [Sedelmeyer, Paris, in 1892–93]; [Lawrie and Company, London, in 1893]; [T. Humphry Ward, London, 1894]; George Salting, London, before 1898; bequeathed in 1910 to The National Gallery, London (2568).

# HENDRICK CORNELISZ VAN VLIET

Delft 1611/12–1675 Delft

According to Dirck van Bleyswijck, Van Vliet was a native of Delft and a pupil of his uncle, Willem van Vliet (see the latter's biography below).<sup>1</sup> The city's historian mentions portraits, mythologies, and histories "both in day and night lighting," and perspective as the younger Van Vliet's areas of expertise. He joined the painters' guild on June 22, 1632, and for the most part worked as a portraitist in his uncle's style for the next twenty years. However, a biblical picture and a landscape are known (see figs. 70, 99). Portraits by Anthonie Palamedesz also influenced Van Vliet, especially after the early 1640s. An otherwise unknown pupil, Floris de la Fée, is recorded in a document of 1646 which describes the young man's rebellious outbursts at the painter and his wife, Cornelia van der Plaet.<sup>2</sup>

It must have been in about 1651 that Van Vliet painted his first pictures of "modern or contemporary temples," by which Van Bleyswijck meant Gothic churches that were in current use, as opposed to views of imaginary architecture (which Van Vliet evidently never made). When he painted them "at his best," Van Bleyswijck observes, "they are very well foreshortened and illusionistic, as well as colored naturally." From the first, Van Vliet patterned his architectural views upon Gerard Houckgeest's compositions of about 1650–52, but he also adopted motifs from contemporary pictures by Emanuel de Witte.<sup>3</sup> Van Vliet's earliest known dated work in the genre is a view of the Pieterskerk in Leiden, dated 1652 (fig. 121); in addition to that church and the Oude Kerk and Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, Van Vliet also depicted the major churches in

Gouda, Haarlem, The Hague, and Utrecht.<sup>4</sup> After 1652 he had the field mostly to himself in Delft, except for Cornelis de Man's far less numerous church interiors of the 1660s and 1670s (see cat. no. 41), which Van Vliet's examples clearly inspired. His most impressive architectural views date from the 1650s, although exceptional works of the 1660s are also known.

Van Vliet's fidelity to the actual sites varied considerably; he routinely stretched columns and archways vertically and increased the viewer's apparent distance from the scene. His palette, even in brightly lit interiors, arbitrarily favors cool colors, including greenish tones that suggest dampness and the chill of shadows and stone. Van Vliet painted his own figures and frequently included dogs, groups of children, and motifs such as freshly dug graves. Late in his career the artist's compositions became formulaic and his execution stale; he probably employed an assistant. Ambitious works alternate with small souvenirs of the Delft churches that must have been produced in less than a day.

Delft's most prolific painter of Protestant churches was probably a Catholic himself. In 1653 he was said to be living opposite the Bagijnhof nunnery, in a Catholic neighborhood. He had a daughter named Catharina, to whom the painter's widow made over a pitiful inheritance in 1681.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 852 (also for the quotes in the text following). Nothing is known of Cornelis van Vliet, Hendrick's father and Willem's brother. Van Vliet was not the only living Delft artist discussed by Van Bleyswijck, as stated by the present writer and others in earlier publications. The discussion of Willem and Hendrick van Vliet occurs at the end of the second volume of Van Bleyswijck's book

(usually bound as one volume), which does not bear a date but is known to have appeared in 1680.

2. See Montias 1982, pp. 172–74, where it is noted that the pupil must have received room and board as well as training in Van Vliet's house.

3. On Van Vliet as a painter of church interiors, see Liedtke 1982a, chap. 4, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 127–35.

4. For a list of views of identified churches by Van Vliet, see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 105–13.

5. Abraham Bredius in Obreen 1877–90, vol. 5, pp. 286–87.

## 80. Portrait of Michiel van der Dussen, His Wife, Wilhelmina van Setten, and Their Children

1640

Oil on canvas, 62½ x 82¼ in. (159 x 210 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left, on the chair  
stretcher: H.vandervliet. fecit/anº.1640 · ½.

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk  
Museum Het Prinsenhof

Hendrick van Vliet, the nephew and pupil of Willem van Vliet, is best known today for his many interior views of actual churches in Delft and other cities, which he began to paint in the early 1650s. In the 1630s and especially the 1640s he was a moderately successful portraitist and an occasional painter of history pictures. This splendid family portrait, which came to light only in 1986, is Van Vliet's finest known work in the genre and one of the best examples of portraiture in Delft by any artist.

In 1640, when the picture was painted, Van Vliet's local competitors included his uncle Willem, the seventy-three-year-old Michiel van Miereveld, the latter's twenty-one-year-old grandson Jacob Willemsz Delft the Younger, Christiaan van Couwenbergh, and (perhaps the most serious rival) Anthonie Palamedesz (compare fig. 51). The winner of this commission may well have had an

advantage in being Catholic, like the sitters, or he may have been recommended by one of the elder statesmen of Delft portraiture, Van Miereveld or Willem van Vliet (who was about fifty-six at the time). In any case, the patron must have been satisfied with the work, which continues the stately tradition of Van Miereveld and features meticulous costume details as well as a careful accounting of each figure's distinctive features. At the same time, Van Vliet employs the signs of animation (something other than animation itself) and the luxurious palette that were more common in Antwerp, especially in the family portraits of Cornelis de Vos. The latter's *Anthony Reyniers and His Family* of 1631 (Philadelphia Museum of Art) is strikingly similar in approach.<sup>1</sup>

The sitters were recently identified by Frauke Laarmann as members of a distinguished Catholic family in Delft.<sup>2</sup> The paterfamilias is Michiel van der Dussen (1600–1681), who on May 25, 1625, married Wilhelmina van Setten (1605–1683). The date inscribed on the painting, May 25, 1640, marks the couple's fifteenth wedding anniversary. The music book in the foreground is opened to "In Festo S. Michaelis," in reference to Michiel van der Dussen's patron saint, Michael the Archangel.<sup>3</sup> It is known that in 1640 the Van der Dussen children included Cornelis (born in 1627 or 1628), Otto (born in 1628 or 1629), and Anna (date of birth unknown). The names of three other children are recorded: Elisabeth, Maria, and Sasbout (a boy). Since the composition appears to follow the convention of placing boys with their father and girls with their mother the three children on the right are probably (in unknown order) Anna, Elisabeth, and Maria. Support for the conclusion that the youngest child is also a girl comes from the costume, which is elaborately decorated with birds and flowers and embellished by a lace collar, cap, and jewelry quite like those worn by the sisters in blue and yellow (fine fabrics probably imported from Italy).

Van der Dussen's profession is not known. However, he owned sixteen houses near the Bagijnhof—the neighborhood in which Van Vliet is known to have lived later on—as well as family residences on the Oude Delft and the Voorstraat, and a house and about twenty-eight acres of land outside the city. Van der Dussen's grandfather, Sasbout van

der Dussen (d. 1581), was a burgomaster of Delft in 1567, suggesting that this branch of the family, like other Van der Dussens in Delft, had been prominent for some time. Wilhelmina van Setten's wills of 1681 and 1682 attest to considerable wealth. Her husband was also an important patron of the Bagijnhof, where three of his sisters lived (his daughter Elisabeth also became a nun). Michiel's older brother, Dirk, lived in Lisbon, suggesting that the family may also have been involved in overseas trade.<sup>4</sup>

A remarkable feature of this portrait is its emphasis on the family's faith. Standing on the inlaid cupboard in the left background is an ebony and gilt crucifix (like the taller one in Vermeer's *Allegory of the Faith*, cat. no. 77), flanked by statuettes, evidently of ivory, representing a crowned Virgin and Child, and a male figure, presumably John the Evangelist. (The landscape behind the crucifix, which recalls works by Jacob van Geel, is probably meant to suggest Golgotha.) The three girls wear pendant crosses. The family's spiritual life is also underscored by the sacred music to which Michiel van der Dussen gestures meaningfully. Each of the three volumes in use is bound in sturdy vellum and provided with blue and gold ribbons. In pointed contrast, the music books on the floor look roughly treated. The one visible title, *Nervi d'Orfeo*, is a collection of madrigals,<sup>5</sup> that is, secular vocal music. Immediately behind the elder son, Cornelis, is an open timepiece on the table, reminding one of mortality and perhaps temperance, since conspicuous keys (one hangs from a blue ribbon) can stand for regulation in one sense or another. Behind Otto, who became a priest, oval marine paintings, one depicting calm seas, the other stormy, testify to life's uncertainty. As it happens, of the five children portrayed here, only Otto outlived his parents.

The painting is particularly rich in symbolism, to the point where several themes may be addressed at the same time. The act of playing music together commonly suggests family or marital harmony.<sup>6</sup> It has been suggested that Van Vliet also alludes to the Five Senses: the parakeet (because it pecks) could stand for touch, the rose for smell, the grapes for taste, the recorders for hearing, and the books for sight.<sup>7</sup> Fruit usually refers to fertility, and

its prominence here (as in the family portrait by De Hooch in Vienna, cat. no. 27) encourages one to read other motifs as symbols of marriage and love. The grapevines and peaches on the table just behind Wilhelmina van Setten (who wears a wedding ring on her right hand) may refer to marriage and family (the "fruitful vine" of Psalm 128) and to love and sincerity (the heart-shaped peach).<sup>8</sup> The rose was also a common symbol of love, and the one held here by the young lady in blue appears to be stuck in a heart-shaped case or pouch.<sup>9</sup>

Birds often stood for the soul, which seems possible here, but parrots and parakeets also symbolized motherhood through an association with the Virgin Mary (which could be the little girl's name—Maria—as well as her mother's ideal).<sup>10</sup> The pointing gestures and significant stares in the female group, and the fact that the mother's and youngest child's hands are joined right behind the parakeet, make it unlikely that the bird refers solely to the sense of touch, if it does at all. The walnuts on the floor—one whole, the others opened—might be taken as a treat for the bird, but the nut had been a symbol of marriage since Roman times. Jacob Cats compared walnuts to first marriages: "so as the two halves of one shell fit together, so no two people fit together better than two who have grown up as one."<sup>11</sup>

The execution of this ambitious work appears to be fairly uniform throughout. However, the question of whether Van Vliet relied upon a collaborator in some passages, such as the still-life elements, deserves closer consideration (compare Gillis de Bergh's fruit piece, cat. no. 8). The furniture and the impressive marble fireplace (which would be more expected in Antwerp than in Delft) are not rendered in flawless perspective, but neither is the drawing conspicuously out of kilter, which together with the painting of a classical arcade in the right background (recalling Houckgeest; compare cat. no. 36) suggests that Van Vliet may have received some assistance from an architectural painter, perhaps in a preliminary stage, or that he at least referred to motifs employed by one.

For all its earnestness about spiritual matters (of which the angel carved into the mantelpiece is probably another example), it is worth noting that Michiel van der Dussen





presents himself as a man of society, with an interest not only in music but also in paintings and other fine things. The number of recorders — called a *handfluit* or *zachte fluit* (hand flute or soft flute) in seventeenth-century Dutch<sup>12</sup> — suggests a serious interest in the instrument itself, not only in religious music, and (yet another theme of the picture) in teaching one's children accomplishments appropriate to their station in life.<sup>13</sup> For playing music, whether sacred or secular, was something that a complete gentleman did. In a coach approaching The Hague in May 1660, Samuel Pepys distracted himself (after ogling “two very pretty ladies, very fashionable and with black pa[t]ches” on their faces) by pulling out his flageolet and piping.<sup>14</sup> A

grander figure, Lucas van Uffel, the distinguished merchant of Venice and Amsterdam, counts a recorder among his cultivated attributes in Van Dyck's portrait of him dating from about 1622 (Metropolitan Museum).<sup>15</sup> Among the many other instances that might be cited, one of the most telling is found in the blind organist and recorder player Jacob van Eyck's *Der fluyten lust-hof* (The Flute's Pleasure Garden) of 1646. In his dedication to Constantijn Huygens the Elder, the author offers a poem addressed to the “Steadfast Soul” who despite cannon fire and slander remains “in a composed state” and keeps a “true ear for sweet measure.” The answer to depravity is to preserve “the play of cord and bell [Van Eyck was also a carillon player],

the organ and recorder.”<sup>16</sup> It seems advice that Michiel van der Dussen might have imparted to his sons.

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The writer benefited greatly from the draft of an entry written by Axel Rüger, as well as the publications of Laarmann and Plomp listed below.

1. See Sutton 1990, pp. 337–40.

2. In 1997 Laarmann, of the University of Amsterdam, prepared a paper on the painting for the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft. Her findings were subsequently reported in Laarmann 1998, Plomp 1998, Laarmann 1999, and Plomp's entry in Osaka 2000, no. 18.

3. As reported in Laarmann 1998, p. 36, musicologist Jeremy Noble identified the music illustrated here as the setting first published in 1599 by Hieronymus Praetorius in *Cantiones sacrae de praecipuis festis* (Spiritual Songs for Important Feast Days). The volume was reprinted in 1607, 1622, and 1623. The

festival of Michael the Archangel is celebrated on September 29.

4. See Laarmann 1999, p. 72, for a family tree.
5. Laarmann 1998, p. 36.
6. See Haarlem 1986, pp. 40–43 and nos. 69, 70.
7. Plomp 1998, p. 20.
8. See the discussion under cat. no. 27 and nn. 3 and 7 there.
9. Compare the silver “marriage heart” described in Haarlem 1986, pp. 283–84, n. 15, fig. 69d.
10. On the parrot as a symbol of motherhood, see Liedtke 1984a, pp. 179–80, 184, n. 23.
11. Cats 1627, vol. 3, emblem no. 28. James Boswell’s journal reveals that the Roman practice of scattering walnuts at weddings (mentioned by Virgil and other ancient writers) was still well known in the eighteenth century; see Boswell 1981, p. 197.
12. Now known as a *blokkfuit*. See The Hague, Antwerp 1994, p. 369.
13. See Laarmann 1998, p. 34, on the eleven recorders cited in Cornelis Graswinckel’s Delft estate inventory in 1653. She also discusses the flowering of flute and recorder playing in the Netherlands during the middle of the seventeenth century, and Renaissance etiquette books that warned against the effects of playing wind instruments on a gentleman’s facial features. But this seems forgotten in the present picture and in other portraits of the period (see text following).
14. Pepys 1985, p. 44 (entry for May 14–15, 1660). Pepys also played lute and theorbo.
15. Liedtke 1984a, pp. 58, 61, n. 18, pls. 26, VI.
16. Quoted by Legéne in The Hague, Antwerp 1994, p. 82.

REFERENCES: Laarmann 1998; Plomp 1998; Laarmann 1999; Lokin in Osaka 2000, pp. 38, 40, 41, 43; Plomp in Osaka 2000, no. 18; Liedtke 2000, pp. 18, 26, 27, 128.

EXHIBITED: Utrecht 1998, no. 69; Osaka 2000, no. 18.

EX COLL.: Michiel van der Dussen, Delft; private collection, Château de la Ferté-Beauharnais, Orléans, about 1800?–1986; (sale, Galerie des Ventes d’Orléans, Orléans, March 6, 1986, no. 16); [Patrick Weiler and Jean-François Hein, Paris]; purchased in 1998 by the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 231).

# 81. *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of Piet Hein*

ca. 1652–53  
Oil on wood, 30 x 25½ in. (76.2 x 65.1 cm)  
Signed on the column to the right:  
H van Vliet

Collection Mr. and Mrs. M. E. Zukerman,  
New York

New York only

This panel is one of Van Vliet’s earliest and most experimental works as an architectural painter. At this point in his career, about 1652–53, he had been a portraitist for approximately twenty years and had just begun to depict views of actual church interiors, under the influence of Gerard Houckgeest. Van Vliet’s earliest known dated architectural painting is a view of the Pieterskerk in Leiden of 1652 (fig. 121), which employs Houckgeest’s type of oblique perspective scheme, an illusionistic archway and curtain (much less prominently than here), and, incidentally, a triforium (the second level of the luminous nave wall) spliced in from the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.<sup>1</sup>

In the present picture the alterations to the actual architecture are more radical, in deference to two principal concerns: illusionistic space, which is both enhanced and denied by the green silk curtain and the shadow it casts on the fictive painting’s surface; and a greater emphasis upon figures than one usually finds in the genre, except for some approximately contemporary works by Emanuel de Witte (see fig. 120; cat. nos. 92, 93). All of this is clarified by a comparison with Van Vliet’s probable source of inspiration, Houckgeest’s painting of nearly the same view in the Oude Kerk, which dates from about 1650 (fig. 117). At first it would seem that Van Vliet simply eliminated two or three columns from the actual view. But this impression is created by his arbitrary telescoping of the perspective construction, making it appear that he was farther from the nearest pier on the left (the one with an epitaph) than he could have been when recording the view. Van Vliet must have begun with a sketch made from about where the boys are in Houckgeest’s picture,

probably with his back against the column base. In the studio, the arrangement of the architecture, which called for an oblique perspective scheme as in Houckgeest’s work, was forced to conform with a frontal (one-point) projection centered in the area of the couple’s heads on the left. This redrafting made the central space—a choir (the Mariakoor, or Mary’s Choir), which is actually as wide as the main choir on the right—close up like a creaky book (compare the broad proportions of the Mariakoor in the background of Louys Elsevier’s picture, cat. no. 16). The column on the right is the one partially seen just above the nearest boy’s right hand in Houckgeest’s painting (fig. 117); Van Vliet hauled it over toward the open grave so that the archway left behind it looks about three times wider than it does in Houckgeest’s composition and in photographs (fig. 118). Thus the illusionistic curtain has a double function, for in addition to being the finest passage of painting in the picture, it hides an impossible leap from foreground to background in the arches overhead.

Van Vliet’s approach to illusionism in this picture seems to merge avenues explored by Houckgeest, De Witte, and Gerard Dou. As in works by the last (see fig. 288), the space resembles that of a stage, with actors and props in the foreground, more distant forms



Fig. 294. Coenraet Decker, *The Tomb of Piet Hein in the Oude Kerk, Delft*. Engraving, 7¼ x 5½ in. (18 x 14 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stad Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection



drawn like a backdrop across the view, and a proscenium arch and curtain that reveal only what the artist wants the viewer to see. The action effectively unfolds from the left, where a gentleman chats up a young lady; the view from behind her and the gangly dog (which, like the man, sniffs out the situation) reminds one of Gerard ter Borch's approximately contemporary painting *Gallant Conversation* (*Paternal Admonition*; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).<sup>2</sup> The boys play a game of chance, which is like life itself except that the outcome of the latter is certain; is it also chance that the gravedigger has brought up a couple of skulls? In the background, another man and woman stand very close together, and a small chorus of everyday types has assembled in front of Piet Hein's tomb. One could hardly find a better reminder of a virtuous life and of death's cold indifference. The admiral's demise in 1629, during a raid off the coast at Dunkerque, came only one year after his spectacular seizure of the Spanish silver fleet in a Cuban harbor (see fig. 222). This turn of events shocked the nation; the States General commissioned his tomb monument (fig. 294), which was erected about 1637.<sup>3</sup> Until Admiral Tromp's tomb was completed in 1658 (see cat. no. 82), Hein's monument was the most important sight to see for casual visitors to the Oude Kerk.

The usual dating of this painting to about 1653–55 takes into account Van Vliet's possible response to Ter Borch. But that artist depicted young women seen from behind as early as about 1650, well before *Paternal Admonition* (which is usually dated to about 1654),<sup>4</sup> and he was not the only painter to attract attention with a hidden face. Van Vliet could just as well have adopted the idea from Houckgeest (see cat. no. 40) or another artist, and painted this picture as early as 1652. There are awkward moments in the work's execution as well as in its design, which in the perspective scheme stands apart from almost every other composition by Van Vliet dating from the 1650s. Perhaps this is one of his very first church interiors, a work that draws upon the painter's long experience in depicting fabric and figures and that looks to the future in its study of actual space and light.

WL

1. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 58, 60–61. Another version of the same view in the Pieterskerk was painted by Van Vliet in 1653 (Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota);

Liedtke 1982a, p. 61, fig. 42.

2. As noted in Liedtke 1979b, pp. 46–48, figs. 6, 7, where it is also mentioned that Ter Borch was in Delft in April 1653; see Montias 1989, p. 308 (doc. no. 251).

3. Neurdenburg (1948, p. 137, fig. 107) credits Pieter de Keyser with the execution in 1629. He probably carved the effigy, but the architecture of the tomb has been attributed to Arent van 's-Gravesande and to Van Bassen as well as to the younger De Keyser (Wijbenga 1990, p. 46, citing Van Beresteyn 1938 and other sources).

4. See Gudlaugsson 1959–60, no. 70.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, pp. 98, 103, 173, no. 572; Liedtke 1979b, pp. 41, 46, 49–50, 52; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 15, n. 17, 36, 44, 46, 59, 62–63, 68, 80, 108, no. 80, 125, 127, 128; Liedtke 2000, pp. 119, 127, 128, 131, 132, 202.

EXHIBITED: Sheffield 1956, no. 57.

EX COLL.: Tethart Philipp Christian Haag (1737–1812), The Hague; Sir Frederick Cook, 2nd Bart., Doughty House, Richmond, Surrey; Sir Herbert Cook, 3rd Bart.; Sir Francis Cook, 4th Bart., until 1958; [Leonard Koetser Gallery, London, 1958]; [S. Nystad Oude Kunst, The Hague]; Edward Drummond Libbey; The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1976 (sold at Christie's, New York, January 15, 1985, no. 29); [Otto Naumann Ltd., New York, 1989]; the present owners.

## 82. *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of Admiral Maerten Harpertsz Tromp*

1658

Oil on canvas, 48½ x 43¼ in. (123.5 x 111 cm)

Signed and dated on the base of the column in the center: H van. vliet. / .1658

The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio

The painting's main subject is the tomb monument of Admiral Maerten Harpertsz Tromp (1598–1653), which was completed in 1658. It has been suggested plausibly that this large canvas, which dates from the same year, was commissioned by a member of the naval hero's family, perhaps his third wife and widow, Cornelia Teding van Berkhout (1614–1680).<sup>1</sup> This patrician resident of Delft is said to have persuaded the States General to commission the tomb, which was designed by Jacob van Campen and executed principally by the celebrated master Rombout Verhulst (1624–1698).<sup>2</sup> Willem de Keyser (1603–after

1674), one of Hendrick de Keyser's three sons, carved the relief below the effigy, "a sea-fight the best cut in Marble" ever seen by the English tourist Samuel Pepys.<sup>3</sup> A contract between the two Amsterdam sculptors and Tromp's widow was signed on September 18, 1655, and witnessed by the Delft notary Willem de Langue.<sup>4</sup> In the 1667 edition of his *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* Van Bleyswijck cited Van Campen, Verhulst, and "a De Keyser" as the authors of the tomb, detailing their responsibilities, and in the expanded edition of 1680 he included an illustration (fig. 295).<sup>5</sup>

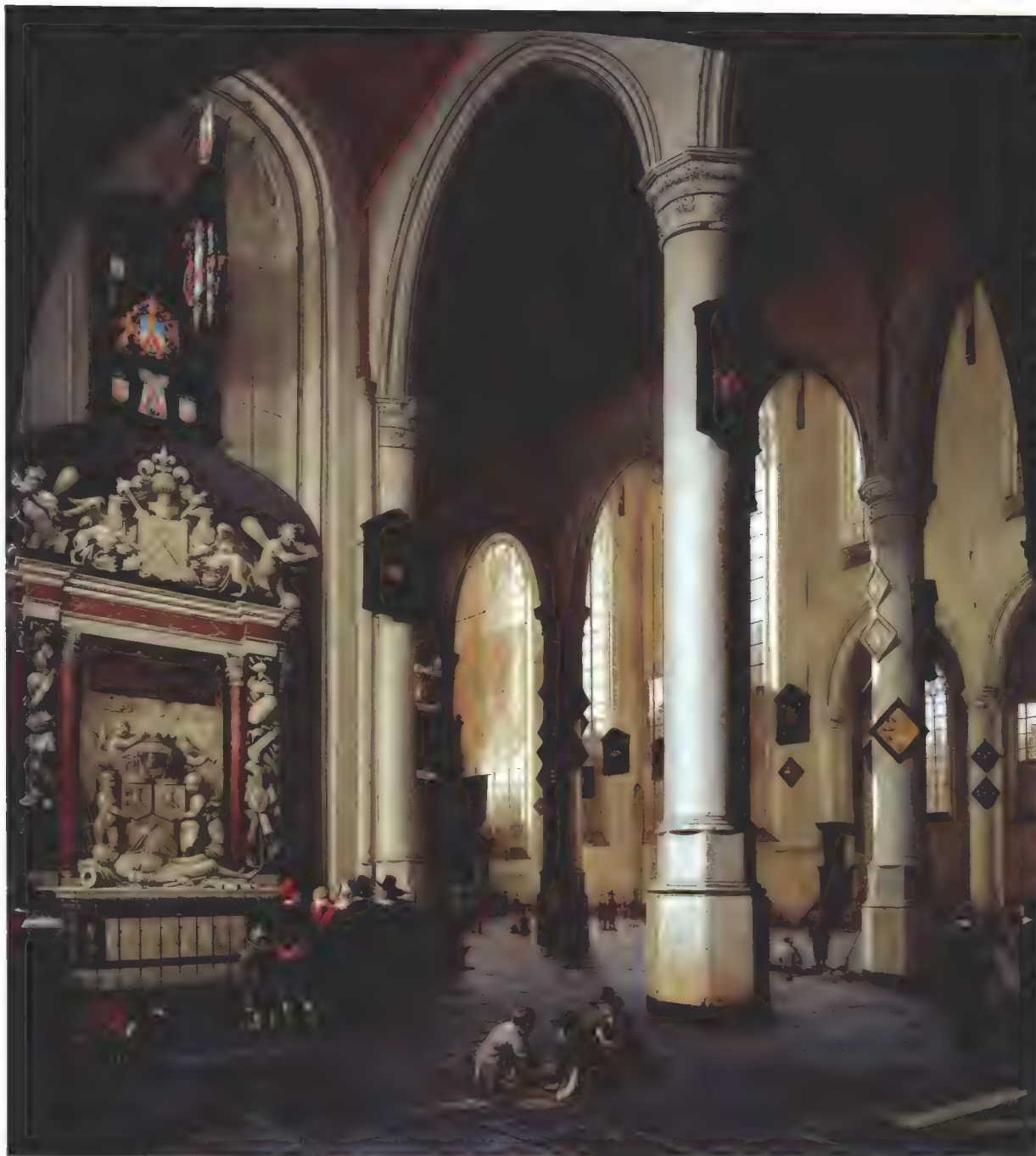
Like Piet Hein's before him, Tromp's heroic career ended in sudden death. In the fall of 1639 his fleet destroyed two-thirds of the forty-seven Spanish, Portuguese, and Neapolitan warships in the huge armada that dared to sail up the English Channel.<sup>6</sup> But in the catastrophic Anglo-Dutch War of 1652–54 the Dutch suffered enormous losses,<sup>7</sup> and Tromp was killed in a battle near Ter Heijde on August 10, 1653. Pepys could have admired De Keyser's relief for its subject as well as for its pictorial style, since it represents that English victory.

In its composition the Toledo Museum picture recalls Gerard Houckgeest's view from the same chapel to the tomb of Piet Hein (fig. 117), which had also influenced Van Vliet several years earlier (for example,



Fig. 295. Coenraet Decker, *The Tomb of Admiral Maerten Tromp in the Oude Kerk, Delft*. Engraving, 7½ x 5½ in. (18 x 14 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection







in cat. no. 81). In the nearly square confines of the Joriskapel (Saint George's Chapel) there were few options to this approach, especially given the artist's and presumably the patron's desire to include Tromp's grave board and flag (both of which bear his coat of arms) above the tomb. But this particular view, recorded from a position in the northwest corner of the chapel, also pays tribute to Piet Hein and perhaps implies that Tromp was his worthy successor.<sup>8</sup> The large diaphanous flags of the Spanish fleet flying as trophies above Hein's tomb would have reminded contemporaries of Tromp's victories as well.

Groups of figures gather in front of both monuments; the many grave boards hanging on columns and piers, and the buildings visible through the clear glass windows (which replaced those lost in the explosion of 1654), strengthen the sense of community. A grave is in progress, another planned; to the right a man, hat in hand, requests a contribution to the alms box on a stool. A less formal solicitation apparently takes place in the very center of the view.

Van Vliet rose to the occasion in this splendid work, which in its careful details, exceptional figures, and light effects (not least in the shining sea of floor tiles) is one of his most accomplished pictures. The signs of wear on the nearest column, like the cracks and chips described by Jacob Vosmaer in his stone niches (see cat. no. 88), suggest time, death, and stubborn resistance to mortality. On the side of the column base facing the boys, a budding artist made a simple chalk drawing of a warship at sea. Tromp sailed to the East Indies at the age of eight and many other young men would follow him.

WL

1. Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 215. As noted there, circumstantial support for the hypothesis that Cornelia Teding van Berkhout commissioned the painting comes from the family tradition that her brother Paulus ordered Van Vliet's *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with the Memorial Tablet of Adriaen Teding van Berkhout* (cat. no. 83 here). Plomp in Osaka 2000, p. 84, n. 7, wisely counsels caution, but for unconvincing reasons. A portrait of Cornelia Teding van Berkhout, dated 1648, is attributed to Michiel van Miereveld's studio (although he died in 1641) in Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 386, no. A260.

2. Israel 1995, p. 881, citing research of a century ago, reports that Pieter Post, Van Campen, and Verhulst submitted rival designs to the States General in

March 1654 and that Verhulst won the commission. Evidently they all worked on the project together, and Van Campen was mostly responsible for the design (see Eymert Jan Goossens in Amsterdam 1995, pp. 222–23). One drawing (possibly made by Post for Van Campen; Amsterdam 1995, fig. 225) shows mourning putti in the center with an urn, not the arms of the States General and Holland, which appear in Verhulst's terra-cotta model (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Amsterdam 1995, fig. 226) and on the monument.

3. See chap. 1, p. 3, n. 1, for Pepys's account of May 18, 1660. It has been suggested that Willem van de Velde the Elder may have designed the sea battle (see Eymert Jan Goossens in Amsterdam 1995, p. 223; see Neurdenburg 1948, figs. 162, 163, for photographs of the tomb and the relief).
4. Obreen 1877–90, vol. 5, pp. 62–64.
5. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 1, pp. 182, 185.
6. Israel 1982, pp. 261, 268–70.
7. See Israel 1995, pp. 715–22.
8. Only a sculptor, presumably, would have noted the succession from Pieter de Keyser, who worked on Hein's tomb, to his younger brother Willem, who contributed to Tromp's.

REFERENCES: Liedtke 1982a, pp. 65, n. 19, 105, no. 31; Liedtke 1991b, p. 234; Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, no. 43; Grijzenhout in Frankfurt 1993–94, p. 104; Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 72; Liedtke 2000, pp. 132, 279, n. 205; Plomp in Osaka 2000, pp. 29, 84; Wheelock in Osaka 2000, no. 9 (with incorrect provenance).

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam 1991, no. 43; Osaka 2000, no. 9.

EX COLL.: Nicolaes van Bremen collection, The Hague, 1752; Marquis de Ménars (sold at Basan and Joullain, Paris, late February 1782, no. 136); Dr. G. Munnicks van Cleeff (sold Utrecht, 1860); Rudolf Peltzer collection, Cologne (sold at F. Muller, Amsterdam, May 26, 1914, no. 359); Anton W. M. Mensing collection (sold at F. Muller, Amsterdam, November 15, 1938, no. 107, to Mossel); private collection, Belgium; [Hoogsteder-Naumann Gallery, The Hague and New York, 1983–84]; purchased with funds from the Libbey Endowment, gift of Edward Drummond Libbey to The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio (1984.80).

### 83. *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with the Memorial Tablet of Adriaen Teding van Berkhout*

1661

Oil on canvas, 39 3/4 x 44 1/4 in. (100 x 112 cm)  
Signed and dated on the base of the right column: H. VAN. VLIET.A° 1661

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, on loan from the Teding van Berkhout Foundation

Like Van Vliet's earlier painting *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft, with the Tomb of Admiral Maerten Harpertsz Tromp* (cat. no. 82), this canvas is thought to have been commissioned by a member of the Teding van Berkhout family, namely, Paulus Teding van Berkhout (1609–1672), the eldest son of Adriaen Teding van Berkhout (1571–1620), whose memorial tablet appears on the right. In this case the hypothesis is supported by family tradition and the fact that from 1620 onward members of the family have been buried in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk, near the memorial tablet, which remains in place today. As Michiel Plomp has noted, the central tombstone in the foreground covers Adriaen Teding van Berkhout's grave.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps his descendants—for example, his grandson Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643–1713; fig. 296)—would have recognized one or two of the neighboring tombstones. As Paulus Teding van Berkhout's eldest son, the young connoisseur and diarist may well have inherited the present picture in 1672.<sup>2</sup>

The wood choir screen is crowned by tablets bearing the Ten Commandments, immediately below which the date of the ensemble is inscribed: 16 (to the left) and 27 (to the right). Van Vliet's painting and a detailed description in Dirck van Bleyswijk's *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* (1667–[80]) are the best-known records of this Late Renaissance



Fig. 296. Godfried Schalcken, *Portrait of Pieter Teding van Berkhout*, ca. 1674. Oil on copper, 5 1/4 x 4 1/4 in. (13.3 x 11.1 cm). Teding van Berkhout Foundation, Amersfoort



masterpiece, the only known work of Nicolaes van Assendelft.<sup>3</sup> The verse on the lintel reads (in Dutch): “And all things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive. Mat. 21. v. 22.”

In the early 1660s Van Vliet returned to the venerable tradition of deep, one-point perspective views, of which Bartholomeus van Bassen’s painting in Budapest (cat. no. 6), Gerard Houckgeest’s canvas in Edinburgh (cat. no. 36), and numerous works by Pieter Saenredam, Anthony de Lorme, Daniel de Blicq, and others are earlier instances.

One unexpected example in Delft, Johannes Coesermans’s small pen painting *Imaginary Gothic Church with a Baroque Choir Screen* of 1660 (formerly Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans), suggests that a picture by Van Vliet similar in composition to the Teding van Berkhout canvas may have been painted before 1661.<sup>4</sup> Of course Houckgeest had also recorded orthogonal (or “frontal”) views in actual churches, as in his *Jacobskerk in The Hague* of 1651 (formerly Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf).<sup>5</sup> The way Van Vliet sets off the shadowy foreground from a deeper

zone of sunlight could have been inspired by Houckgeest’s painting, where one also finds a backlit balustrade and a crowning element (the roof of the pulpit) leading the eye smoothly into receding vaults.

However, no antecedent explains the poise and beauty of the present picture, where the view through the choir screen seems an architect’s answer to the tranquil landscapes of Paulus Potter and Adam Pynacker. Almost every element in the design serves to balance another or to resolve potential problems, such as the half-open doors which discreetly

usher the viewer into the nave (cat. no. 84 shows the same space from the other direction). But this progress is gently resisted at every step of the way, by the transept wall with its positive and negative shapes (like the archways perched on the choir screen, next to obelisks and their shadows), by the lacework of chandeliers, and by every other pattern or detail that arrests the eye. The tiles in the foreground introduce an accord of colors that continues throughout the space. Van Vliet allows us at least two ways of responding to this environment—one literal, the other visual—which seem represented by the two figures in the light on the right, one of whom reads the inscription, the other of whom looks about in appreciation. And by the viewer himself, who stands with his back to William the Silent's tomb. This painting concerns another public servant, his family, and the promise of peace. WL

1. Plomp in Osaka 2000, p. 82.
2. See the discussion of the Teding van Berkhouts in chap. 1, pp. 14–15.
3. Van Bleysswijck 1667–[80], vol. 1, p. 278, cited by Plomp in Osaka 2000, pp. 82, 84, n. 1. As Plomp (p. 84, n. 2) reports, the original choir screen was scrapped in 1837 and replaced by a cast-iron screen.
4. See Liedtke 1992, p. 192, fig. 3, and Liedtke 2000, p. 139, fig. 182.
5. Liedtke 1982a, p. 100, no. 5, fig. 26, and Liedtke 2000, p. 119, fig. 150.

REFERENCES: Van der Kloot Meijburg 1941, p. 43; Schwartz and Bok 1990, p. 327, n. 26; Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, no. 44; Grijsenhout in Frankfurt 1993–94, pp. 104–5; Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 79–80; Plomp 1996a, p. 51; Liedtke 2000, pp. 131, 133, 138, 228, 279, n. 212; Plomp in Osaka 2000, pp. 27–28, no. 10.

EXHIBITED: Zurich 1956, no. 269; Haarlem 1961, no. 84; Delft 1962, no. 40; Delft 1974–75, no. 30; Rotterdam 1991, no. 44; Delft 1996; Osaka 2000, no. 10.

EX COLL.: Commissioned by Paulus Teding van Berkhout (1609–1672), according to family tradition; by descent through the family; given by them to the Teding van Berkhout Foundation (B8).

#### 84. *View of the Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, from beneath the Organ Loft at the Western Entrance*

1662  
Oil on canvas, 37½ x 33½ in. (95 x 85 cm)  
Signed and dated lower right, on the column base: H.van.Vliet./ A° 1662

Dr. Gordon J. Gilbert and Adele S. Gilbert,  
Saint Petersburg, Florida

From about 1652 until the late 1650s Van Vliet painted oblique views of the interiors of the Oude Kerk and Nieuwe Kerk in Delft, exploring numerous possibilities within those complex spaces (see figs. 121, 122; cat. no. 82). The compositions are often reminiscent of works by Gerard Houckgeest and occasionally Emanuel de Witte, but some are entirely original with Van Vliet. He would often approach a certain section of the church, for example, the Mariakoor (Mary's Choir) in the Oude Kerk, from various angles, depicting views from within and from outside the space, and from various distances. In about 1657–60 he also painted a number of views from the southern aisle of the Oude Kerk, which incorporate all or part of the organ loft at the western end of the

nave. There are no precedents for this in earlier paintings of Delft church interiors, although in De Witte's panel in Ottawa (cat. no. 92) the organ loft is just out of view to the left.<sup>1</sup>

Deep, orthogonal views, as in this canvas of 1662, were one of Van Vliet's more remarkable innovations, at least within the development of architectural painting in Delft. To be sure, earlier specialists had favored orthogonal recession to a central or somewhat off-center vanishing point. This type of composition may be traced back a hundred years to the origins of the genre in prints after Hans Vredeman de Vries, and it remained the standard approach in the oeuvres of Flemish painters such as Pieter Neeffs the Elder and the Younger. Pieter Saenredam's first representations of Saint Bavo's in Haarlem (dating from 1628–30) are also of this type, although in his elegant handling of wide-angle views the effect is very different from the microcosmic impression made by the Neeffs' pictures or the more illusionistic manner of Van Vliet.<sup>2</sup>

The most immediate sources of inspiration for Van Vliet's work along these lines may be found in his own geographic area, with Van Bassen's views in actual churches dating from the late 1630s (see fig. 90) and with interior views of the Saint Laurenskerk in Rotterdam, which were painted from about



Fig. 297. Coenraet Decker, *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft*. Engraving, 7½ x 5½ in. (18 x 14 cm). From Dirck van Bleysswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection



Fig. 298. Coenraet Decker, *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft*. Engraving, 7½ x 5½ in. (18 x 14 cm). From Dirck van Bleysswijck, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection





1652 onward by the Rotterdam artist Anthonie de Lorme and by the visiting Middelburger Daniel de Blicck.<sup>3</sup> As the mention of these several names indicates, views of actual Dutch churches were becoming common on the art market by the 1650s, and the various specialists were generally acquainted with each other's work. At the time Van Vliet painted the present picture *De Blicck*, a disciple of Dirck van Delen, had painted dozens of views of churches in Rotterdam, Leiden, and Middelburg and had departed for England, presumably in search of new subjects or customers. Similarly, by the mid-1660s Job and Gerrit Berckheyde were painting interior views of Saint Bavo's in their native Haarlem. In general, their views down the nave or aisles of the great church (looking in either direction) are based upon compositions by Saenredam, but in a few oblique views one of the brothers, Job, appears to have been influenced by Van Vliet.<sup>4</sup> The Delft painter occasionally depicted churches in Leiden, Gouda, Haarlem, The Hague, and (in 1672) Utrecht.<sup>5</sup> It is significant that no out-of-towner ever depicted a Delft church interior.

Van Vliet painted a pendant to the present picture, a centralized view of the Oude Kerk with the same dimensions and, as here, a view of the underside of the organ loft at the top of the composition.<sup>6</sup> For the sake of conformity between the two compositions the artist made the broad proportions of the Oude Kerk resemble those of the Nieuwe Kerk, which in the present canvas are themselves exaggerated in height and depth. In both pictures the receding pavement of the nave leads the eye abruptly to the doorway of the choir screen, where figures standing in front of a tomb are framed.<sup>7</sup> (In the painting exhibited here, the seated figure of William the Silent is discernible in the area of the vanishing point.)

It seems likely that Van Vliet painted this pair of pictures for a particular client. The intention to record the most comprehensive views possible is not evident in his earlier work, and he is not known to have made any other pendants (which are quite rare in the genre). Whatever the circumstances of their origin, the two paintings served as a basis for the engraved views of the Delft churches (figs. 297, 298) that in 1678 were incorporated into Johannes de Ram's and Coenraet

Decker's Illustrated Map of Delft (see cat. nos. 134, 135) and into Dirck van Bleyswijck's expanded *Beschryvinge der stad Delft* of 1680. This suggests that the pictures remained together, and (to mention only one possibility) that Van Bleyswijck may have owned them.

The artistic success of the pendants of 1662 may have encouraged Van Vliet to depict similar views in the early to mid-1660s, such as the drawing of the Oude Kerk included here (cat. no. 129) and a striking view to the Maria-koor from the northern aisle (*Gemäldegalerie der Akademie*, Vienna).<sup>8</sup> But it should also be noted that paintings with similar perspective effects were common in the 1660s, as seen in works by Samuel van Hoogstraten (fig. 138), Vermeer (fig. 168), Johannes Coesermans (cat. no. 13), Cornelis de Man (cat. no. 41), and a number of other Dutch and Flemish artists (for example, Van Delen in his late years, and such architectural painters active in the Spanish Netherlands as Anton Gheringh and Wilhelm von Ehrenberg). Curiously, even in Delft, where artists evoked such immediate sensations of space in the 1650s, old formulas became fashionable again. WL

1. On Van Vliet's artistic development, see Liedtke 1982a, chap. 4, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 127–35.
2. For typical works by these Dutch and Flemish painters, see Rotterdam 1991.
3. On De Lorme and De Blicck, see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 69–73, and Rotterdam 1991, pp. 237–42 (De Lorme), 244–55 (De Blicck).
4. As discussed in Liedtke 1982a, pp. 73–74. On Gerrit Berckheyde's church interiors, see Lawrence 1991, pp. 40–42.
5. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 110–11, nos. 130–46.
6. See *ibid.*, pp. 66–67, fig. 54, and Saint Petersburg 1990–91, pp. 44–45.
7. Liedtke 1982a, figs. 55, 55a, reproduces the Oude Kerk view next to a photograph taken in the church from the same vantage point.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68, fig. 58; Trnek 1992, no. 128; and Liedtke 2000, fig. 174.

REFERENCES: Liedtke 1982a, p. 109, no. 119; Saint Petersburg 1990–91, pp. 44–45, fig. 20; Liedtke 2000, pp. 127, 131, 133, 134, 135, 228.

EXHIBITED: Saint Petersburg 1990–91.

EX COLL.: Frederik Muller (sold Amsterdam, November 26, 1946, no. 39); (sale at Sotheby's, London, March 11, 1964, no. 110; Lady Eva Dugdale, London; [Newhouse Galleries, New York]; private collection, California, 1970; (sale at Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1988, no. 111); the present owners.

## WILLEM WILLEMSZ VAN VLIET

*Delft ca. 1584–1642 Delft*

*According to Dirck van Bleyswijck, Van Vliet died at the age of fifty-eight, in 1644.<sup>1</sup> Assuming the date of death was mistaken, and not the artist's age, scholars place his date of birth about 1584. He may, as the biographer claims, have come from a distinguished Delft family called Van der Vliet van der Woert.<sup>2</sup> Van Vliet studied with Michiel van Miereveld and joined the Delft painters' guild in 1615; the fee he paid indicates that he was a native of Delft. In 1633 he served as headman, together with Jacob Vosmaer. At the time, his nephew and pupil, Hendrick van Vliet, was a new member of the guild.*

*In 1618 the young master married Maria Jacobsdr Storm van Wena, who lived on the Voorstraat. The artist came from the Choorstraat, but nine months later the couple resided on the Oude Langendijk. In 1636 Van Vliet, no doubt a widower, married Janniige Heyndricxs van Buyren. Neither marriage is known to have produced children.*

*Willem van Vliet, like his nephew Hendrick, was probably Catholic. His first marriage (to "Mary, daughter of James") took place in the town hall, and he portrayed the archpriest of Delfland, Suibertus Purmerent (fig. 47), in the year of his appointment. Known paintings by the artist, which in addition to portraits include genre scenes (see figs. 55, 56, 60) and the allegorical picture discussed below (cat. no. 85), date between 1624 and 1640.<sup>3</sup>* WL

1. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, pp. 851–52.
2. See Bok's biography of Willem van Vliet in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, p. 345, n. 2.
3. Most of the information in this biography depends upon Bok in *ibid.*, pp. 345–46. See also Wansink 1987.





### 85. *An Allegory*

1627

Oil on canvas, 44 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 58 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (112 x 149 cm)

Signed and dated upper right: w. vander vliet fecit/ an<sup>o</sup> 1627

Private collection

The subject of this haunting work has eluded precise explanation, perhaps because Van Vliet drew upon more than one contemporary theme. The seated man was assumed by one scholar to be a portrait, perhaps of a learned playwright surrounded by his own characters.<sup>1</sup> Another author suggested that the bearded man is the Steadfast Philosopher, resisting the solicitations of various worldly types.<sup>2</sup> A large canvas painted by Gerard van

Honthorst in 1623 (private collection) has tentatively been assigned the same title, although it was previously thought to depict a subject drawn from the Bible or classical literature.<sup>3</sup> In that picture, a young woman sits to the side of a turbaned scholar, whose paused pen, open book, and hourglass suggest that he has better things to do. The lady has adorned herself with a pearl earring (an allusion to Venus) and ribbons and feathers in her braided hair. She distracts the scholar by tugging on his shoulder and stripping to the waist. The contest recalls that between Saint Anthony and the Devil disguised as a seductive woman; Lucas van Leyden's engraving of the subject, dated 1509, offers one of the closest analogies.<sup>4</sup> In that print, the elegant woman's entire appearance and behavior are spoiled only by the horns pok-

ing through her hood. The deceitfulness of Van Vliet's woman is also indicated discreetly, by the mask in her left or "sinister" hand.

If Van Vliet's seated man is the Steadfast Philosopher, then the woman is Earthly Love, and the masked man with the money bag and box of scales and weights (as in Vermeer's *Woman with a Balance*, cat. no. 73) represents Riches. This interpretation compelled the latest critic to identify Riches' sidekick as "obviously not a real wise man, but a fake one, and as such an indication of the true nature of the gifts his companions have to offer." The young man to the left simply stands for "the folly of youth."<sup>5</sup>

This reading still leaves the viewer unsatisfied. The turban is rather slim evidence of wisdom; the man with an exotic headgear and pointed beard could just as well be a foreign

merchant, like the pair in Emanuel de Witte's *Courtyard of the Amsterdam Exchange* (1653; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam).<sup>6</sup> The two masked men here seem birds of a feather, and in league with the woman, considering the phallic symbol made of the money bag. However, the three visitors—they stand like salesmen at the door—appear to have encountered someone equally shrewd, to judge from the “philosopher’s” confident expression and perhaps the uncertainty discernible in the woman’s face. The scholar evidently speaks and points offstage, as if conveying information that does not suit the woman’s scheme.

The most problematic aspect of previous interpretations is the behavior of the young man, who is probably meant as the scholar’s assistant. The mask held high can hardly be his own, given his pointing finger and knowing glance. The young man reminds one of the rude revelers in works by Frans Hals and Jan Steen who make gestures referring to the main character (a cuckold or a charlatan).<sup>7</sup> Like peripheral figures on the comic stage, they offer witty commentary to the audience.<sup>8</sup> The youth confirms the viewer’s suspicion that the whole thing is a farce and that the scholar is neither steadfast nor innocent. That he appears to be crowned by a mask cannot be considered a mistake of composition.

The painting bears some resemblance to Van Vliet’s two known depictions of scholars and their students (see figs. 56, 60) and is evidently related in meaning: proud learning, implied by the pile of open and untied books, is compared with dubious skills employed in other professions. The vanity of learning was a flourishing subject in the 1620s: Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, who almost certainly inspired Van Vliet’s *Teacher Instructing His Pupils* (fig. 60) of about the same date as *An Allegory*, painted an elaborate *vanitas* still life with books (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven), which must date from a few years earlier.<sup>9</sup> The panel is generally considered one of the first pictures of a type that became popular from about 1628 onward in Leiden with artists such as Jan Lievens and Jan Davidsz de Heem.<sup>10</sup> However, the very currency of the

theme—that even in scholarly work one must (to quote the Latin inscription on De Gheyn’s still life) “observe moderation, be mindful of the final goal, and follow nature”—suggests that Van Vliet’s picture is not about false learning per se, as if it were a negative counterpart to the same artist’s panel inscribed “The aim of good education is virtue” (fig. 60). The theme of *An Allegory* is, more broadly, fraud; the viewer is warned, in a learned and humorous way, to be wary of those offering various professional services.

Van Vliet’s painting would have been well received in the university city of Leiden, where in fact it was purchased by an English student, Adam Drummond, ninth baron of Lennox and second of Megginch, probably in the 1670s. The University of Leiden was the main source of higher education for patrician families of Delft; the two cities also had many commercial and cultural ties. The scale, quality, and sophistication of *An Allegory* suggest a commission, but it is impossible to say whether Van Vliet’s patron lived in Leiden, Delft, or another city in southern Holland.

As discussed in chapter 3, the painting is sophisticated in style as well as in iconography. Its tight description, which is most remarkable in still-life details such as the worn book covers and pages, reminds one that Van Vliet was a disciple of Van Miereveld. At the same time, however, he was clearly responding to Van Honthorst, who in works of the previous two or three years departed from his Caravaggesque manner in favor of a style often described as “classicist” (see fig. 58). Van Couwenbergh (see cat. nos. 14, 15) also adopted aspects of this conservative tradition, which had roots not only in Rome and Utrecht but also in Antwerp (in the hands of Otto van Veen, Abraham Janssens, and Rubens between about 1613 and 1615) and in Haarlem (Hendrick Goltzius’s later paintings and the work of Cornelis van Haarlem from about 1618 onward and of Pieter de Grebber by about 1624).<sup>11</sup> That Van Honthorst and others made this manner popular at The Hague goes a long way toward explaining its development in Delft, especially in the case of Van Couwenbergh. But Delft itself must

have been especially receptive, considering its earlier patronage of the Dutch Romanists Van Scorel and Van Heemskerck, the highly successful career in Delft of Hans Jordaens (who, thirty years ago, would have been called an Early Baroque Classicist), and the local celebrity of Cornelis van Haarlem and Karel van Mander the Younger. Paintings like *An Allegory* may represent somewhat more than the influence of artists working for the Dutch court. The taste for works in this tradition to some extent explains why the Utrecht painters were so successful at The Hague in the first place. WL

1. Slatkes in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, p. 346, under no. 79, comparing author portraits in illustrated manuscripts of the early 1400s.
2. Wansink (1987, pp. 4–5, figs. 7, 8), comparing *An Allegory* with the painting of 1623 by Van Honthorst cited here just below. Her identification of the bearded man as the Steadfast Philosopher is based on the oral advice of Albert Blankert.
3. See Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, no. 65.
4. Washington, Boston 1983, no. 18.
5. Wansink 1987, p. 5, reporting Blankert’s suggestions (see above, n. 2). Thus the work seems a modern restaging of *An Allegory* (*Venus, Cupid, Folly, and Time*) by Bronzino (National Gallery, London).
6. Rotterdam 1991, no. 35. One of De Witte’s foreigners wears essentially the same attire as Van Vliet’s figure, as well as a black mustache and beard.
7. See, for example, the figures in the background of Jan Steen’s *Celebrating the Birth of 1664* (Wallace Collection, London).
8. Compare the young man with a mask in Samuel van Hoogstraten’s title print to his chapter on farce (“Thalia”), in Van Hoogstraten 1678; see Brusati 1995, pp. 243–45, fig. 159.
9. See Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 2, cat. IIP, no. 12, pl. 23.
10. See, for example, Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, nos. 18, 27. Chong discusses the De Gheyn at Yale on p. 16 of that catalogue. The date of 1621 to which he refers in a caption disappeared with cleaning quite some time ago.
11. On the Haarlem contingent, see Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000.

REFERENCES: Slatkes in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, no. 79; Wansink 1987, pp. 4–5.

EXHIBITED: Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, no. 79.

EX COLL.: Acquired in Leiden probably in the 1670s by Adam Drummond, 9th Baron of Lennox and 2nd of Megginch; thence by descent to the Honorable Mrs. Q. C. Agnew-Somerville; [Colnaghi, New York, 1984]; the present owner.

## DANIEL VOSMAER

Delft 1622–1669/70 Den Briel

Daniel Vosmaer was baptized in Delft on October 13, 1622. He was the son of the goldsmith Arent Woutersz Vosmaer (d. 1654) and had three brothers, one of whom was Nicolaes (or Claes; d. 1664), a painter of seascapes, and three sisters. The flower painter Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer, whose work is also represented in this exhibition, was his uncle. It is not known with whom Daniel trained to become a painter, but he registered as a master with the Delft Guild of Saint Luke on October 14, 1650, paying the usual 6-guilder fee assessed Delft natives. Michael Montias places Vosmaer in Delft in 1665, when he is said to have paid 80 guilders' rent.<sup>1</sup>

An interesting series of documents from 1666 concerns a collaboration between Vosmaer and Carel Fabritius.<sup>2</sup> One of these documents, dated July 12, 1666, refers to Vosmaer as living in the town of Den Briel (or Brielle), about eighteen miles southwest of Rotterdam.<sup>3</sup> Daniel's brother Abraham (1618–after 1660), who married a woman from Den Briel in 1643, moved there in 1654. His wife, Adriana de Jongh, came from a wealthy family of brewers, and Abraham acquired considerable wealth through his lease on the town's taxation of beer and wine. Daniel seems to have visited them frequently, and eventually he met Annetje Eduwards de Neeff, the widow

of the baker Jan Wisse.<sup>4</sup> On August 23, 1661, they were married in the Grote Kerk (Saint Catherine's) in Den Briel. The couple settled in the town, and in November of that year Daniel was registered with the local church. He retained his Delft citizenship, however. Annetje is mentioned again in a document dated October 1, 1662.<sup>5</sup> Involved, like his brother, in the town's taxation of beer and wine, Daniel had a sizable income and maintained close ties with the regents and elite of Den Briel. The couple had five children, Catherijna, Maria, Arent, Anna, and Daniel. Daniel père evidently died shortly before the baptism on May 7, 1670, of his youngest son. A notarial document of January 16 transferred his lease on the taxation of beer and wine to his brother-in-law Reijnier de Neeff and Tonis van der Fuijck.

AR

1. Obreen 1877–90, vol. 1, p. 51, and Montias 1982, p. 125.

2. On the circumstances, see chap. 4, pp. 128–29, n. 126. See also Obreen 1877–90, vol. 5, pp. 167–69; Bredius 1915–22, vol. 4, pp. 1437–38; C. Brown 1981, pp. 52, 154–56 (doc. nos. 34–36); and Montias 1982, pp. 212–13.

3. Obreen 1877–90, vol. 5, p. 167, and Montias 1982, p. 348.

4. For the information on Vosmaer's life in Den Briel, see Albers and Van der Houwen 1996, pp. 13–15, nn. 14–23. I am grateful to Mark van Hattem, curator at the Historisch Museum Den Briel, for bringing this article to my attention.

5. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 4, p. 1437.

## 86. *The Harbor of Delft*

ca. 1658–60

Oil on canvas, 33½ x 39¼ in. (85.5 x 101 cm)

Signed lower right: Daniel. Vosmaer

Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico, The Luis A. Ferré Foundation

*The Harbor of Delft* probably dates from somewhat earlier than Vosmaer's less conventional townscape *View of a Dutch Town* of the early 1660s (cat. no. 87). The picture presents a clearly identifiable view of Delft from the south, between the Rotterdam Gate and the East Gate, where the city wall springs back. At the corner of the Asvest and the Zuiderstraat stands the Spring Mill (also known as the Stone Mill; it was severely damaged by fire shortly after 1700 and torn down in 1732).<sup>1</sup> In the immediate right foreground is the near bank of the canal that surrounds the city. On the far bank, outside the city walls, are two wooden sheds and a dock with a few tiny figures. Two boats are moored to the bank, and to their right, part of a sunken boat emerges from the water. Beyond the city walls the dense roofscape of Delft is visible, dominated by the towers of the Oude Kerk, the Stadhuis (Town Hall), and the Nieuwe Kerk and by the windmill in the center. The dock and boats may have inspired the title of the picture, which is a misnomer. The main docking area of Delft lay next to the Schiedam and Rotterdam Gates—the southern entrance to the city where the river Schie flows into the Kolk, famously depicted in Vermeer's *View of Delft* of about 1660–61 (fig. 23). It is there that the regular boats connecting Delft, Rotterdam, Schiedam, and Delfshaven arrived and departed.

With the introduction of the strong verticals of the towers and the mill Vosmaer has abandoned the horizontal format of his early works (see fig. 267).<sup>2</sup> The composition is curiously divided between the logically receding space in the foreground—seen from a low vantage point, albeit with some distortions—and



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little indication of further spatial recession in the background. The city wall with its pronounced, brightly lit top edge abruptly interrupts the pictorial space, excluding the viewer from the city. One critic has suggested that the viewer may be standing in the water, but he or she could be on dry ground on the near bank, which curves toward the front.<sup>3</sup> The depth of the foreground scene is enhanced by the broad expanse of water and the rapid recession of the city wall on the left. Vosmaer keeps the eye from plunging toward the wall at the back by engaging the viewer with the small buildings and boats, the reflections in the water, and the light contrasts. Beyond the city wall, the roofs and gables at angles to each other evoke three-dimensionality without extending the pictorial space. Vosmaer may have manipulated reality. The tower of the Nieuwe Kerk appears surprisingly close, for half the city lies between the church and the southern wall. By contrast, the tower of the town hall, located directly opposite the Nieuwe Kerk on the same square, appears very distant, while the tower of the Oude Kerk, another block to the north, seems close.

The sunlight and its beautiful, subtle effects; the stillness of the water in the foreground; and the absence of narrative detail give the picture a quiet, serene air. This atmosphere has become almost a trademark of painting from Delft, as it pervades the works of many of Vosmaer's townsmen, such as Carel Fabritius (see cat. no. 20), Pieter de Hooch (see cat. nos. 27, 30, 31, 33), Paulus Potter (cat. nos. 54, 55), and Adam Pynacker (cat. nos. 56, 57). In Vosmaer's progression from horizontal townscapes full of narrative detail (in the first half of the 1650s) to more vertical compositions with subtler light effects (in about 1660), the present picture may be considered a transitional and ambitious work.<sup>4</sup>

AR

REFERENCES: Held 1961, p. 317; Donahue 1964, pp. 22–23; Held 1965, pp. 190–91; Held, Taylor, and Carder 1984, p. 322; Liedtke 1992–93a, pp. 30–31; Delft 1996, pp. 101–2.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1996.

EX COLL.: Witcamp collection, Rotterdam (sold March 1958 to Nijstad Antiquairs, The Hague); purchased in 1959 by the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico (590088).

## 87. *View of a Dutch Town*

Early 1660s  
Oil on wood, 26 x 20 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (66 x 53 cm)

The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center,  
Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York,  
Purchase Agnes Rindge Claflin Fund

This picture is one of the most unusual town views painted in Delft. The diagonally ascending wall in the immediate foreground effectively blocks access to the scene. The viewer is permitted only a glimpse across the top of the wall into a sunny open area with patches of grass and shrubs and, farther off, a grove of trees and a row of houses; a few people can be seen strolling about. The composition of this intriguing view has been organized through bold geometric forms and by juxtapositions of light and dark. The wall in the foreground, its top edge brightly lit, prevents the viewer's eye from immediately plunging into the scene. Instead, the eye is led toward the wall at the right, on which a patch of sunlight falls. The oblique angle of the sunlit wall and the slanted tiled roof, set off against the blue sky by the large dark tree behind, point the viewer to the deep space beyond. The eye is then drawn into the open space and toward the illuminated row of houses at the back. There, the houses reflecting the sunlight contrast with the dark trees in front and behind. The illusion of depth is enhanced by the low horizon, approximately at the base of the houses, and by the small scale of the figures.

The picture is a radical departure from Vosmaer's previous paintings as well as from townscape painting in general. Traditionally,

an open space in the foreground leads the viewer into the scene. Strategically placed figures often serve as a means of introduction, while a street, a bridge, or a waterway direct the eye into the receding space, as in Vosmaer's earlier *Explosion of the Powder Magazine at Delft in 1654* (fig. 267), in Egbert van der Poel's painting of the same subject (cat. no. 51), or in Vosmaer's *View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654* (fig. 299). In the last painting the devastated area extends from the bottom of the picture, and the viewer looks through the remnants of the destroyed houses, defined by subtle chiaroscuro effects, toward the townscape and the Nieuwe Kerk in the background. The viewer, at eye level with the figures in the picture, becomes part of the scene. In the present picture such access is denied, and the vantage point of the viewer is unclear. Judging by the slanting roof on the right, the viewer seems to be at the level of the second or third floor of the building that was presumably once in the foreground.

Stylistic features, such as the vertical format, the accomplished handling of light, and the brushwork have caused one author to conclude that the picture must have been painted in the early 1660s, the same date given to figure 299.<sup>1</sup> The dating of the latter is supported by the seeming date of the figures. The strolling couple resembles the couple on the left of Pieter de Hooch's *Portrait of a Family in a Courtyard in Delft*, which is generally thought to have been painted about 1658–60 (cat. no. 27).<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to identify the present picture conclusively as a view of Delft, though the damaged building in the foreground may be a remnant of the destruction caused by the explosion of the municipal powder magazine on October 12, 1654. In any case, the picture is characteristic of the approach to the painting of townscapes in Delft in the early 1660s. The almost geometric structuring of the composition as well as the sophisticated use of light effects recall the works of Carel Fabritius (especially cat. no. 20), Pieter de Hooch (cat. nos. 27, 30, 31, 33), Paulus Potter (cat. nos. 54, 55), Adam Pynacker (cat. nos. 56, 57), and Van der Poel (cat. no. 52). The unusual barrier wall that keeps the viewer out of the picture not only underlines Vosmaer's interest in pictorial experiments—another such experiment would

1. Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 101.

2. Donahue 1964, p. 22, and Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 101.

3. Held 1965, p. 191.

4. Donahue (1964) places the work between Vosmaer's postexplosion views of Delft painted in 1654 and the years immediately following *View of Delft after the Explosion of 1654* (fig. 299 here), which she dates to the early 1660s, the same date she gives to *View of a Dutch Town* (cat. no. 87). See also in this catalogue chap. 4, n. 127.





be his *View of Delft through an Imaginary Loggia* of 1663 (fig. 342)—but points to the more general fascination with perspective and visual experimentation among Delft painters of his generation. AR

1. Donahue 1964, p. 24.
2. Ibid., p. 23, and Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 98. The child in the present painting does not occur in De Hooch's picture (cat. no. 27 here), as the latter text suggests, however.

REFERENCES: Donahue 1964, pp. 18–27; Faison 1964, p. 231; Vassar College Art Gallery 1967, p. 18; Delft 1996, p. 100.

EXHIBITED: Williamstown 1966; Amsterdam, Toronto 1977 (not in catalogue); Delft 1996.

EX COLL.: Laubinger Collection, Salzburg; The Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York (1962.2).



Fig. 299. Daniel Vosmaer, *Delft after the Explosion of the Powder Magazine in 1654*, early 1660s. Oil on canvas, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 21 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (67.6 x 55.6 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art, The John G. Johnson Collection

## JACOB WOUTERSZ VOSMAER

*Delft ca. 1584–1641 Delft*

*The son of a gold- and silversmith, Vosmaer gave his age as twenty-four when he married in 1608. By that time he had traveled to Italy. His teacher is unknown, but his flower paintings, which are all similar in type to the panel discussed below, reveal a close affinity with still lifes by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger (1565–1629), who was active in The Hague. Vosmaer's name appears on the master list of the Delft painters' guild in 1613; in the following year he received permission to raffle "a few pieces of painting."<sup>1</sup> Dirck van Bleyswijck describes Vosmaer as highly successful, which is also indicated by prices recorded for his works, ranging up to 130 guilders.<sup>2</sup> In 1633 he served as headman of the guild together with Willem van Vliet, and he was also a captain major of a civic-guard company.*

*Van Bleyswijck reports that Vosmaer started out as a landscapist, an assertion supported by a reference to a coastal scene by "Jacob Wouters," with staffage by Hans Jordaens, in a Delft inventory of 1626.<sup>3</sup> Several references to flower pictures by Vosmaer also date from the 1620s.<sup>4</sup> In the April 1642 inventory of Vosmaer's own estate, nine pictures are attributed to him, out of 104 paintings.<sup>5</sup> It appears possible that the painter was also active as an art dealer.*

*Vosmaer was the uncle of Daniel Vosmaer and of Christiaan van Couwenbergh (see their biographies above).* WL

1. Montias 1982, p. 199.
2. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 848, and Montias 1982, p. 197.
3. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 848, and Montias 1982, p. 148.
4. Montias 1982, p. 257 (table 8.5).
5. Ibid., p. 195.

### 88. *Still Life of Flowers with a Fritillary in a Stone Niche*

Probably 1613  
Oil on wood, 43 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 31 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (110 x 79 cm)  
Signed and dated lower left: Jakob vosmaer 161[3]

Collection M. P. W., Amsterdam

The date on this panel, the artist's finest known still life, has been read previously as 1618. In the course of a recent cleaning at the Mauritshuis the last digit proved to have been reinforced. The most likely reading now appears to be 1613, according to the conservator responsible.<sup>1</sup> Thus the present picture and a similar painting in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 300) would appear to be the earliest known works by the artist.<sup>2</sup>

The panel is composed of three boards joined vertically: a central plank of tropical wood about two feet wide and a narrow oak strip on either side. Vosmaer's flower piece in New York is also painted on a panel of tropical wood and has a narrow strip of oak added to the right side. Radiographs indicate that the pieces of tropical wood in the two pictures match precisely in grain and knotholes (which were plugged in the past), meaning that a single board about half an inch thick was split to make two thin boards. At some later date (perhaps in the eighteenth century) the panel now in New York was cut nearly to the join of the oak strip and central panel on the right, slightly into the tropical wood on the left, and by as much as 10 inches (25.4 cm) at the top, mutilating the fritillary.

It seems likely that the two pictures were originally painted as pendants, on specially prepared panels of the same size. The works probably were hung or mounted so that the stone niches depicted by Vosmaer resembled actual architectural elements. That this was the artist's intention is suggested by his emphatic contrasts of light and shadow, which differ from the lighting schemes found in similar

still lifes of the same period by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger and by Roelant Savery.<sup>3</sup> In both the Amsterdam and the New York paintings the vase is divided like a half-moon into zones facing into and away from the light, and the shadow cast by the vase on the stone niche is nearly opaque. Presumably the still lifes were mounted on a wall with windows to the left, probably with some distance between them (they may have been separated by a doorway, for example). Changes in condition make the works hard to compare, but there may also have been some attempt to distinguish the intensity of window light according to distance. The painting in a private collection appears to have somewhat brighter light and stronger shadows, some of which have double contours as if they were cast by two windows close together. The greater number of light-colored flowers in the New York panel may have been intended to

offset placement of the picture in a slightly darker location, but this must remain a matter of conjecture.

A white rose to the lower left in each composition casts a strong shadow on the bright side of the vase. At least one scholar has misinterpreted this shadow as "a bad dent" and the earthenware vessel as "a reject—a pot that had failed in the furnace and was usually thrown away, or possibly used in the kitchen."<sup>4</sup> Actually, a potter would keep the pot and reject this description, quite as viewers will dismiss it upon fresh examination of the shadow in question (which has probably darkened somewhat with age) and of the smaller shadows on the neck of the vase. The shadows are simply the most salient examples of various light effects, including white highlights and reflections of color. The darker zone within the large shadow was perhaps meant to suggest shadows from two flowers

intersecting, but this is unclear. In any case, these heavy ceramic vessels, which are nicely finished with foliate handles and delicate rosettes, seem entirely suitable for holding tall bouquets. And in contrast to glass and other fancy vases, their shape and solidity are ideal for creating an illusion of three-dimensional space from across a room. In this respect Vosmaer's pendant pictures are antecedents of Fabritius's *Goldfinch* (cat. no. 21), where the use of shadows is broadly similar, and the yellow stroke on the wing advances to the eye like the yellow stripes on the tulips.

The painting in New York has been described as an "autograph version" of the present picture, but properly speaking it is a variant. The work is signed and dated but the last digit of the date has been lost without a trace. Certain flowers seem to underscore the pendant relationship between the two pictures while others differ noticeably, especially at the sides of the bouquets. Those two favorite creatures of Roelant Savery, the mouse and the lizard,<sup>5</sup> make separate appearances along with fallen petals, one of which hangs over the ledge in each composition. Cracks and bad chips in the stone niches cause one to reflect that not only will flowers fade away but even the most durable monuments will eventually crumble away.

None of Vosmaer's patrons is known, but his works are cited in Amsterdam and Dordrecht inventories as well as in Delft collections.<sup>6</sup> His large flower pictures brought as much as 130 guilders, a price comparable with that of the finest architectural pictures and approximately equivalent to a craftsman's salary for three months' work. A pair of such pictures was a princely commission, quite as collecting extremely rare flowers was a privilege enjoyed by a small number of wealthy and usually knowledgeable individuals. As Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij has noted, the fritillary crowning this composition was especially rare; in 1583 the botanist Rembert Dodoens recorded that he had seen the flower blooming in the garden of Emperor Maximilian in Vienna seven years earlier, on about April 9, 1576, and that the plant had been imported from "Eastern parts."<sup>7</sup> Striped and flamed tulips were already costly in this decade; speculation in them two generations later (the "tulip mania" of 1636–37) would cause a finan-



Fig. 300. Jacob Vosmaer, *A Vase with Flowers*, 161(3?). Oil on wood, 33½ x 24¼ in. (85.1 x 62.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, 1871





cial collapse.<sup>8</sup> Of course, Vosmaer based his painted flowers mostly upon printed sources (like Dodoens's book of 1583), miniatures, and drawings (for later examples, see cat. nos. 96, 98), rather than study from life, although he must have seized every opportunity in the flower gardens of Delft and The Hague. His later, little-known studies of isolated flowers and insects (in the form of small oil paintings), which are reminiscent of drawings by De Gheyn,<sup>9</sup> testify to the keen interest in naturalism that partly explains the patronage enjoyed in Delft by Vosmaer, his predecessor Elias Verhulst (see fig. 41), and his successor (if not follower) Balthasar van der Ast (see cat. nos. 3–5).<sup>10</sup> WL

1. Maartje Witlox at the Mauritshuis, Amsterdam, cleaned the painting. I am grateful to Dorothy Mahon, Conservator at the Metropolitan Museum, for reporting on her examination of the present picture at the Mauritshuis in 2000 and for discussions with the conservation staff there.
2. A flower piece by Vosmaer in a private collection is said to be dated 1616; see Auckland 1982, p. 153, fig. 27a.
3. See Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 2, cat. IIP, nos. 39, 41, pls. 8, 10 (flower still lifes of 1612 and 1615 in the Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, and an unknown location, respectively), and Müllenmeister 1988, nos. 269–87 (works dating from 1603 to about 1630).
4. Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 606. The heavy shadows also contribute to what the same writer describes as the Amsterdam picture's "oppressive mood."
5. See especially Savery's *Bouquet of Flowers* of 1612, in Liechtenstein; New York 1985–86, no. 184.
6. According to Fred Meijer's biography in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 323.
7. Dodoens 1583, p. 202, ill., cited by Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 606.
8. The disaster is colorfully recounted in Schama 1987, pp. 350–66.
9. Two examples are cited in chap. 3, n. 269.
10. See the discussion of still-life painting in the closing pages of chap. 3.

REFERENCES: Segal in Amsterdam, 's Hertogenbosch 1982, p. 32, no. 31; Van der Ploeg in The Hague 1992, no. 27; Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij in Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 278; Mahon 1994, pp. 32–33.

EXHIBITED: Zurich 1956, no. 270; Luxembourg, Liège 1957, no. 64; Amsterdam, 's Hertogenbosch 1982, no. 31; The Hague 1992, no. 27; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 278.

EX COLL.: Ehlers Collection, Göttingen, 1944; [Von Franckeville, Göttingen, 1944]; [Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1950]; Dr. H. A. Wetzlar, Amsterdam; by descent to the present owner.

## HENDRICK CORNELISZ VROOM

Haarlem ca. 1566–1640 Haarlem

*Hendrick Vroom, the famous marine painter of Haarlem, evidently trained in Delft, his mother's hometown. After his apprenticeship he traveled to Spain and Italy, arriving in Florence about 1585. In Rome the artist was employed by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, the grand duke of Tuscany, from October 1587 on. According to Karel van Mander, Vroom became the friend and pupil of the Flemish landscapist Paul Bril (1554–1626), who was active in Rome from the mid-1570s until his death. Vroom reportedly lived in Venice for a year, returning to Holland via other northern Italian cities and Lyons, Paris, and Rouen. Van Mander reports that Vroom supported himself during this journey by working as a decorator of ceramics—his father's profession—as well as by painting pictures.<sup>1</sup>*

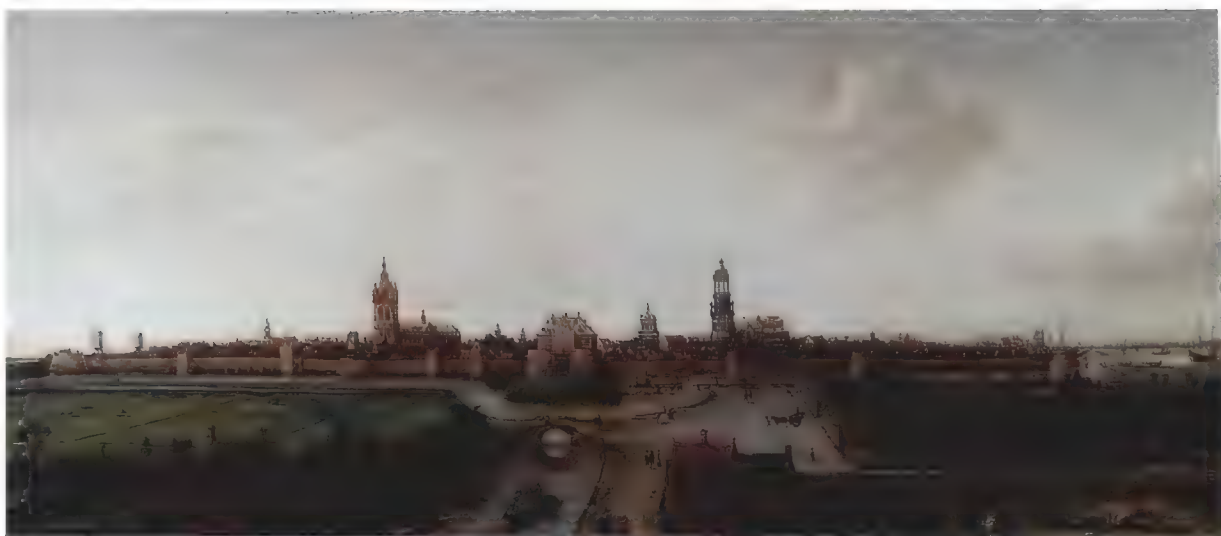
*By 1590 Vroom was back in Haarlem, where he married. A brief trip to Gdansk and a trip to Spain followed, the latter ending in a shipwreck off the coast of Portugal. From 1592 he was active in Haarlem as a designer of tapestries and as the first Dutch specialist in marine painting. One of Vroom's most important commissions was the design of ten tapestries illustrating the English victory*

*over the Spanish Armada in 1588; the set was delivered from François Spiering's workshop to the patron, Lord Admiral Charles Howard of Effingham, in 1596.<sup>2</sup> A similar set of tapestries, this time illustrating Dutch naval victories over Spain, was designed for the States of Zeeland by Vroom, but only the first hanging was woven by Spiering.<sup>3</sup> The incorporation of views of coastal cities into Vroom's visual records of historic events evidently led to his pioneering role as a painter of cityscapes. He earned fame and considerable fortune, which allowed him to speculate in property. Vroom was buried in Haarlem on February 4, 1640.*

MCP

1. This biography depends largely on Amsterdam 1993–94, pp. 324–25; Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 406–13 (fols. 287r–288v), vol. 5, pp. 226–38 (written by Rob Ruurs); and Margarita Russell in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 32, pp. 732–34. For the artist's connection with Delft, see the discussion under cat. no. 89.
2. See Russell 1983, chap. 2. Vroom's designs are lost and the tapestries were destroyed by fire in 1834. However, the series is recorded in engravings published in 1739 by John Pine.
3. The hanging remains in the place for which it was intended, the former Abbey of Middelburg, now the Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg. For more literature on this set of tapestries, see Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 5, p. 235, n. 71.





### 89. *View of Delft from the Southwest*

1615

Oil on canvas, 28 x 63¼ in. (71 x 162 cm)

Signed and dated lower center (on wall of inn): Vroom / 1615

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

*New York only*

In this heraldic composition, which curiously recalls the city crest of Delft (fig. 21), Vroom presents a wide-angle view of Delft from the west-southwest. The massive Sint Jorispoort (Saint George's Gate; see fig. 344) commands the center of the view; the three most prominent towers are those of, from left to right, the Oude Kerk (Old Church), the Stadhuis (Town Hall), and the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church). The small spire to the left surmounts the chapel of the Sint Joris Gasthuis (Saint George's Hospital; later the Lutheran church). Just to the right of the Oude Kerk are the towers of the Stadsherberg (City Inn; from 1645 the Gemeenlandshuis headquarters of the Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland; see fig. 22) and the Meisjeshuis (Girls' Orphanage; formerly the Convent of the Holy Ghost).<sup>1</sup> The small tower to the right of the Nieuwe Kerk is that of the Gasthuiskerk (Hospital Church; see fig. 3).

To the far right some ships have found a haven in the Kolk (Pond), which had just been dug in 1614 following the removal of a medieval bastion. About a half century later Vermeer recorded his own *View of Delft* (fig. 23) from a vantage point just outside Vroom's composition to the right.

This canvas, signed and dated 1615, is one of the earliest known cityscape paintings. Earlier city "profiles" are known almost exclusively from engravings and maps.<sup>2</sup> From about 1600 painters began to employ city views as backdrops to historical subjects, as in Vroom's own *Return to Amsterdam of the Second Expedition to the East Indies, July 19, 1599* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). In the year that he painted this first view of Delft, Vroom also completed his *View of the Haarlemmerpoort, Amsterdam* (Amsterdams Historisch Museum), a composition that rather resembles the central third of the present picture. Whatever the precedents, Vroom's *View of Delft* was an exceptional creation in 1615, suggesting that it had been painted for a particular reason (see the discussion under cat. no. 90).

In early cityscapes, and indeed in many later ones, fidelity was occasionally forsaken for compositional or informational reasons. Vroom mostly depicts the walls, bastions, and major monuments of Delft as they might have been seen from an elevated vantage point to the west of the city. However, he

includes slightly foreshortened side views of the two great churches, showing their naves and choirs as they would have appeared from a viewpoint farther south. This synthetic approach was fairly common in sixteenth-century topographical prints, but its use here in combination with a generally convincing description of space and realistic effects of light and atmosphere (for example, in the hazy forms on the horizon) underscores the transitional nature of the work. Painted city views of this type and townscapes (see chapter 4) remained unusual until the third quarter of the century, when Daniel Vosmaer became one of Vroom's few successors in Delft (see fig. 342; cat. no. 86).

In the immediate foreground of this painting, a few houses flank the Buitenwatersloot (Outer Canal). Most of the buildings outside the walls of Delft were destroyed in the 1570s so that Spanish troops could not use them for cover during a siege. This threat had diminished by about 1600, and new construction was allowed. The building in the right foreground is identified by a sign with a cloverleaf, but no inn with that name is recorded. However, it is known that Cornelis Cornelisz de Bolck, "innkeeper outside the canal," lived beside the Buitenwatersloot. The bridge in the center foreground was known as the Bolck Bridge in the seventeenth century, and an inn and a students' clubhouse still used that name in recent memory.<sup>3</sup>

As it does in Vroom's other view of Delft (cat. no. 90), the land around the city looks lush and green. Foreign diarists often expressed their delight at the order and animation of the Dutch countryside, which the French diplomat Balthasar de Monconys likened to "a pleasure garden rather than plain farmland."<sup>4</sup> Nor were the Dutch insensitive to the charms of their surroundings. Several of the figures in Vroom's views of Delft seem to confirm Dirck van Bleyswijck's observation of 1667 that the fields outside the city "are very fertile and diverting . . . [and] in the summer-time offer citizens the pleasant opportunity to enjoy an occasional stroll or horseback ride."<sup>5</sup> Surely one of the pleasures of such excursions was seeing the city from different points of view. Vroom's two canvases of 1615 on (see the discussion under cat. no. 90) offered the same enjoyment within the town hall and are a memorable expression of civic pride.<sup>6</sup>

MCP

1. On the Convent of the Holy Ghost, see Delft 1981, pp. 131–33, fig. 135.
2. See the introduction by Bakker in Amsterdam, Toronto 1977, pp. 66–75, and nos. 28, 29 (profile of Franeker by Pieter Bast, 1598; profile and plan of Schiedam by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, 1598); see also Russell 1983, figs. 36, 37 (engraved views of Amsterdam by Pieter Bast, 1599 and 1601).
3. See Visser 1957, p. 14, and Weve 1997, p. 212.
4. Monconys 1665–66, vol. 2, pp. 132–33.
5. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 1, p. 13.
6. This entry is a revised version of the writer's contribution in Osaka 2000, no. 3, with new editing by Walter Liedtke.

REFERENCES: Bol 1973, p. 26; Liedtke 1979a, p. 269; Berk 1980; Russell 1983, p. 172; Haak 1984, p. 157; Dumas 1991, p. 513; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 200; Delft 1996, p. 90; Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, under no. 6; Osaka 2000, no. 3.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, Toronto 1977, no. 31; Delft 1981; Delft 1984, nos. 10, 33; Haarlem 1988, no. 1; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 200; Osaka 2000, no. 3.

EX COLL.: Possibly donated to the city by the artist in 1634; Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 108a).

## 90. *View of Delft from the Northwest*

1615–34

Oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 63 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (71 x 162 cm)

Signed [?] on top flag of ship in left

foreground: Vroom

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

*New York only*

In this large canvas Delft is seen from the northwest, with the Delfse Vliet in the foreground. This river was the main route for travel to The Hague and from there on to Leiden and other cities to the north (see fig. 5). On the horizon, the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church), the Stadhuis (Town Hall), and the Oude Kerk (Old Church) dominate the view from left to right. (Compare cat. no. 89, in which the vantage point for the present picture would be out of the composition to the left.) On the opposite bank of the river is the Haagweg (Hague Road), on which coaches, carts, riders, and pedestrians made their way to and from the court city. In Vroom's panorama the Vliet recedes diagonally toward a number of post mills (used mostly for grinding wheat), which stand on the bank of the river and on the city wall. The Lepelbrug (Spoon Bridge) is just visible around the bend; beyond it the Haagse Poort and Weteringse Poort (Hague and Watercourse Gates) can be made out in front of the Oude Kerk. The alignment of the Vliet with the city is not quite accurate, but in other respects the view recorded here is somewhat more true to life than that in the pendant picture (cat. no. 89).

In the center of the picture a *smalschip* flying the Delft flag, white with a black stripe, heads for Delft, sailing against the wind. A Leiden *kaag* (ketch) comes from the other direction, its progress momentarily impeded by an impressive barge bearing the arms of Delft. To the extreme left a princely party travels in a stately coach, which is protected by an outrider and pedestrian escort. A few figures on the Delft boat appear to pay their respects, and the bargeman on the left doffs his hat. Vroom nicely evokes the constant traffic on the Vliet and the Haagweg, where

one might encounter a member of the House of Orange, a burgomaster of Delft, all kinds of people on the hourly *trekschuit* (see fig. 4), or a boatload of beer, cloth, or produce being exported from Delft.<sup>1</sup> In the entire system of inland waterways (see fig. 5), few were as important as the Delftse Vliet.

On June 23, 1634, according to the city administration's "Lopende Memoriaelboucken" (Running Registers), "Master Vroom of Haarlem honored the mssrs. burgomasters with a portrait of the City of Delft made by his own hand, in consideration of the facts that his mother was buried in this city's Oude Kerk and that the aforementioned Mr. Vroom learned his art here when a youth, and that he has always held the said city in great affection; the said mssrs. burgomasters have offered their thanks for the aforementioned picture to the said Mr. Vroom and in thanks have honored him with 150 guilders and he has thanked the said mssrs. The sum of 150-00-00."<sup>2</sup>

Although the document reads clearly enough, it raises several questions. Both this canvas and Vroom's other *View of Delft* (cat. no. 89) have been owned by the city since the seventeenth century. Was the latter picture, dated 1615, acquired before 1634, and was this undated canvas made at about the same time or shortly before its presentation? Scholars have generally assumed that the two paintings are approximately contemporary, but this is not necessarily the case.<sup>3</sup> The composition of the painting dated 1615 is certainly more static than that of the present work, and the picture is also more prosaically detailed and colored. In the present writer's opinion it is possible that a fair amount of time elapsed between the execution of the two works.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, one is tempted to read between the lines of the official statement when one knows more about the artist's life in the early 1630s. Two of his children, Cornelia and Cornelis, abandoned his household in 1630, evidently because Cornelia suffered physical abuse from her mother and her brother Frederik. Cornelis reported three years later that "his mother and his brother Frederik had treated him and his sister in such a godless way that it would be unchristian to tell [the tale]."<sup>5</sup> Vroom's own role in the affair is not recorded, but it might be wondered whether



these circumstances persuaded him to part with one or both of the views of Delft, if they were in his possession.

Rather than the burgomasters of Delft spontaneously coming up with the idea for a (revolutionary) painted city view in 1615,<sup>6</sup> it is more probable that the 1615 painting was either a gift (for example, to the artist's mother) or a commission from a private individual (for example, a member of the De Bolck family; see the discussion under cat. no. 89). At some point the painting could have come into Vroom's hands again. I believe that he then (1634) presented it to the city, perhaps after a gentle nudge from the Delft magistrates, who had likely heard about his beautiful rendition of their town. The artist, then almost seventy years old, was involved in a sordid family affair and might therefore have decided against handing it down in the family. It is also possible that the city leaders suggested that he paint a pendant to the city view he had made in 1615. In any case, one has the impression that the transaction of 1634 was not a matter of a gift and an unanticipated

honorarium but some kind of package deal. The prominence of the Delft arms in the center of the present picture, as well as, perhaps, the focus on the Nieuwe Kerk (shrine of the House of Orange), strongly suggests that the idea for Vroom's *View of Delft from the North-west* came from the city itself. M C P

1. On the different boats in this painting, see Berk 1980, pp. 16–20.

2. Gemeentearchief, Delft (Oud Archief, first section, inv. no. 408-2, fol. 284v). My gratitude to Pieter Koops of the Gemeentearchief, Delft, who assisted me in tracking down this document. Abraham Bredius, as well as all who followed his lead, errs in referring to the "Memorialen der Burgemeesteren" (Burgomasters' Registers, which were the regular Memoriaelboucken, the daily registers in which policy matters were recorded); these registers are different from the "Lopende Memoriaelboucken." Bredius 1915–22, vol. 2, pp. 670–71.

3. For example, Wouter Th. Kloek in Amsterdam 1993–94, nos. 200, 201. Russell (1983, p. 172) wrongly reports that the present canvas is dated 1617. Haak (1984, p. 157) writes that it is dated 1615, and Schwartz in Vancouver 1986, no. 81, assumes that the picture was painted in the year it was presented to the city.

4. One might argue that the Stadhuis seems to be recorded here in its pre-1618–20 state, with none of De Keyser's gables, chimneys, and rooflines. However, later depictions of the same view, like Jan van Goyen's drawing (cat. no. 116) and painting (fig. 341), also show the Stadhuis tower without clear adjacent gables or rooflines. Besides, Vroom might have reused the drawings he made in preparation for his 1615 painting.

5. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 2, p. 661; see also Keyes 1975, vol. 1, pp. 12–13.

6. If the city of Delft had owned or commissioned the painting of 1615 prior to 1634, this fact would in all likelihood have been recorded in the official registers; there is no trace of that.

REFERENCES: Bol 1973, p. 26; Liedtke 1979a, p. 269 (incorrectly dated 1615); Berk 1980; Russell 1983, pp. 168, 172 (incorrectly dated 1617); Haak 1984, p. 157 (incorrectly dated 1615); Dumas 1991, pp. 513–15 (incorrectly dated 1615); Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 201; Delft 1996, p. 90; Plomp 1996a, p. 50; Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, under no. 6 (incorrectly dated 1617); Osaka 2000, no. 4.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1984, no. 10, 34; Vancouver 1986, no. 81 (incorrectly dated 1634); Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 201; Osaka 2000, no. 4.

EX COLL.: Possibly donated to the city by the artist in 1634; Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDS 108b).

## EMANUEL DE WITTE

Alkmaar ca. 1616–1691/92 Amsterdam

*According to Arnold Houbraken, De Witte studied with the Delft still-life painter Evert van Aelst. In 1636 he joined the painters' guild in his native Alkmaar but was recorded in Rotterdam in 1639 and 1640. De Witte's daughter was baptized in Delft in October 1641; he married her mother about one year later. The artist joined the Delft guild on June 23, 1642. He lived with his family in modest quarters on the Choorstraat in exchange for training the landlord's nephew, Pieter van der Vin (d. 1655), as a painter. A few documents trace De Witte's life in Delft between February 1646, when a second daughter was baptized, and March 1650, when the painter rented an inexpensive house on the Nieuwe Langendijk for one year. His earliest dated church interior, the Wallace Collection picture of 1651 (fig. 120), is clearly not one of his first efforts in the genre. A debt to De Witte was recorded by an Amsterdam notary in January 1652, but it is not certain that he already lived there. No other pertinent documents date from 1652–54; his paintings of Amsterdam subjects date from 1653 onward. In September 1655, De Witte, described as a widower, was married in Amsterdam to a woman who three years later was banned from the city for robbery. During his forty years in Amsterdam the artist led a difficult life, to judge from various documents and the uneven quality of his work. However, major paintings date from each decade after 1650.<sup>1</sup>*

WL

1. The artist's life and work are discussed in Manke 1963 and Liedtke 1982a, chaps. 1, 5. See also Rotterdam 1991, pp. 183–209, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 121–27. The earliest biography of De Witte is the colorful account in Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, pp. 283–87.

### 91. *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft*

ca. 1650–52

Oil on wood, 19 x 13 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (48.3 x 34.5 cm)

Signed and dated lower right: E.De.Witte A 165[?]

Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Michal Hornstein, Montreal

The last digit of the date inscribed on this panel is uncertain. It was read as 1650 in 1879 and again in 1939, when the last digit was said to be difficult to read. In her monograph on De Witte, Ilse Manke, rather insistently, read the date as 1654.<sup>1</sup> However, on stylistic grounds the present writer would prefer a dating to the period 1650–52, when De Witte was painting church interiors in Delft, not Amsterdam.<sup>2</sup>

The view was recorded from the southern aisle in the Oude Kerk, looking to the northeast. The space covered by wood vaulting is the Mariakoor (Mary's Choir), which stands parallel to the slightly deeper but much taller main choir (one bay of the choir's north wall is visible to the upper right). The luminous area in the left background, beyond the chandelier, is the Joriskapel (Saint George's Chapel), where several years later the tomb of Admiral Maerten Tromp was installed against the bare white wall (see cat. no. 82).

Seen obliquely from the rear on the column in the foreground is a version of the marble epitaph of Johan van Lodensteyn and his wife, Maria van Bleyswijck, which dates from 1644.<sup>3</sup> De Witte moved the sculpture at will in his early views of the Oude Kerk; its actual location at the time was on the column in the background, seen through the choir screen's main doorway. Houckgeest's view from the Joriskapel to the tomb of Piet Hein (fig. 117); probably painted in 1650, shows the epitaph in its proper location in the right background, on the column just above the gravedigger.

De Witte's composition bears a curious resemblance to Houckgeest's, in reverse. The boys drawing on the whitewashed column, the open grave, and the placement of the other figures in the De Witte appear to reflect his study of the Rijksmuseum canvas and other works by Houckgeest dating from about 1650–51. The choir-screen doorway in De Witte's painting serves as the focus of one of the two principal recessions, quite as the tomb does in Houckgeest's picture.<sup>4</sup> This is essentially a coincidence discovered at the actual site, and it is typical of the way in which the two artists, and a little later Hendrick van Vliet (see cat. no. 82), found views and motifs in the Delft churches. Certain types of composition, such as the oblique view through two archways used here, would be sought out as the artists explored the Oude Kerk and the Nieuwe Kerk.

In searching for successful designs in the interiors of the Delft churches De Witte obviously worked within stricter limits than a landscapist or still-life painter arranging motifs. However, comparison with De Witte's panel dated 1651 in the Wallace Collection (fig. 120) and with many other paintings of the period reveals that the Van Lodensteyn monument in the present picture substitutes for the famous pulpit of 1548, and that the entire balustrade surrounding the two nearest columns has been eliminated. The brick-edged archway framing the west end of the Mariakoor (to the upper left in fig. 120) has been simplified, in order to harmonize with the design and palette of the whole. All the architecture has been stretched vertically, which suits the comparatively tall proportions of the panel. The flag to the upper left was once on the end of a longer staff. Like Vermeer, De Witte often modified a motif to subtly shift the balance of the design.

A more profound connection with Vermeer, and a basic difference between De Witte and all earlier architectural painters (including Houckgeest), is his use of light, shadow, and color to create a convincing sense of space.







De Witte's pictures usually look illusionistic at a distance and rather flat close up; this impression is often found in the work of painters who describe the environment in optical rather than tactile terms (Velázquez, for example, as opposed to Van Miereveld). Broad tonal contrasts and interplays of light and shadow throughout the composition suggest zones of space. Unlike Houckgeest, who places columns like chessmen on a checkerboard floor, De Witte tends to blend near and distant forms together, by emphasizing luminous motifs that visually advance from the background and by making depth in the middle ground immeasurable. The shadowy floor to the left, and the placement of the central column directly in front of a crossing pier, so that the archways in the background almost seem to spring from the shafts in the foreground, are characteristic of De Witte. His main interest was the space itself—its light, color, sheer extent, and mood—not the architecture for its own sake: he paints church interiors not churches. The light streaming in from tall windows, most of them overhead and out of view, and the blur of red roofs and blue sky seen through the windows in the background intensify the sensation of being within a great but at the same time sheltered space.

An aspect of Houckgeest's approach that was very useful to De Witte in compositions like this one was the introduction of a "two-point" perspective scheme, so that forms such as rows of columns and the long choir screen recede to vanishing points (or, more properly, distance points) far out of the composition to either side. Thus the architecture leads the eye across as much as back into the space, and creates a strong sense of continuity with more extensive spaces beyond the limits of the image. What we see is sensed as our own subjective choice of view, a momentary fragment of experience as we stroll through the interior, pausing here and there to appreciate something we find meaningful or attractive.

A few significant motifs, familiar from paintings by Houckgeest and Van Vliet as well as by De Witte, are so artfully arranged here as to seem fortuitous. A new grave has been dug or is in progress in the foreground. The Van Lodensteyn monument, surmounted

here by a small skull rather than a grieving putto, and the family crest hanging on the column (referring to a recent or the forthcoming burial) remind one that the present life is temporal. The two dogs draw attention to the grown men, one obviously aged; between them and the innocent youths in the foreground a lifetime may be measured. The irreverent dog spotlighted by the column is probably meant to suggest that mundane matter, even the physical form of the church, is to be scorned in comparison with the spiritual world that the church represents.<sup>5</sup> In any case, the image as a whole, which originally hung in a private home, signifies faith, and belief in the local church as a way to salvation.

WL

1. Manke 1963, no. 18, citing the London exhibition of 1879 and Moltke 1939. L. de Vries 1975, p. 54, n. 29, supports Manke's reading of the date.
2. As maintained in Liedtke 1982a, pp. 83, 115, no. 244. The date is given as 1651(0) in The Hague 1982, p. 236, no. 97. See also Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 61, where (in a kind exaggeration) the painting is said to have been "securely dated to 1650."
3. See Worcester 1979, p. 118, for a photograph of the Van Lodensteyn monument. The actual monument features two putti on each side and a crowning putto seen bust-length behind the top of the crest. De Witte appears to have moved the motif of a skull from the bottom to the top of the sculpture.
4. De Witte frames the choir-screen doorway with paired colonettes in this picture, while in others it has flat pilasters (the screen itself was removed long ago). This suggests that De Witte was conscious of the resemblance between the doorway and the tomb.
5. On this point, see Brunswick 1978, no. 40. Dogs as well as people made their way through the open doors of the Dutch churches and were occasionally noted as a problem.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1910, p. 175, no. 614; Traut-scholdt 1947, p. 124; Manke 1963, no. 18; L. de Vries 1975, p. 54, n. 29; The Hague 1982, no. 97; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 83, 115, no. 244; Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 60–61, 86, n. 26; Liedtke 2000, p. 126.

EXHIBITED: London 1879, no. 89; London 1908, no. 48; The Hague 1982, no. 97; Delft 1996.

EX COLL.: Samuel Sanders, London, 1879; his daughter, Mrs. Thorton-Lawes (sold at Christie's, London, June 12, 1931, no. 46, to F. Partridge); C. J. K. van Aalst, Hoevelaken, the Netherlands, by 1939; a grandson of Van Aalst's, in 1982; [Cramer Oude Kunst, The Hague]; [Galerie Hoogsteder, The Hague, 1983]; since 1983 the present owners.

## 92. *A Sermon in the Oude Kerk, Delft*

ca. 1651–52

Oil on wood,<sup>1</sup> 28¼ x 23½ in. (73.2 x 59.5 cm)  
Signed lower left: E. De Witte

The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

This painting, which comes from the well-known collection of Sir William van Horne in Montreal,<sup>2</sup> is one of De Witte's finest works of his Delft years. Comparison with the panel of 1651 in the Wallace Collection (fig. 120), which shows the same pulpit from another position in the southern aisle of the Oude Kerk, and with other works by De Witte or Houckgeest suggests that the present picture dates from about 1651 or 1652.

In composition the picture bears a surprising resemblance to the artist's early panel in Winterthur (fig. 119), considering that the two paintings depict dissimilar spaces in different churches. But De Witte tended to see in patterns rather than volumes: in both compositions, an illusionistic curtain on the right is balanced against a dominant column on the left. These two elements enliven two different zones of illusionistic space, that of the church interior as a three-dimensional environment and that of the "church interior" as a painted panel, with a vivid green curtain hanging from a brass rod in front of it (the rod casts a shadow on the picture's surface). The fictive black wooden frame also casts a shadow (upper left) on the church interior, but in the lower right corner the frame joins forces with the bottom of the gold-fringed curtain to set off a very convincing corner of floor space behind the standing woman.

This kind of playing with pictorial reality, which also involves directions of light (compare the woman and the curtain), is handled very similarly in works by Gerard Dou (beginning with his *Self-Portrait* of 1645 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).<sup>3</sup> However, the immediate source may be Houckgeest's painting of the same column and pulpit (cat. no. 40), depending upon that picture's date. In any event, the two works have in common not merely the illusion of space but a virtuoso



display of illusionism, which was especially pronounced in Delft architectural painting from about 1651 until 1654. Other examples employing some kind of illusionistic threshold before the church interior itself include Hendrick van Vliet's picture of the Pieterskerk in Leiden, dated 1652 (fig. 121), his view of the Oude Kerk's choir, dated 1654, in Leipzig,<sup>4</sup> and Louys Elsevier's extraordinary creation of 1653 in Lisbon (cat. no. 16).

Despite the notes of human interest in the Rijksmuseum painting by Houckgeest, it gives far less weight to the figures than do the present picture and the De Witte in the Wallace Collection. De Witte's church interiors were often listed as "Sermons" in seventeenth-century inventories, and one is tempted to say that "Congregations" might be an even better term. The foreground is reserved for, in effect, a remarkable genre scene in which figures recall or look forward to paintings by Gerard ter Borch, Ludolf de Jongh, and Nicolaes Maes. A touching vignette is comprised of the nursing mother and two children to the lower left, with an older woman looking on. The young man dressed up in red, who appears (like the greyhound) to be a companion of the gentleman in the center, seems distracted from the sermon by the lady on the right, whose hood and muff suggest wealth, refinement, and a chill in the air. Just to the right of the adolescent cavalier is a *pennimento* of an adult male figure in a hat, also in profile, indicating that De Witte took some trouble in arranging the figure group.<sup>5</sup>

Another striking difference between De Witte and Houckgeest, despite their common interest in illusionism and the same famous piece of church furniture, is their very different handling of interior space. Only De Witte, in the early 1650s, would have approached the pulpit so that it is silhouetted against the bare north walls of the nave and the opposite aisle. The usual oblique recession to either side becomes a gentle progress to the left and into the fall of light. The preacher, the roof of the pulpit, and the curtain rod (which slopes slightly downward to the right) counter any sense of recession except that directly into the space as a whole.

De Witte set up a shallow stage in the immediate foreground, a veil of architecture in the distance, and little but shadowy space and silhouettes in between. The nave windows above create an impression of distance and atmosphere. The subtle lighting of the column in the foreground diminishes its volume, allowing it to blend into the shadowy whitewash of the walls. However, discrete passages jump forward, like the area in the left background where the colorful shapes of a window, slices of vaulting, and family crests compete for attention with the hoop and finials on the corner of the balustrade.

De Witte's essential goal was to represent the space, light, and emotional effect of Gothic church interiors, and also what sacred space meant to ordinary people of his time. The impression is often comforting, as if the thoughts and values emanating from the figures were safely contained in their immediate environment.

W L

1. The original support consisted of three oak boards joined vertically. These were thinned to less than one millimeter and transferred to a new oak support.
2. See Liedtke 1990–91, pp. 46–47, fig. 34, on the collection of Van Horne, who built railroads in Canada, Cuba, and Central America.
3. Washington, London, The Hague 2000–2001, no. 16.
4. Rotterdam 1991, no. 42.
5. A similar figure appears to have been considered slightly to the left of the boy as well. The lower part of the window to the upper right was also modified.

REFERENCES: Hubbard 1956, p. 151 (as by Houckgeest, formerly considered to be by De Witte); Manke 1963, pp. 18–20, no. 11; Blade 1971, pp. 48–49, n. 8; Wheelock 1975–76, pp. 183–84; Los Angeles, Boston, New York 1981–82, pp. 114–16, n. 4; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 44–45, 64, n. 15, 82; Wheelock 1986b, p. 170; Laskin and Pantazzi 1987, pp. 311–12, no. 28182; Rotterdam 1991, p. 197; Liedtke 2000, pp. 117–18, 119, 123, 126–27.

EXHIBITED: Montreal 1913; Montreal 1933, no. 29.

EX COLL.: Baron Edmond de Rothschild, Paris; [Wildenstein and Gimpel, Paris and New York, 1909]; William van Horne, Montreal, 1909–15; by descent to his son and grandson; Mrs. William van Horne, the latter's widow, until at least 1974; [Edward Speelman, London]; J. H. Bakker, Aerdenhout, the Netherlands; purchased from him in 1983 by The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa (28182).

### 93. *Tomb of William the Silent in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft, with an Illusionistic Curtain*

1653

Oil on wood, 32 1/2 x 25 1/4 in. (82.3 x 65 cm)

Signed and dated lower right, on the column: E. De Witte A 1653

Mrs. Edward W. Carter

Although it dates from a period when Gerard Houckgeest, Hendrick van Vliet, and De Witte were continuously discovering new views of the Delft church interiors and their monuments, this panel still stands out as an extraordinary invention. It would be surprising to find it listed in an early inventory as a "church interior" or a "perspective."<sup>1</sup> A contemporary notary would most likely describe the subject, especially the tomb, whereas an artist or connoisseur might refer to the work as an illusionistic picture, or "deception."<sup>2</sup>

When the Delft painters depicted the tomb of William the Silent from various angles, they were often concerned with which of its sculptural figures fell into view. Houckgeest's initial approach to the monument centered upon the image of Golden Liberty (cat. no. 37). His panoramic painting of the Nieuwe Kerk dated 1651 (cat. no. 39) includes both portraits of the prince in the center of the composition: the bronze statue of William seated on the front of the tomb



Fig. 301. Emanuel de Witte, *The Choir of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft with the Tomb of William the Silent*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 38 1/4 x 33 1/2 in. (97 x 85 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille



and the marble figure of the deceased stadholder under the central canopy. In a closer version of the same view (fig. 261) the sculptures become more prominent, and a family is placed at the best position to contemplate the recumbent effigy. The latter picture appears to have inspired De Witte's beautiful canvas in Lille (fig. 301), which dates from 1656 and was presumably painted in Amsterdam. However, the view is brought in even closer and shifted to the left, and the composition shows a greater number of visitors to the tomb, including a couple reminiscent of the main figures in the present picture.

De Witte also painted the monument seen diagonally from the rear (versions in Detroit and Hamburg); in this composition, which again derives from Houckgeest, the tomb as a whole, a circle of visitors, and the flags high overhead in the choir were among his main concerns.<sup>3</sup> In the present panel, by contrast, De Witte uses the columns, the curtain, and the narrow limits of view to focus attention upon the rear of the tomb, which from this vantage point frames the bronze figure of Fame perched at the foot of the bier. The gentleman's red cape, his gesturing hand, and a beam of light draw attention to the martyred prince. Two boys and the man's attractive companion appear to absorb his words.

To the right, one of William the Silent's virtues, Fortitude, holds a sprig of oak. The two marble reliefs on the back of the tomb have been switched from their actual positions. Only one of their inscriptions is visible (on the right, above the book): *Te vindice tuta libertas* (With your protection liberty is safe). The other relief, which is found next to Fortitude on the actual monument, shows a rocky coast in a storm, illustrating the motto *Saevis Tranquillus in undis* (At peace in the raging sea).<sup>4</sup>

This is interesting for the powerful columns in the foreground. To describe them as reminiscent of the Pillars of Hercules, the rocks at the western end of the Mediterranean that marked the ancient limits of the known world, would normally be considered poetic license at best. However, Fortitude's head and back are draped with the lion skin of Hercules, and a column or pillar was another

one of her attributes.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, in the seventeenth century the most familiar use of paired columns referring to the Pillars of Hercules was in the *impresa*, or personal device, of the emperor Charles V (columns flank the Habsburg eagle).<sup>6</sup> Is it possible that De Witte, in this essentially secular picture, draws a comparison between Charles V as dictator of the Dutch and William as their liberator? If so, the idea was probably conceived in collaboration with a patron.

However, it was clearly the artist himself who decided to restrict the view so that the tomb and a tight cluster of columns resembles a relief, a continuous essay in sculptural forms. It seems very likely that, in addition to Orangist sentiment, De Witte is touching upon the contemporary *paragone* debate, or rivalry between painting and sculpture. According to Dutch critics like Philips Angel (1642), there was really no contest, since illusionism was the main quality under consideration.<sup>7</sup> (Samuel Pepys unconsciously applied the same standard when he admired the relief below Admiral Tromp's tomb, "a sea-fight the best cut in Marble, with the Smoake the best expressed that ever I saw in my life").<sup>8</sup> In two paintings dating from the same year as the present picture, 1653, Gerard Dou draped a tapestry over a celebrated relief by François Duquesnoy (1597–1643), who like Hendrick de Keyser (the creator of William's tomb) was considered one of the great Netherlandish sculptors of modern times.<sup>9</sup> One of Dou's last references to the theme occurs in a *Self-Portrait* of about 1665 (fig. 288), where the learned artist in his studio hangs a tapestry within an arched stone window (a touch that bears no relation to contemporary interior design) and compares three kinds of sculpture—an *écorché* figure, a plaster head, and a stone cartouche—with numerous passages that demonstrate what only painting can do (for example, show light shining through liquid and glass). As has often been noted, various motifs in several of Dou's self-portraits suggest that art, and the painter's fame, will outlast death (*Ars longa vita brevis*).<sup>10</sup>

In De Witte's painting, motifs referring to death and fame came ready-made. He earns his own immortality by depicting wonderful

effects of light and shade, and the protective picture curtain, which casts a large shadow over the fictive painting's surface (compare the curtain rod's shadow in cat. no. 92). The curtain, of course, recalls Parrhasios's famous veil, which fooled his fellow painter Zeuxis.<sup>11</sup> And De Witte's picture, in its space, daylight, figures, floor tiles, curtain, and focus on Fame, looks forward to the artistic testament of Delft's own Parrhasios, Vermeer, in *The Art of Painting* (cat. no. 76). WL

1. On the use of these terms in the seventeenth century, see De Pauw-de Veen 1969, pp. 163–66; a "church" by Pieter Neeffs the Younger is cited in 1642, and a "church interior" (*Binne Kerck*) by "Steenwyk" is recorded in 1707 (p. 166).

2. The term "trompe l'oeil" and the Dutch equivalent (*oogenbedrieger*) were not used to describe a type of picture at the time, but writers such as Samuel van Hoogstraten and Arnold Houbraken often mention paintings that deceive the eye, and they occasionally describe an example as a *bedrog* (deceit or deception). See Brusati 1995, chap. 4 (especially pp. 152–59), and Brusati 1999–2000.

3. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 49–51, 101, nos. 11, 11a, figs. 21, 22, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 107, no. 4, pp. 115–16, fig. 147. De Witte's two paintings (Kunsthalle, Hamburg, and Detroit Institute of Arts), both of which appear to be autograph, are probably based upon a lost composition by Houckgeest.

4. Quoted by Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 64–65, where both reliefs are reproduced.

5. See, for example, Colijn de Nole's chimney piece decorated with symbols of good government, in the town hall of Campen, 1545 (Kuyper 1994, vol. 2, pls. 114, 115). Fortitude wraps her arms around a column a bit taller than herself.

6. Illustrated in Hall 1974, p. 247, under "Pillar," where Fortitude is also mentioned. As is well known, Francis Bacon adopted the pillars on the title page of his *Instauratio Magna* (Great Instauration; London, 1620).

7. See Sluijter 1993, pp. 19–23, on Philips Angel, Gerard Dou, and the *paragone* of painting and sculpture.

8. For the relief, see cat. no. 82; on Pepys's judgment, see chap. 1, n. 1.

9. See Washington, London, The Hague 2000–2001, p. 37, fig. 11 (*The Doctor*), in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and no. 20 (*Violin Player*; Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz); on *The Doctor*, in Vienna, see also Sluijter 1993, pp. 22, 40–42, fig. 18. In 1653 Rembrandt may also have had the *paragone* of painting and sculpture in mind when he compared (like Aristotle) the senses of touch and sight in *Aristotle with a Bust of Homer* (Metropolitan Museum). De Witte, too, may have been reminded of Leiden figure paintings and still lifes by the resemblance between the back of William's tomb and an architectural niche. Compare,



in addition to the paintings by Dou cited here, Jan de Heem's *Fruit Still Life in a Niche* (private collection, United States) inscribed VIVAT-ORAENGE (Amsterdam, Brunswick 1983, no. 38).

10. See Washington, London, The Hague 2000–2001, no. 29, discussing Dou's *Self-Portrait* reproduced here, and New York 1995–96, vol. 2, no. 45, for Dou's *Self-Portrait* (with the Duquesnoy relief) of about 1665 in the Altman Collection of the Metropolitan Museum.

11. The story is told in Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis* (Natural History); see the discussion under no. 21, n. 13, in this catalogue.

REFERENCES: Jantzen 1979, p. 241, no. 613b; Los Angeles, Boston, New York 1981–82, no. 28; Liedtke 1982a, p. 115, no. 237, p. 125, note to colorpl. VIII; Rotterdam 1991, no. 34; Liedtke 2000, pp. 126–27.

EXHIBITED: Los Angeles, Boston, New York 1981–82, no. 28; Rotterdam 1991, no. 34.

EX COLL.: (Probably in an auction at Soeterwoude, near Leiden, June 15, 1779, no. 10, sold for 125 guilders to the dealer Delfos);\* [Newhouse Galleries, New York, 1978]; Mr. and Mrs. Edward William Carter, Los Angeles, 1978–96; Mrs. Edward W. Carter.

\* See Rotterdam 1991, p. 185, n. 1.

# DRAWINGS AND PRINTS

*Drawings and prints are exhibited in New York only.*

## LUDOLF DE JONGH

Rotterdam 1616–1679 Hillegersberg

### *a. Lute Player*

## PALAMEDES PALAMEDESZ

Delft 1607–1638 Delft

### *b. Mounted Soldier*

## SIMON DE VLIENER

Rotterdam? ca. 1601–1653 Weesp

### *c. Coastal Landscape with Anthropomorphic Rocks*

## EMANUEL DE WITTE

Alkmaar 1615/17–1691/92 Amsterdam

### *d. Medusa*

## 94. The Abrams Album

ca. 1635–41

Various media on 41 vellum leaves, each sheet ca. 4 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 6 in. (11 x 15.2 cm), in an early-seventeenth-century plain leather stationer's binding

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Maida and George Abrams Collection

This unique volume came to light in 1987 when it was purchased by George and Maida Abrams, who presented it to the Fogg Art Museum in 1999.<sup>1</sup> The “Abrams Album” contains forty-one full-page drawings on vellum (of which four, all in black chalk, are shown here), executed by no less than twenty-six Dutch draftsmen. The subjects range widely, from historical themes to landscapes, still lifes, and genre scenes. At least eight artists contributed two or three drawings to the book: Leonaert Bramer, Jan van Goyen, Joris van der Haagen, Ludolf de Jongh, François Ryckhals, Cornelis Saftleven, Pieter van Staveren, and Simon de Vlieger.<sup>2</sup> Nine of the pages (in no particular order) bear dates between 1635 and 1641, and it seems probable that all the drawings were made in about that time period.

The original owner of the volume is not identified by any inscription within it, and the album's provenance before the twentieth century is completely unknown. However, it would seem likely that it was compiled by a patron from The Hague or Delft, since the majority of its drawings are by artists from one or the other of these neighboring cities.<sup>3</sup> The album is especially valuable for its contribution to our knowledge of drawing in Delft, since apart from Bramer's oeuvre, comparatively few works on paper by artists of that city are known.

The Abrams Album includes drawings by twelve artists who were either from Delft or active in the city between 1635 and 1641: Evert van Aelst, Willem van Aelst, Pieter

van Asch, Leonaert Bramer (two works), Christiaan van Couwenbergh, Pieter Anthonisz Groenewegen, Ludolf de Jongh (two works), Anthonie Palamedesz (fig. 194), Palamedes Palamedesz, Pieter Evertz Steenwyck, Simon de Vlieger (two, possibly three works), and Emanuel de Witte. Of these, six are otherwise completely unknown as draftsmen: Van Asch, E. van Aelst, W. van Aelst, Groenewegen, Couwenbergh, and De Witte (see chap. 6, pp. 175–88, and figs. 184, 203–5). For other artists, among them Palamedes Palamedesz and Pieter Steenwyck, fewer than five drawings beyond this album are known. As for the better-known draftsmen represented, it is clear that they made a special effort when preparing their contributions to this book.

The drawing by De Jongh reproduced here (94a) well represents the generally fine quality of the collection. It is a highly evocative image of a young man at his leisure playing a lute. De Jongh studied with the Delft genre painter Anthonie Palamedesz during the early 1630s, and the older artist's influence remained obvious in his oeuvre for several years thereafter.<sup>4</sup> De Jongh made at least two other drawings of a young man playing a lute, an unsigned sheet in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem, and a signed drawing in the Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris.<sup>5</sup> They are all sketched freely in black chalk and all probably represent the same model, with changes in the light, the carriage of the head, and other elements. It seems likely that these drawings were made either in Palamedesz's studio or shortly after De Jongh's apprenticeship, since the Delft master is known for comparable figure studies in black chalk (see fig. 193 in chap. 6). An early genre interior by De Jongh, *House Concert* (location unknown), very much in the manner of Palamedesz, includes a lute player who resembles fairly closely the musician in the Abrams Album and even more closely the one in the Teylers Museum drawing.<sup>6</sup>

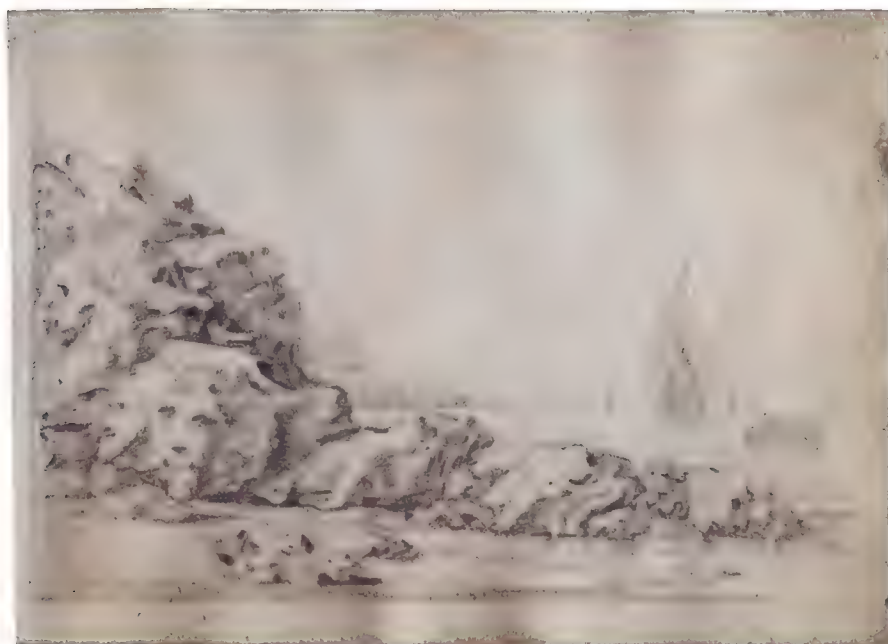
The drawing by Palamedes Palamedesz illustrated here (94b) reveals the artist's debt



94a



94b



94c



94d

to similar compositions by Esaias van de Velde. The sheet strongly relates to two paintings by Palamedesz, both from the 1630s, in Mainz and Rome. The mounted soldier in the foreground has stopped before a tent that in all likelihood serves as an impromptu pub.<sup>7</sup> He surveys the camp, where more soldiers are to be seen on horseback and on the right a man feeds his horse in front of other tents.

Drawings by Palamedes Palamedesz are exceedingly rare. A black chalk study of a cavalry battle in the De Grez Collection in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, is possibly by him, although its execution is considerably freer than that of the Abrams sheet.<sup>8</sup> The only work on paper attributed with certainty to Palamedes Palamedesz is a very finished study in oils in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen. It belongs to the so-called Kronborg series of Danish historical subjects, which consists of about forty known drawings, mostly by Utrecht artists.<sup>9</sup> Palamedesz's contribution of an oil sketch to that series suggests that he almost never drew with pencil or pen, making the Abrams sheet all the more exceptional.

Drawings by Simon de Vlieger, who was active in Delft from about 1634 until 1637, are fairly well known. The example reproduced here (94c) is unusual, however, both for its subject and for its comparatively early date. Several paintings of rocky coastlines by De Vlieger are known; the *Rocky Coast with Seals and Hunters* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons) offers the clearest analogies to the Abrams sheet.<sup>10</sup> The Abrams work remains exceptional not only for its subject but also for its finished execution, which differs even from that of the other drawing by De Vlieger in the same volume.<sup>11</sup> Another noteworthy aspect of De Vlieger's landscape drawing is

its fantastic inclusion of human and animal heads in the rock formations. Isolated examples of the same practice occur in the oeuvres of Joos de Momper and Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, two artists whose works were fairly well known to artists in Delft.<sup>12</sup>

Emanuel de Witte's image of Medusa (94d) in the Abrams Album is the only certain drawing by his hand. In the 1640s, before he turned to the subject of church interiors, De Witte painted portraits and biblical and mythological works. The nude figure in De Witte's painting *Vertumnus and Pomona* of 1644 (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam) strikes a pose very similar to that of the model studied here.<sup>13</sup>

The Abrams Album contains many other treasures, such as dated drawings by Govert Flinck (1638) and Jan van Goyen (two sheets from 1637, exceptionally) and a study of a horse by Hendrick Verschuring inscribed "HVS out 13 Jaere fecit 1640" (HVS made this in 1640 at the age of 13 years). William Robinson intends to publish a facsimile edition and study of the Abrams Album; it will be of great value for the study of Dutch drawing and its appreciation in the seventeenth century as well as for that of the arts in Delft.

M C P

1. This entry profited greatly from William W.

Robinson's text in Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, p. 58, no. 20.

2. For the drawings by Bramer, see Delft 1994, pp. 189–90, fig. 8, 218, fig. 5a. For the Van der Haagen drawings, see W. W. Robinson 1990, pp. 305–9, figs. 4–6.

3. As noted by Robinson in Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, p. 58.

4. Houbraeken 1718–21, vol. 2, p. 33, and Fleischer 1989, pp. 14, 59–61. De Jongh might also have looked at the work of Anthonie's brother Palamedes Palamedesz; De Jongh's second drawing in the Abrams Album, *Mounted Soldier*, seems to be inspired by Palamedes.

5. For the Haarlem and Paris drawings, see Schatborn 1975, figs. 2, 7.

6. Fleischer 1989, p. 62, fig. 62.

7. For an essay on the depiction of bivouacking troops in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, see Spaans in Delft 1998, pp. 164–81. The paintings in Rome (1630) and Mainz (1637) are illustrated: figs. 201, 203. For the tent as pub or inn, see p. 178.

8. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 1913, no. 2809.

9. For the Kronberg series, see Schepeleern and Houkjaer 1988, passim (Palamedes's drawing is no. 40).

10. For the Lyons painting, see Paris 1991, no. 46. For the Greenwich painting, see National Maritime Museum 1988, p. 417, no. BHC0777.

11. In style the sheet seems to foreshadow later work by De Vlieger, such as marine drawings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; see Schapellhouman and Schatborn 1998, nos. 426, 427. The mirror-smooth sea is also characteristic of his later work; see Kelch 1971, pp. 112–13 and nos. 63, 70, 73, 76. For the few known drawings of coastal landscapes by De Vlieger, see Vienna 1993, p. 100, n. 1.

12. For Joos de Momper, see Ertz 1986, no. A216, and Venice 1987, p. 308 and ill. on pp. 188–97. For De Gheyn, see Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 2, cat. 11, nos. 529, 531, 1004, and Boon 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176–79. There are also three prints, each called *Fantastic Heads*, from the circle of De Gheyn II; see Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, p. 163, figs. 126–28. Herman Saftleven made a landscape that turned a quarter of a circle becomes a human face; see Wolfgang Schulz in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 27, p. 518.

13. As noted by Robinson in Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, p. 58. For De Witte's painting in Rotterdam, see Liedtke 2000, p. 122, fig. 153.

REFERENCES: W. W. Robinson 1990; Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, no. 20; Delft 1994, pp. 189–90, 218; W. W. Robinson 1999, p. 247.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, no. 20.

EX COLL.: Private collection, Great Britain; George and Maida Abrams, Boston, 1987; given by them in 1999 to the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts (1999.0123).



## BALTHASAR VAN DER AST

Middelburg 1593/4–1657 Delft

See his biography on page 216.

### 95. *Still Life with Plums, Cherries, and Shells*

1640–57

Watercolor, 11 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 15 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (29.1 x 39.9 cm)

Signed lower left in pen and brown ink:

. B. vander . Ast . . . ; inscribed upper left in pen and light purple ink: 38

British Museum, London

While the careers of many Dutch artists (Leonaert Bramer being the best example in Delft) can be followed through a large number of drawings as well as paintings, that is not the case with Balthasar van der Ast (see cat. nos. 3–5). Of his drawings we know one large series of works perhaps made over a period of several years (see cat. nos. 96–98), the present sheet, and scarcely anything else.<sup>1</sup> This may seem surprising, because the artist rarely painted “from life”; his compositions combine flowers of different seasons in arrangements that no florist could ever construct. The series of drawings just cited served Van der Ast as a source of motifs for a number of his paintings, but for others no preparatory

material is known. In fact, the same is generally true for most Dutch and Flemish still-life painters.<sup>2</sup> Their studies of flowers, shells, insects, and so on have either been lost or are so removed from the world of art collecting that they are unlikely ever to be identified.

The British Museum’s drawing was obviously meant not as a study but as a finished product. The delicately balanced arrangement of fruit and shells laid out more or less parallel to the picture plane and the placement of varied insects lend the work an airy, decorative quality. Indeed, it is clear from the composition alone that the drawing dates from the later part of Van der Ast’s career, after he moved to Delft in 1632. The choice of motifs



is itself artful, a juxtaposition of fruits native to Europe and shells brought from the East Indies and other distant lands (compare cat. nos. 4, 5).

Approximately the same composition occurs in a painting by Van der Ast (London, art market, 1960s).<sup>3</sup> The differences—for example, the panel has two additional plums—indicate that neither work is a copy of the other; rather, they are variants of a type common in the artist's oeuvre. By the middle of the seventeenth century drawings like this one were being treated as independent works, to be collected in albums or hung on walls.<sup>4</sup> The latter fate was certainly never suffered by this drawing, which is too fresh to have been exposed to light for very long. The earliest documented owner, Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), is known to have preserved in albums almost all the drawings and prints in his collection.<sup>5</sup> Sloane collected primarily to serve his scholarly and scientific interests. It seems likely that this drawing has come down to us in such fine condition because of the good doctor's interest in shells.

MCP

1. For three drawings of shells by Van der Ast, see Christie's, Amsterdam, November 25, 1992, no. 626 (as by B. Assteyn). The present writer doubts the traditional attribution to Van der Ast of a group of twenty-six drawings owned by the Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap "Natura Artis Magistra" in Amsterdam; see J. Scheffer 1939, p. 143, and Dordrecht 1959–60, nos. 9, 10. Both the quality of execution and the form of the supposed signatures vary considerably (see cat. nos. 96–98, n. 2).
2. As noted by Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij 1987, p. 101.
3. The connection was made in Crombie 1967, pp. 292–93.
4. See the examples of framed and even glazed drawings by other artists cited in Bredius 1915–22, vol. 1, p. 152 (inventory of 1639), vol. 3, p. 768 (1652), vol. 6, p. 2071 (1674).
5. See Hind 1926, p. 9, no. 1 (Sloane ms. 5262, fol. 38). For Sloane, see Houston, San Marino, Baltimore, Minneapolis 1996–97, p. 22.

REFERENCES: Hind 1926, p. 9, no. 1; Bernt 1957–58, vol. 1, no. 9; Van Gelder 1958a, p. 93, no. 31; Crombie 1967, pp. 292–93; Kuznetsov 1970, p. 85.

EX COLL.: Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753), London; British Museum, London (1906.11.28.1).

## 96. *Tulip*

Inscribed (in calligraphy): Admiraël Brabanson; lower right: BA [in monogram]; lower left: 108

## 97. *Lizard and Shell*

Inscribed (in calligraphy): Bruijn gewatert Belleken; lower right: BA [in monogram]; lower left: 205

## 98. *Pansy and Shell*

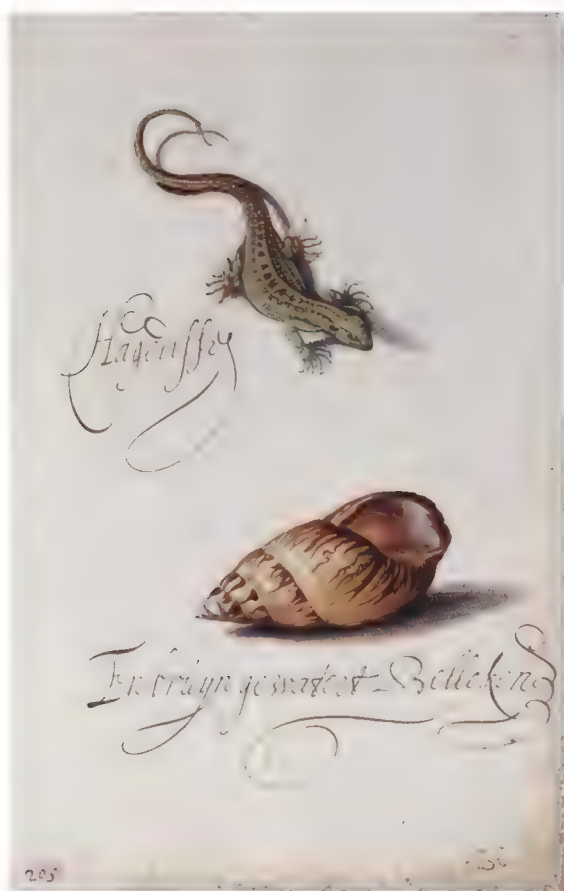
Inscribed (in calligraphy): Groote ghetacte Sney; lower right: BA [in monogram]; lower left: 221 [?]

Probably 1620s or 1630s  
Gouache, each 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (31.3 x 20.2 cm)

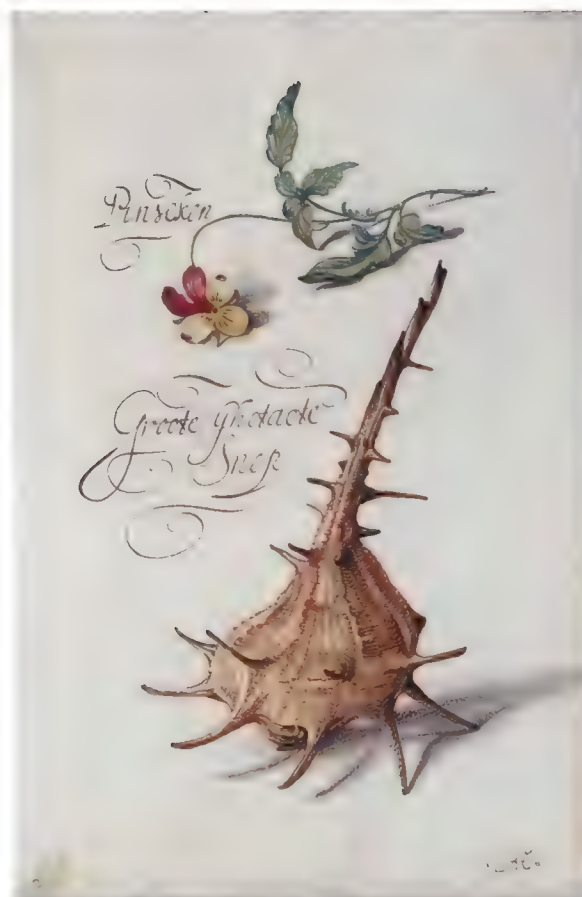
Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris

These three drawings belong to a series of at least 483 sheets representing flowers, shells, and insects. They had always been assigned to Van der Ast until in 1959 Laurens Bol detected in them the "mannered style" of the Dordrecht still-life specialist Bartholomeus Assteyn (1607–after 1667).<sup>1</sup> This implausible attribution has generally not been questioned until now, although recently a few drawings from the series were catalogued as the work of Van der Ast.<sup>2</sup> The extraordinary quality of the drawings in this series is in itself sufficient reason to dismiss the monogram "BA" as that of Assteyn (who was one of Van der Ast's most ardent admirers). An additional reason is that many of the motifs in the drawings are found in paintings by Van der Ast but not in those by Assteyn.<sup>3</sup> In some cases the flower, shell, or insect seen in a painting is precisely duplicated in a drawing, or is reversed left to right. Counterparts to the pansy and shell pictured in one of the present drawings





97



98

(no. 98) are easily located elsewhere in Van der Ast's oeuvre.<sup>4</sup>

The monogram that appears on almost every drawing in this series differs from Van der Ast's usual signature, a fact that might be adduced to argue for Assteyn's authorship. In fact, however, interlaced initials like these cannot be traced in either Assteyn's or Van der Ast's securely attributed works. The monograms may have been introduced by a later owner; or the artist may have chosen this abbreviated form of his usual signature because he had to repeat it nearly five hundred times.<sup>5</sup> (While the drawings are dispersed in many collections, from the numbers on them it is clear that the series once contained at least 483 sheets.) In any case, these drawings offer a splendid illustration of the axiom that a work of art defends the signature and not vice versa.

The calligraphic inscriptions, paraphrased in the English titles given here, are also typical

of Dutch drawings made in series and in a few well-known "tulip books." Dealers in rare tulip bulbs appear to have used drawings as the equivalent of sale catalogues, and amateurs in botany asked artists to make visual records of their plants. One of the most important patrons of this type was Agneta Blok, who lived in the country house "Vijverhof" on the river Vecht near Utrecht. Hundreds of flower drawings were made for her by artists such as Herman Saftleven, Pieter Holsteyn, and Maria Sibylla Merian.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, artists like Van der Ast compiled albums of drawings for their own use. An earlier example, cited by Karel van Mander, was a small book of drawings made from life by Jacques de Gheyn the Younger.<sup>7</sup> These pages appear to survive and to be identical with a series of drawings now in the Collection Frits Lugt, Paris. De Gheyn evidently used the book as a source for his flower paintings and

then sold it to Emperor Rudolf II, another great amateur of botany as well as of art.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps a similar sale explains why (or how) Van der Ast's series of drawings, very likely intended originally for his own use, came to acquire its many monograms.

MCP

1. Bol in Dordrecht 1959–60, under no. 4.

2. Amsterdam 1994, pp. 81–83, 118, nos. T19–25. The attribution to Assteyn is accepted in Broos and Schapelhoutman 1993, no. 1. Broos mistakenly refers to one rather than two drawings in the collection of the Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap "Natura Artis Magistra," Amsterdam, which are falsely inscribed with Van der Ast's name and dated 1660 (he died in 1657). See also cat. no. 95, n. 1.

3. As was kindly demonstrated to me by Daniëlle H. A. C. Lokin, who is preparing a major study of Van der Ast's oeuvre.

4. The flower is found in Van der Ast's painting in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg, inv. no. 8472, and in another sold at Sotheby's, London, December 3 and 4, 1997, no. 70. The shell, seen from exactly the same



angle, occurs in a painting on the London art market in 1978; see *Connoisseur* 199 (December 1978), p. 15.

5. In the largest group of drawings preserved from this series, in the Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (inv. no. 6534), the sheets numbered up to and including 104 are monogrammed with brush and gray ink, while the higher numbers are monogrammed in light brown ink. This suggests that the initials were applied in sessions rather than individually.

6. See Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, pp. 218–19.

7. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 437 (fol. 294v).

8. See Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 2, cat. II P, nos. 909–30, and Boon 1992, vol. 1, pp. 132ff.

REFERENCES: Dordrecht 1959–60, under no. 4 (as by Assteyn); Bol 1963, under no. 24; Amsterdam 1975–76, under no. 10; Broos and Schapelhouman 1993, under no. 1.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1960, nos. 4–13 (as by Assteyn).

EX COLL.: D. Franken (1838–1898), Le Vésinet, France; Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (6534/27 [*Tulip*]; 6534/53 [*Lizavá and Shell*]; 6534/56 [*Pansy and Shell*]).

## JAN DE BISSCHOP

*Amsterdam 1628–1671 The Hague*

### 99. *The Schiedam Gate at Delft*

ca. 1655–60

Graphite, pen and brush and brown ink,  
3¼ x 6¼ in. (9.5 x 15.9 cm)

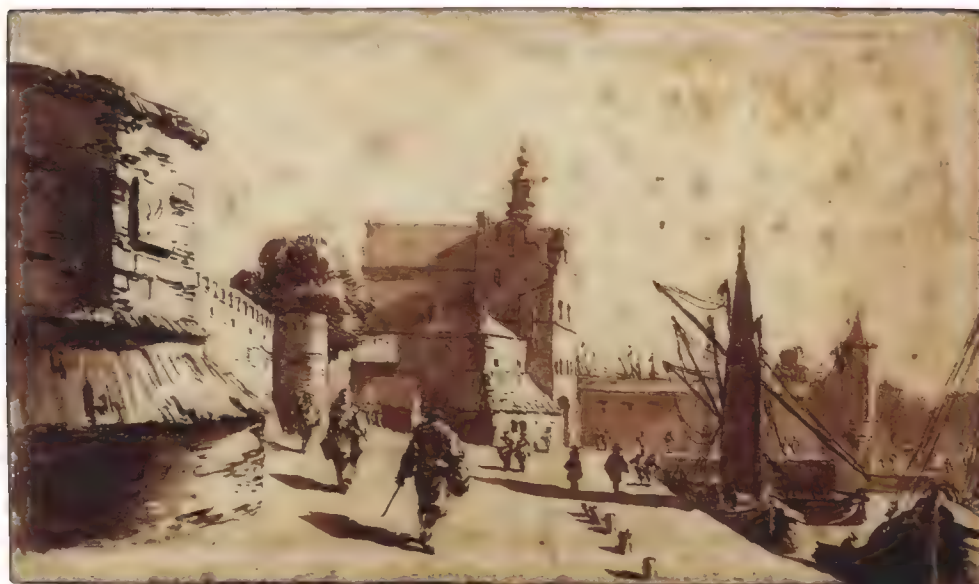
Inscribed on verso upper left: [illegible inscription, probably by the artist]; on verso lower left, on a separate strip of paper with pen and brown ink, in 17th- or 18th-century handwriting: De Rotterdamse Poort tot Delft; with pen and red ink: N3458 [collector's mark of Jhr. Johann Goll van Franckenstein I (1722–1785)]

Amsterdams Historisch Museum

Although this is one of the most memorable views of Delft of the seventeenth century, at first sight it could easily be mistaken for a picture made in Italy. By using deep brown washes that contrast sharply with the color of the paper, the amateur draftsman De Bisschop creates an impression of sunlight

one can almost feel. A similar approach is often present in Italianate views by Dutch draftsmen such as Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1598–1657), who some scholars think might have been De Bisschop's teacher.<sup>1</sup>

The drawing records a view to the east on the Delft Loswal, now called the Zuidwal (South Rampart). The viewer might identify with the evocative figure seen from the back, who seems to have just crossed the drawbridge next to the Groenmolen (Groen family mill; see city map, figs. 329, 333). He strides past the Burgundian Tower, a bastion dating from medieval times, and heads for the Schiedam Gate. Farther in the distance, beyond the boats moored along the quay, is the front of the Rotterdam Gate. The same gates are represented from a more familiar vantage point in Vermeer's *View of Delft* (see figs. 19, 23), which shows the normally thronged Kolk (Pond) and quay as they might look on a quiet Sunday afternoon. De Bisschop's drawing also casts the busy quay in a comparatively peaceful light, although his figures give some idea of its usual activity. The Kolk was a hub of passenger and



commercial shipping, with fishing boats and ferries unloading, *damlopers* (dam runners) arriving from Delfshaven (see figs. 24, 25), and visitors like David Beck, John Evelyn, Samuel Pepys, Pieter Teding van Berkhout, and Constantijn Huygens occasionally climbing in or out of boats bobbing at the quay (see chap. 1).

In fact, there is a drawing by De Bisschop's contemporary and friend Constantijn Huygens the Younger (1628–1687) showing another view, from the quay by the Schiedam Gate.<sup>2</sup> One is tempted to imagine that the two amateurs went off sketching together. However, the present drawing probably dates earlier than Huygens's, from about 1655–60.

MCP

1. See Van Gelder 1971, p. 206, and Amsterdam 1992a, pp. 13–14.

2. See Amsterdam, Ghent 1982–83, no. 9, and Plomp 1996b, pp. 349–50, fig. 2.

REFERENCES: Van Regteren Altena 1948, no. 54; Goudappel 1968, no. 54; Wheelock and Kaldenbach 1982, p. 10; Broos and Schapellhouman 1993, no. 30; H.-U. Beck 1982, p. 124, n. 16; Paris 1986, under no. 53; Amsterdam 1993, under no. 73.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1932, no. 11; Paris 1950–51, no. 108; Belgrade 1960, no. 9; Jerusalem 1960, no. 9; Budapest 1962, no. 9; Tokyo, Kyoto 1968–69, no. 82; Florence 1971, no. 13; Amsterdam, Toronto 1977, no. 57; Amsterdam 1992a, no. 7.

EX COLL.: Valerius Röver (1756–1821), Delft; his widow, Cornelia Röver-van der Dussen (1689–1762; sold in 1761 through Hendrik de Leth to the following); Jhr. Johann Goll van Franckenstein I (1722–1785); Jhr. Johan Goll van Franckenstein II (1756–1821); Jhr. Pieter Hendrick Goll van Franckenstein (1787–1832; sold Amsterdam, July 1, 1833, p. 118, no. 9, to Hulsuit for 30 guilders); possibly H. van Cranenburgh (sold Amsterdam, October 26, 1888, portefeuille B, no. 50, to Lamme for 25 guilders); Carel Joseph Fodor (1801–1860); Fodor Bequest, 1860, to the City of Amsterdam; Amsterdams Historisch Museum (A 10130).

## 100. *The Oostpoort (East Gate) at Delft*

ca. 1655–60

Graphite, brush and brown ink,  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in. (9.8 x 15.8 cm)

Inscribed, verso, upper left, in pen and brown ink, in the artist's handwriting: di oostpoort te Delft; lower right, in graphite: PVA

Amsterdams Historisch Museum

The Oostpoort at Delft appears in a surprising number of Dutch paintings and especially drawings, and even more remarkably, almost all are done from the same vantage point (compare cat. no. 125; figs. 319, 338). At least eight artists are known to have selected the subject, and they surely were not the only ones.<sup>1</sup> Other Delft gates, although equally picturesque, never received the same sort of attention; not even the Schiedam and Rotterdam Gates, familiar from Vermeer's famous painting (fig. 23), were represented as frequently as the East Gate. The explanation is probably that the area right in front of the gate was not only an attractive location but also home to a prominent inn, "De Prins" (The Prince). The inn stood opposite the Stadsgracht (city moat) at the corner of the Pynaekerse Vaert (Pynacker waterway; see





fig. 302).<sup>2</sup> It is not difficult to imagine that artists staying or pausing at this stop along the main road from The Hague to Rotterdam would be inspired to sketch the Oostpoort from about the same spot.

Curiously, De Bisschop's drawing shows the Rondeel romantically overgrown with vegetation, whereas Johannes De Ram's map of 1675–78 depicts it in a tidy state (fig. 302). Perhaps both artists, with very different intentions, exaggerated the truth. Comparison of the two works also reveals that the mill in the area is absent from De Bisschop's drawing—presumably a bit of poetic license, since there is no known record of its having been destroyed.<sup>3</sup> The omission allowed De Bisschop to emphasize the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in the distance.

Despite this drawing's exceptional quality, it is the work of an amateur draftsman: De Bisschop was one of many gentlemen of the seventeenth century who practiced art as a pleasant pastime rather than as a profession. The same is true of several other Dutch artists now well known to connoisseurs of drawing, among them Constantijn Huygens the Younger (1628–1697), Jacob van der Ulft (1621–1689), Jacob Esselens (1626–1687), and Abraham Rutgers (1632–1699). De Bisschop studied law at Leiden University from 1648 to 1652 and

then settled in The Hague as a representative of the Law Court of Holland, Zeeland, and West Friesland. He belonged to the cultural elite of Holland, which also included his father-in-law, Caspar Barlaeus, professor at the Athenaeum Illustre (later Amsterdam University) and a famous man of letters, and of course the Huygens family. De Bisschop's treatises, *Signorum Veterum Icones* (1669) and *Paradigmata Graphices* (1671), were highly influential in fostering classical taste in the Netherlands.

The style of this drawing, with its controlled use of washes, indicates that it is a comparatively early work, dating from about 1655–60. In later attempts the artist often employed a much looser technique.<sup>4</sup> De Bisschop was not interested in selling his drawings and probably gave many of them away,<sup>5</sup> which may be the reason he occasionally made an autograph replica.<sup>6</sup> A second version of this composition, by De Bisschop, is in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Another replica, perhaps a copy by another artist, was on the Amsterdam art market in 1982.<sup>7</sup> MCP

1. Drawings by Simon de Vlieger (?) (see fig. 319), Jan van de Velde (see cat. no. 125), Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (see fig. 338), Jan van Goyen (see H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 1, nos. 694, 748 [not authentic],

845/35, 845/36, and Buijsen 1993, pp. 59–63). Paintings by Esaias van de Velde (Keyes 1984, p. 144, no. 91 [not recognized as Delft]), Jan van Kessel (A. I. Davies 1992, no. 14), Jan van Goyen (H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 2, nos. 413, 710), Jan van der Heyden (Wagner 1971, no. 36). In the nineteenth century the gate was again a favorite theme; see De Bruijn 1997.

2. The road along the Pynaekerse Vaert is now known as the Delfgauwseweg. Sam Schillemans of the Gemeentearchief, Delft, named "De Prins" in response to my inquiry about the possibility of an inn near the Oostpoort. On "De Prins," see Schillemans and Van der Kruk 1982, pp. 54–55.

3. See E. L. Van Olst and H. W. Boekwijt in Delft 1981, p. 67.

4. On De Bisschop's development as a draftsman, see Amsterdam 1992a, pp. 13–16.

5. See Plomp 1992, pp. 261–62.

6. For example, three autograph versions of the artist's *View of the Citadel at Leiden* are known; see C. Logan 1998, p. 429.

7. For both of the other versions, see Broos and Schapelhouman 1993, pp. 45–46.

REFERENCES: Broos and Schapelhouman 1993, no. 29.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1932, no. 12; Cologne 1955, no. 12; Haifa 1959, no. 9; Tel Aviv 1959, no. 17.

EX. COLL.: Sybrand Feitama the Younger (sold Amsterdam, October 16, 1758, album XX, no. 39, to Van Dyck with no. 38 for 35 guilders); Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (sold Amsterdam, March 3, 1800, album CCC, no. 13, to Fokke for 22 1/2 guilders); Carel Joseph Fodor (1801–1860); Fodor Bequest, 1860, to the City of Amsterdam; Amsterdams Historisch Museum (A 10128).

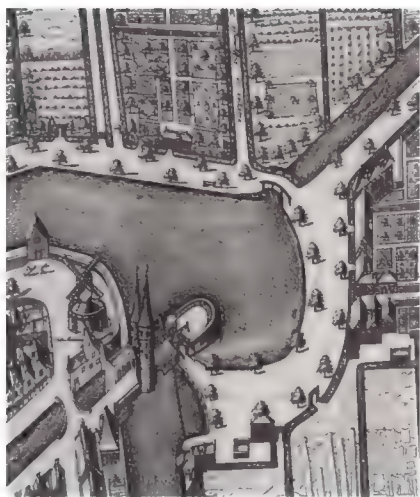


Fig. 302. Johannes de Ram, *Map of Delft* (detail), 1675–78. Engraving, here showing the Oostpoort (East Gate). Gemeentearchief, Delft

101. *The Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, Seen from the Southwest*

ca. 1665–70  
Pen and brown ink and wash,  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 6$  in.  
(9.8 x 15.2 cm)  
Inscribed verso, upper left: t Huijs tot  
Rijswijk  
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

102. *The Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, Seen from the South-Southwest*

ca. 1665–70  
Pen and brown ink and wash,  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  in.  
(9.9 x 15.5 cm)  
Inscribed verso, upper left: Huys tot Rijswijk  
Private collection

In 1630 the Dutch stadholder Frederick Hendrick (see cat. no. 132) bought the Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, a village between Delft and The Hague (see figs. 8, 20). The old country house was demolished and between 1630 and 1634 replaced by the summer palace seen in these two small but impressive drawings. The elegant, simple structure consisted of a central section nine bays wide and narrow wings leading to square pavilions; these contained the private apartments of Frederick Hendrick (in the east) and his wife Amalia van Solms (in the west). The reception rooms

in the central section were decorated with considerable care under the supervision of Jacob van Campen (1595–1657). In the large upper-floor hall, on the ceiling, an illusionistic painting with figures aligned along balustrades was executed by Gerard van Honthorst and his assistants. Two Delft artists, Leonaert Bramer and Christiaan van Couwenbergh, painted large pictures for the palace, according to account books, contemporary descriptions, and rare bits of visual evidence (see fig. 64).<sup>1</sup>

De Bisschop's drawings show the southern facade of the palace. The sheet in a private collection conveys some idea of the extensive gardens, which are "for nothing more remarkable," according to John Evelyn, "than the delicious walks planted with lime trees."<sup>2</sup> The pond in the foreground was one of four surrounded by parterres, topiaries, and wooded areas. Although the French influence is obvious, it is unknown who provided the final plan for the gardens at Huis ter Nieuburch (fig. 303). Clearly, Stadholder Frederick Hendrick followed the design process closely and even supplied some plans of his own.<sup>3</sup>

From the fenestrated loggia and rooftop terrace in the central part of the palace there spreads out a view of the gardens and countryside, culminating in the city of Delft on the horizon (see fig. 8). The main axis of the palace was aligned with the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk in honor of Willem of Nassau (William the Silent) and the other members of the House of Orange who are buried there.<sup>4</sup>

Like Evelyn, De Bisschop must have visited Ter Nieuburch to admire the palace and the grounds, since the place was nearly vacant during the Stadholderless Period between 1650 and 1672. It was only after the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697 that the palace really flourished again.<sup>5</sup> After the death of Willem III in 1702 the inheritance of Ter Nieuburch was contested by the Frisian stadholder Johan Willem Friso and by Frederick I, king of Prussia; but the Dutch claim finally achieved success in 1732. In the mid-eighteenth century the house was rented out, and in 1785 it was torn down by order of Willem V.

The rapid sketching style and boldly contrasted light and shadow in these drawings are typical of De Bisschop's late work of about 1665–70. Copies of both sheets were made by Jacob van der Ulft (1621–1689), a burgomaster of Gorinchem and also an amateur draftsman (see fig. 304). A fair number of copies after De Bisschop by Van der Ulf are known.<sup>6</sup> They are admirable for their clarity but lack the spirit and virtuosity for which De Bisschop is known.<sup>7</sup>

MCP

1. On the Huis ter Nieuburch, see Slothouwer 1945, pp. 89–133; Dumas 1991, no. 42; The Hague 1997–98a, p. 45; and The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 117–18, 133–42. The general design of the building probably stems from France, in all likelihood from the circle of the Vallée family; see Ottenheym in The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 108, 118.
2. See Evelyn 1952, pp. 18–19 (entry for August 17, 1641).



Fig. 303. J. Julius Mülheusser, *Map of the Gardens of the Huis ter Nieuburch*, 1644. Etching and engraving (handcolored),  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 25\frac{1}{4}$  in. (47.3 x 65.8 cm). Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, The Hague



Fig. 304. Jacob van der Ulft, *The Huis ter Nieuburch, Seen from the Southwest*, ca. 1660–70. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown ink,  $6\frac{1}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$  in. (17.5 x 27.2 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin



101



102



3. See Sellers in *The Hague* 1997–98b, pp. 138–39.
4. De Jong 1993, p. 95, n. 168, and Sellers in *The Hague* 1997–98b, p. 134.
7. As noted by Dumas 1991, p. 522.
6. See Amsterdam 1992a, pp. 13–17, and, on the Ter Nieuburch copies, Dumas 1991, p. 527, n. 22, and Plomp 1992, p. 263, n. 10.
7. Van der Ulft's technique differs in part because he did not use the same type of ink as De Bisschop, who made his own from East India ink and copper red, which he probably mixed with gallnut ink. It became known posthumously as "Bisschop's ink." See Amsterdam 1992a, p. 15.

CAT. NO. 101. *The Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, Seen from the Southwest*

REFERENCES: Dumas 1991, p. 527, n. 22; Plomp 1992, pp. 259, 261, 263, n. 10; *The Hague* 1997–98a, p. 45.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1992a, no. 20.

EX COLL.: In several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch sale catalogues drawings are mentioned representing the "House at Rijswijk" by Jan de Bisschop; it is impossible to identify the specific drawings with certainty: D. Muilman (sold Amsterdam, March 29, 1773, album R, nos. 1352, 1356); L. Metayer Phz. (sold Amsterdam, December 16, 1799, album T, no. 18); J. H. Molkenboer (sold Amsterdam, October 17, 1825, album F, no. 43). Thereafter, Jacob de Vos Jbzn (sold Amsterdam, May 22, 1883, no. 56g [with eight other drawings by De Bisschop], to the Vereniging Rembrandt); acquired from the Vereniging Rembrandt in 1888 by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T:1888-A-1590).

CAT. NO. 102. *The Huis ter Nieuburch at Rijswijk, Seen from the South-Southwest*

REFERENCES: Bienfait 1943, vol. 1, p. 54; Slothouwer 1945, p. 131; Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1966, p. 236; Van Gelder 1971, p. 210, n. 39; Dumas 1991, p. 527, n. 22.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam, Paris, Brussels 1976–77, no. 15; Amsterdam 1992a, no. 21.

EX COLL.: In several eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch sale catalogues drawings are mentioned representing the "House at Rijswijk" by Jan de Bisschop; it is impossible to identify the specific drawings with certainty: D. Muilman (sold Amsterdam, March 29, 1773, album R, nos. 1352, 1356); L. Metayer Phz. (sold Amsterdam, December 16, 1799, album T, no. 18); J. H. Molkenboer (sold Amsterdam, October 17, 1825, album F, no. 43). Thereafter, unknown collections; the present owner.

## LEONAERT BRAMER

*Delft 1596–1674 Delft*

See his biography on page 228.

### 103. *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*

### 104. *The Trials of Job*

1630s

Brush and black ink, gray wash on brownish gray paper, 15¼ x 12¾ in. (40 x 31 cm)

Courtauld Gallery, Courtauld Institute of Art, London

These two drawings come from a series of at least fifty-five Old Testament scenes called the Gutekunst series after their previous owner, an art dealer in Bern. The present examples illustrate Genesis 39.7–12 and Job 2.7–10, respectively. After Joseph had been sold by his brothers to the Egyptians he served as a slave in the house of Potiphar. Potiphar's wife attempted to seduce Joseph, but he fled. Job withstood rather more difficult trials because of an argument between God and Satan. The old man's faith was not shaken when he lost all his property and not even when the Devil (here on the right) smote him with boils. The figures on the left are the young men who mocked and spit upon Job ("they have let loose the bridle before me").



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The Gutekunst series once formed a whole with a series of New Testament drawings, most of which are now in the Kunsthalle, Bremen.<sup>1</sup> The two groups clearly correspond in style, format, and type of paper used.<sup>2</sup> Together they constitute the earliest of several known drawing series by the artist; their bold, almost wild manner of drawing and shading with washes is typical of Bramer in the 1630s. The same style appears, for instance, in a drawing dated 1637, *The Betrayal of Christ* (fig. 182), and one of the New Testament scenes corresponds in composition with a painting by Bramer, *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, also of 1637 (Gemäldegalerie, Dresden).<sup>3</sup> Later in his career Bramer drew other series of Old and New Testament scenes, but they generally

lack the forcefulness of these comparatively youthful works.

*Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* is obviously derived from Rembrandt's etching of the same subject dated 1634 (fig. 305).<sup>4</sup> The general arrangement of the room and the naked seductress's foreshortened pose are very similar, but Bramer's Joseph seems horror-stricken, not merely scornful as he is in Rembrandt's interpretation. Bramer's representation of Job, however, seems to be a completely independent invention. Not many images of Job occur in seventeenth-century Dutch art (paintings by Hendrick Goltzius and Jan Lievens come foremost to mind). Of the known examples, Cornelis Saftleven's painting of 1631 (Staatliche

Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe) is most similar in conception to Bramer's.<sup>5</sup> A painting of Job by Bramer was cited in a sale of 1789, but nothing further is known of it.<sup>6</sup>

Curiously, Bramer's drawing of Joseph and Potiphar's wife was reproduced on a Delftware plate (fig. 306). The artist's straightforward compositions must have been sympathetic to a *faïencier* and/or his decorator; six other scenes from the Gutekunst series and two of the New Testament drawings in Bremen are now known to have served as models for decoration on Delftware.<sup>7</sup> Bramer's drawings, or more likely pricked drawings made after them, were evidently made available to a Delft faience factory (yet to be identified). The quality of decoration

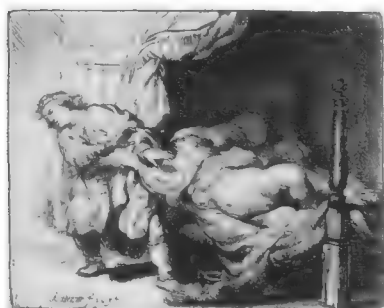


Fig. 305. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1634. Etching,  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$  in. (9 x 11.5 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 306. Delftware dish, decorated with *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, ca. 1650-70. Unmarked, diameter  $8\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21.1 cm). Collection E. van Drecht, Amsterdam





on the plates varies considerably: the Joseph plate is rather crudely painted, while others show such a delicate handling of the brush that one suspects Bramer himself was involved.<sup>8</sup> This is one of a few fascinating instances in which two of Delft's art worlds coincide (see also cat. no. 154).

MCP

1. See Delft 1994, p. 312, no. 1.
2. Only in the location of their numbering are the two series inconsistent; the Old Testament works are numbered in the upper right corner, the New Testament ones in the upper center; see *ibid.*, p. 312, nos. 1, 6.
3. See *ibid.*, p. 112, no. 21.
4. Bramer depicted the subject of Joseph and Potiphar's wife more frequently in his drawing series; see for instance Schapelhoutman and Schatborn 1998, vol. 1, p. 38, no. 62A, fol. 30. The attribution to Bramer of a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, depicting Joseph and Potiphar's wife is highly improbable; see New Brunswick, Cleveland 1982–83, no. 42.
5. See Plomp and Ten Brink Goldsmith in Delft 1994, p. 55, fig. 10. Saffleven also placed the Devil behind Job, but otherwise his hellish scene bears little resemblance to Bramer's.
6. See *ibid.*, p. 280, no. 36. Bramer also pictured Job in one of a colored Old Testament series from the 1660s, now in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. This sheet has no compositional relation to the drawing in Bremen (see Schapelhoutman and Schatborn 1998, vol. 1, p. 38, no. 62A, fol. 40). A drawing in Warsaw with the same composition as the just-mentioned Job drawing in Amsterdam is in all likelihood a later (eighteenth-century?) copy; see Warsaw 1956, no. 45, fig. 22.
7. See Plomp 1999.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

REFERENCES: Courtauld Institute of Art 1956, p. 102, nos. 2960 (*Joseph*), 2973 (*Job*); Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 212–17, nos. 2 (*Joseph*), 4 (*Job*).

EXHIBITED: Delft 1994, drawings, nos. 2 (*Joseph*), 4 (*Job*).

EX COLL.: [Gutekunst und Klipstein, Bern 1938]; Sir Robert Witt; Witt Bequest 1952; Courtauld Gallery, Courtauld Institute of Art, London (D.1952.RW.2960; D.1952.RW.2973).

# 105. *Concert of Angels* (recto); *The Four Latin Fathers of the Church and Numerous Saints* (verso)

Probably early 1650s  
Brush and gray ink, brush and watercolor,  
20 1/4 x 16 in. (53.1 x 40.6 cm)

British Museum, London

On this sheet Bramer sketched two studies for ceiling paintings in the tradition of Correggio. Bramer is known to have decorated several ceilings, including those of the meeting room of the painters' guild in Delft (1661) and of the Grote Zaal (Great Hall) in the Prinsenhof (1667; see fig. 135). Only the figures of Christ ascending and of music-making angels on the Grote Zaal's wooden ceiling have survived.<sup>1</sup>

On the recto of this drawing fifteen angels sing and play musical instruments and five putti surround a cloud. The composition on the verso (fig. 307) is more complicated. In the center, three bands of angels recede toward a distant burst of heavenly light. The lower level of clouds is occupied by elderly men with large books who must be the four Latin Fathers of the Church: Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and Jerome, who is identified by a lion.

The sheet probably dates from the 1650s. Its figure style resembles that found in Bramer's *Lazarillo* series of 1646, but the elongated bodies of the putti look forward to the more arbitrary anatomy seen in his drawings dating from the 1650s and 1660s.<sup>2</sup> The use of color is striking in what appears to be one of Bramer's earliest and most careful essays in watercolor.

As Heinrich Wichmann observed, Bramer must have seen Correggio's famous ceiling paintings in Parma.<sup>3</sup> Another possible source of inspiration is Cornelis Cort's engraving after Francesco Primaticcio, *Concourse of the Gods on Mount Olympus*.<sup>4</sup> In that circular print a crowd of full-length, foreshortened

figures look down toward the viewer. Bramer's designs might also be considered the celestial equivalents of ceiling paintings by Gerard van Honthorst and other Dutch artists with whom he was familiar (see figs. 12, 130).

The purpose of this sheet is unknown. One plausible hypothesis, especially given the subject on the verso, is that Bramer hoped or intended to paint a ceiling in a clandestine Catholic church. There were at least two of these in Delft during his lifetime, one owned by the Jesuits on the Oude Langendijk (fig. 14) and one for a larger community in the Bagijnhof (Beguinage).<sup>5</sup> It is also possible that Bramer envisioned a project of this type in another town.

MCP

1. See Delft 1994, pp. 25–28.
2. For the *Lazarillo* series and later drawings, see *ibid.*, pp. 193–95, 220ff.
3. Wichmann 1923, p. 3.
4. Hollstein, vol. 5, p. 55, no. 184; see also Rotterdam 1994, no. 38.
5. On Catholic life in Delft, see M. A. Kok in Delft 1981, pp. 108–12.

REFERENCES: Wichmann 1923, p. 180, no. 108; Rowlands 1984, no. 93; Plomp 1986, p. 108, n. 5; Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 234–36, no. 20.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1994, drawing no. 20.

EX COLL.: (Anonymous sale, The Hague, January 26, 1874, no. 10); A. van der Willigen and A. van der Willigen Pzn. (sold The Hague, October 7, 1874, no. 28); [Colnaghi and Co., 1966]; acquired by the British Museum, London, 1966 (1966–7–23–2).



105 (recto)



Fig. 307. Leonaert Bramer, *The Four Latin Fathers of the Church and Numerous Saints* (verso, cat. no. 105), probably early 1650s. Brush and gray ink, 20 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 16 in. (53.1 x 40.6 cm). British Museum, London

106. *Aeneas Fleeting Troy with  
His Father, Anchises, and  
His Son, Ascanius*

107. *Marcus Curtius Leaping into  
the Abyss on His Horse*

Late 1650s

Brush and gray and black ink, gray washes,  
15¼ x 11½ in. (40 x 30 cm)

Inscribed in pen and brown ink, lower right  
(cat. no. 106): 1; (cat. no. 107): 21

Private collection

These two comparatively large drawings are  
part of a series of fifty illustrating Livy's epic

history of Rome, *Ab urbe condita*.<sup>1</sup> Probably  
dating from the 1650s, the series has been pre-  
served intact along with a table of contents  
compiled by Bramer himself, from which we  
know that he used the 1585 Dutch edition of  
Livy translated by Lourens Jacobszoon.<sup>2</sup>

The illustrations to Livy were auctioned in  
1691 together with books from the collection  
of the scholar W. Snellonius, who lived in



106



Leiden. Whether he commissioned the series of drawings is unknown, but he certainly appreciated Bramer's work as a draftsman, since he also owned Bramer's series illustrating *The Life of Alexander the Great* and Virgil's *Aeneid*.<sup>3</sup>

*Aeneas Fleeing Troy* is the first drawing in the series *Ab urbe condita*. After his flight the Trojan prince would wander around the

Mediterranean for years, then finally arrive in Italy and found the city of Rome. Livy only alludes to the scene shown here; for the details the experienced history painter turned to the *Aeneid* (2.671–729), which he was illustrating at about the same time. He focused on the three male protagonists, omitting Aeneas's wife, Creusa, who in Virgil's story soon disappears without a trace. More

remarkable is Bramer's setting of the scene in broad daylight, with no indication that Troy was being seized and burned.<sup>4</sup> In his *Aeneid* series Bramer handled the subject similarly, although there Creusa makes an appearance.<sup>5</sup> This classicizing approach is all the more striking because the artist (probably during the early 1650s) had copied Adam Elsheimer's dramatic painting of the same episode.<sup>6</sup>



Marcus Curtius was appreciated in the seventeenth century as the very model of a hero who dies for his fatherland. To fulfill an oracle's prediction and save the Roman republic, he leapt on horseback into a flaming chasm. The subject attracted more attention in Italy than in northern Europe, although it was well known from Hendrick Goltzius's engravings of Roman heroes.<sup>7</sup> But Bramer's invention is entirely his own, not least in the setting. Like his walls of Troy, Bramer's Roman buildings look like a Netherlander's memory of Italy. The biographer Cornelis de Bie recorded that in Rome Bramer drew ruins with wonderful precision.<sup>8</sup> In Holland, however, Bramer's images of classical architecture are consistently romantic. MCP

1. For the entire series, see Delft 1994, p. 314, no. 22.
2. See *ibid.*, p. 255, n. 2.
3. These also appeared in the Snellonius sale, Leiden (P. van der Aa), September 24, 1691. See *ibid.*, pp. 314, 316, nos. 23, 24.
4. Other Dutch and Flemish artists used the story as an opportunity to depict nocturnal and fiery effects, among them Frederick van Valckenborch, several members of the Bruegel family, Jacob de Wet, and Gerard de Lairesse; see Pigler 1974, vol. 2, p. 288.
5. See Ten Brink Goldsmith 1982, pp. 399–404, fig. 56. Bramer, who lived in Rome in the 1620s, does not seem to have been inspired by Gian Lorenzo Bernini's famous 1619 statue of the same three figures (Galleria Borghese, Rome).
6. See Plomp 1986, p. 113, no. 18.
7. Strauss 1977, vol. 1, no. 234. See also Rouen 1998–99, no. 1 (drawing by Crispijn van den Broeck).
8. De Bie 1661, p. 252 ("geteeckent heeft ruinen wonder net"). See also Delft 1994, pp. 27, 187.

REFERENCES: Wichmann 1923, p. 181, no. 114a (entire series); Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 255–57, nos. 34 (*Aeneas*), 35 (*Marcus Curtius*).

EXHIBITED: Delft 1994, drawings, nos. 34, (*Aeneas*), 35 (*Marcus Curtius*).

EX COLL.: W. Snellonius (his sale, Leiden, September 24, 1691, p. 176); [Rosenthal, Berlin, 1923]; Jacques Rosenthal, Munich, cat. 88, 1927, no. 25; (sold at Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1990, no. 126); the present owner.

## 108. *The Curious Ones*

ca. 1655–60

Brush and gray and black ink, gray and brown washes on light brown paper (five pieces of paper joined), 15½ x 22¼ in. (39.1 x 56 cm)

Inscribed lower left: No 37; lower right: 12; stamped with collection mark of the Staatliche Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf

Kunstmuseum im Ehrenhof, Sammlung der Kunstakademie, Düsseldorf

This drawing of about 1655–60 represents six people gathered before a house in the classicizing style of the mid-seventeenth century. The man on the left points out an oversized keyhole to the provocatively attired woman next to him. A similarly dressed woman and a man in fashionable clothing spy through the aperture, which is an actual hole in the center of the paper (now closed with a backing attached later).

As Walter Liedtke has suggested, the drawing may be Bramer's design for the painted exterior of a perspective box.<sup>1</sup> These objects flourished in Holland during the 1650s and 1660s.<sup>2</sup> The art form was closely related to Dutch architectural painting and other kinds of work requiring perspective expertise. Surviving perspective boxes (see figs. 125, 140) are constructed of wood, and four of the six known bear traces of painted imagery on the exterior; one of the boxes, in Copenhagen (fig. 140), uses *trompe l'oeil* motifs to draw attention to the peephole.<sup>3</sup> The inside surfaces of the boxes are painted with illusionistic views of ecclesiastical or domestic interiors. This delightful art form was pursued in Delft by Carel Fabritius (see cat. no. 18) and in Dordrecht by Samuel van Hoogstraten. Other Dutch artists also made perspective boxes; the three examples in the Nationalmuseum, Copenhagen, and the one in the Museum Bredius, The Hague, cannot convincingly be attributed to Fabritius, Van Hoogstraten, or any of their known contemporaries.<sup>4</sup>

Another drawing by Bramer in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (fig. 308), appears directly related to the present sheet. Both drawings have been in the collection since the eighteenth century. Their dimensions are the same and their motifs similar, both showing

figures gathered in front of a house. The architecture is fairly consistent, especially the design of the windows. Perhaps the two drawings represent Bramer's ideas for decorating the exterior of a perspective box on two different sides. Presumably the inside would have offered interior views of the same house.

Just as Fabritius may have been inspired by Bramer to paint illusionistic murals, Bramer might have absorbed some of Fabritius's interest in the perspective box. One wonders if Bramer ever made one, and whether his knowledge of linear perspective was equal to the task of designing an anamorphic interior (however, see the discussion under cat. no. 109). There is also the question whether the Düsseldorf drawings have anything to do with a perspective box in the first place. Bramer may have been thinking of a mural, perhaps with a small window that looked into another room or to the outside. His oil sketch in triptych form (figs. 132, 133) shows that the artist did make small designs for wall paintings. Finally, an element to bear in mind is the large city crest of Delft featured in *Soldiers with Horses before a House* (fig. 308). The motif may have been intended as an expression of local pride placed on the outside of a perspective box, but it may also be related to a civic commission; in that case, a mural would be the more expected art form. In any case, *The Curious Ones* is a curious thing indeed, and another variation on the Delft theme of witty illusions. MCP

1. Liedtke 2000, p. 23.
2. See Koslow 1967; Liedtke 1976a; Liedtke 1976b; Brusati 1995, chap. 5; and Liedtke 2000, chap. 2.
3. As noted in Liedtke 2000, p. 71.
4. These boxes are all catalogued in Koslow 1967. See also Blankert 1991, no. 57, on the box in the Museum Bredius, and C. Brown et al. 1987 on Van Hoogstraten's perspective box in the National Gallery, London.

REFERENCES: Budde 1930, no. 876; Düsseldorf 1962, no. 608; Liedtke 2000, p. 231.

EXHIBITED: Essen 1958, no. 299; Düsseldorf 1968, no. 17.

EX COLL.: Wilhelm Lambert Krahe (1712–1790); acquired by the Düsseldorfer Kunstakademie in 1778, as by Bartholomeus Breenbergh; Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof, Sammlung der Kunstakademie (KA [FP] 5057).





Fig. 308. Leonaert Bramer, *Soldiers with Horses before a House*, ca. 1655–60. Brush and gray ink, gray washes on gray-blue buff paper,  $15\frac{1}{2} \times 23\frac{3}{16}$  in. (39.5 x 59.3 cm). Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof, Sammlung der Kunstakademie

109. *Musicians in an Interior*  
(recto); *Musicians in a Loggia* (verso)

ca. 1660

Brush and gray ink, gray washes, on several pieces of paper joined, 14¼ x 18½ in. (37.2 x 46.3 cm)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Both sides of this sheet represent musicians playing stringed instruments. A dog appears in each scene, and a cat, a monkey, and a parrot also occupy the Dutch-style interior. The architecture on the verso (fig. 309), however, is an Italianate invention. The figures and furniture are contained in a loggia in the immediate foreground, defined by a wall on the left, the central column, and a lintel above. Another loggia or arcade is seen at some distance (perhaps across a street) in the left background, and in the right background the facade of a palace recedes toward what appears to be a distant church.

Bramer is perhaps best known for his treatment of historical subjects, but he also dabbled in genre scenes, both as a draftsman and as a painter.<sup>1</sup> In earlier works he concentrated on a man's world of drinking, fighting, playing games of chance, and the like. But in the present drawings and a few others — for example, two in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see fig. 80), one in the Collection Frits Lugt (fig. 310), and another on the art market in 1986<sup>2</sup> — he adopted the then-fashionable theme of young couples making music and romance.<sup>3</sup> These drawings all appear to date from about 1660 or a little later.

As Walter Liedtke noted recently, *Musicians in an Interior* makes an interesting comparison with *The Music Lesson* by Vermeer (fig. 168), which dates from about 1662–64. The two interiors are very similar, but Vermeer's is seen from what would be the vantage point of Bramer's parrot if it turned around. From its perch on the back of a chair the bird would have a painter's-eye view of the table, various instruments, a receding wall of windows, and, at the other end of the room, a woman at a harpsichord enjoying or enduring the attentions of a man. The chained monkey is "a sign of enslavement to sensual appetites, as in Dirck Hals's *Garden Party* of 1627 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), which likewise features parrots and dogs. . . . Vermeer treats the theme of musical courtship more obliquely by placing

a reminder of the imprisoned Cimon next to the enchanted gentleman."<sup>4</sup>

Bramer's drawings on two sides of a single support (several pieces of paper joined together) must have been intended as preparatory material, not as a work for sale. Peter Schatborn plausibly suggests that the drawings are studies for a mural.<sup>5</sup> Liedtke, by contrast, wonders if the recto and verso might represent alternative ideas for the interior of a perspective box. "The arrangement of furniture around the walls (where a chair or viol could be projected on two or three surfaces; compare [fig. 125 here]), the foreshortened instruments, the placement of isolated objects on the floor, and the importance of architecture in both designs speak in favor of the hypothesis. A curtain in one drawing and an arcade in the other seem like deliberate complications in the deeper zones of space. A monkey in what might be considered the more successful design smiles at the viewer (or peephole) and refers, *inter alia*, to the notion of 'aping,' or similitude."<sup>6</sup> As with *The Curious Ones* (cat. no. 108), the perspective box hypothesis is seductive.

MCP

1. See Delft 1994, pp. 210–11, no. 1, 301–6, nos. 247–300a.

2. On the drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 80 above), see *ibid.*, pp. 200, 245, n. 3. *Figures under Arcades*, the drawing on the art market, was sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 17, 1986, no. 4, ill.

3. Bramer made a number of drawings and paintings in which musicians are portrayed; see Delft 1994, pp. 156–57, no. 40, 179–80, no. 51, 210–11, no. 1, 218–19, no. 5, 304, no. S290.2.

4. Liedtke 2000, p. 231. See also chap. 5, p. 160, in this catalogue.

5. Schatborn in Amsterdam 1989b, under no. 27.

6. Liedtke 2000, p. 231.

REFERENCES: Schatborn in Amsterdam 1989b, no. 27; Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 245–47, no. 27; Liedtke 2000, pp. 25, 231.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1989b, no. 27; Delft 1994, drawing no. 27.

EX COLL.: Carel Vosmaer (1826–1888); bought with the Vosmaer collection in 1988 by the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1989-108).



109 (recto)

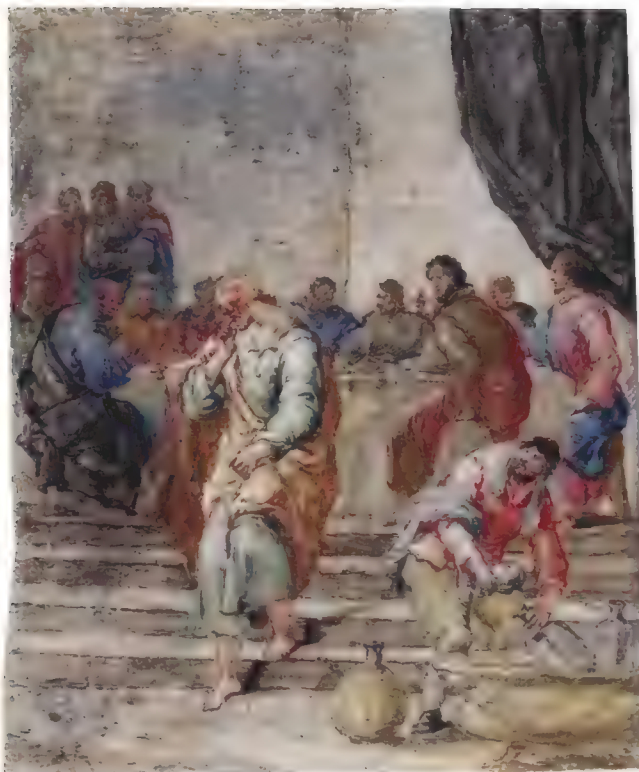


Fig. 309. Leonaert Bramer, *Musicians in a Loggia* (verso, cat. no. 109), ca. 1660. Brush and gray ink, gray wash on paper prepared in yellow,  $14\frac{1}{4} \times 18\frac{1}{4}$  in. (37.2 x 46.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



Fig. 310. Leonaert Bramer, *The House Concert*, ca. 1660. Brush and gray and black ink,  $11\frac{1}{4} \times 15$  in. (29.8 x 38.2 cm). Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris





110a

# 110. *Scenes from the Life of Christ*

1660s

48 drawings, recto and verso, in watercolor and gouache heightened with white and gold, on 24 sheets of vellum bound in an album, each 4 7/16 x 4 1/16 in. (12.5 x 11 cm)

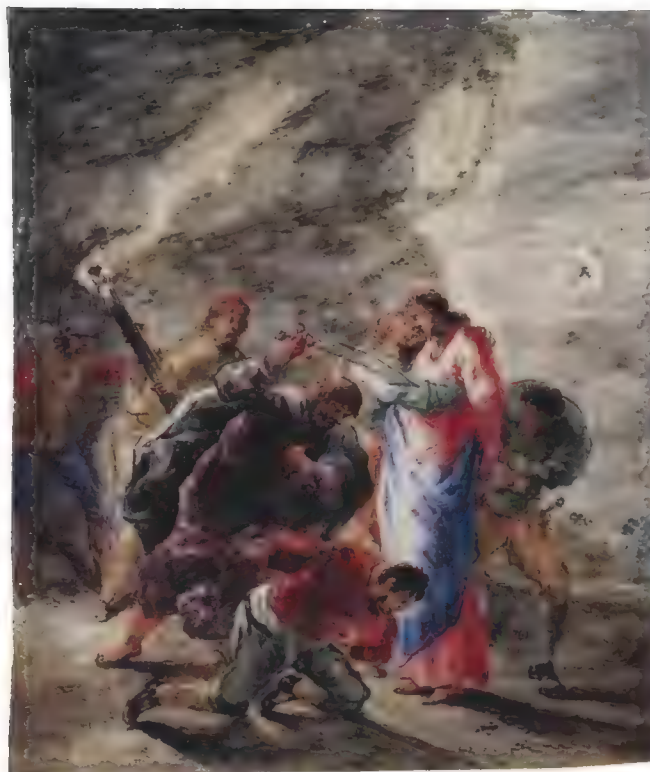
Private collection, the Netherlands

This series of drawings is the only one by Bramer still in its original binding. From old descriptions and fragments of physical evidence it is clear that several other series of drawings by the artist were bound. Although devoted to coherent themes, the collections were usually broken up so that the drawings could be sold separately. The present volume, in the same family since the seventeenth century, appears to have escaped that fate.

Like most colored drawings by Bramer, these pages probably date from the 1660s. The meticulous execution and elongated figure types are also characteristic of Bramer's late years (one example, *The Ascension* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, is dated 1666).<sup>1</sup> Colored drawings were most popular in the Dutch Republic during the second half of the century; Adriaen van Ostade, Herman Saftleven, Allart van Everdingen, and Adriaen van de Velde are among the many artists whose oeuvres illustrate the phenomenon.



Fig. 311. Leonaert Bramer, *The Last Supper*, 1630–40. Brush and gray ink, gray wash, heightened with white on gray-brown paper, 14 3/4 x 11 1/16 in. (37.5 x 30 cm). Kunsthalle, Bremen



110b

In some cases the use of color may also have encouraged a more precise drawing style. Bramer's manner developed along the same lines as Van Ostade's in this respect. Very likely this evolution was in part stimulated by collectors who preferred drawings that resembled finished works of art. Still, it should be noted that Dutch painting also moved toward greater precision, as is evident from a comparison of Gerard Dou's followers in the 1650s and 1660s with those of Frans Hals (including the young Van Ostade) some thirty years earlier. The same development may be observed in Bramer's drawings devoted to the Life of Christ, since several of the scenes in this bound series derive compositionally from his New Testament series in the Kunsthalle, Bremen (see the discussion under cat. nos. 103 and 104 above). *The Last Supper* (110a) and *The Betrayal of Christ* (110b), shown here, are examples; compare the former with fig. 311.

In their physical form, Bramer's series of colored drawings, bound into a small book as

they are here, might be seen as a revival of the late-medieval manuscript illumination that flourished in Delft during the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> A Catholic, Bramer must have been aware of this precedent and perhaps drew inspiration from it. Still, we do not know whether his series of drawings devoted to religious subjects were appreciated in this way. They lack text, the more essential part of even the finest illuminated manuscripts. What is certain is that collections like this one were treasured as works of art.<sup>3</sup>

MCP

EX COLL.: According to family tradition, Jacob Peronneau (b. 1679); Gillis Anthonie Gallé (1698–1753); Carel Jan Gallé (b. 1737); M. C. Esser Meerman-Gallé; M. A. Snoeck (1838–1911); J. C. Snoeck (1874–1948); private collection, the Netherlands.

1. See Delft 1994, pp. 195–96, fig. 20.

2. On illuminated manuscripts in Delft, see the sources cited in chap. 2, n. 25.

3. Bramer's bound series of drawings might also be compared with seventeenth-century Bibles embellished with colored prints. These were highly coveted in the artist's day; see Gnitrep 1986.

REFERENCES: Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 266–69, no. 40.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1994, drawing no. 40.



III. *Scenes from the Metamorphoses: Perseus, with the Head of Medusa, Turns Phineus to Stone; Deucalion and Pyrrha after the Flood*

Probably 1660s  
Watercolor and gouache with varnish or gum, on vellum,  $5\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{16}$  in. (14 x 19.5 cm)  
Private collection, the Netherlands

These late drawings by Bramer illustrate episodes from *Metamorphoses* by the Roman poet Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17/18). The book was enormously popular in the Netherlands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; no other work by a classical author was translated as frequently or brought out in as many illustrated editions.<sup>1</sup> Bramer evidently made two series of drawings devoted to Ovidian subjects, one with brush and black ink in about 1635–45<sup>2</sup> and one with color in the 1660s. Most of the later examples are gathered in the album exhibited here, which consists of twenty-four drawings in a binding of the eighteenth century. The sheets are numbered in a seventeenth-century hand; the highest number is 36, and some numbers do not appear. Only one of the dozen or more drawings missing from the album has been identified, *Jupiter and Mercury in the Hut of Philemon and Baucis* in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris.<sup>3</sup>

On one of the vellum sheets seen here (IIIa) Bramer shows Perseus turning Phineus and a soldier to stone by confronting them with the horrible head of Medusa. Phineus had courted the fair Andromeda, but Perseus won her heart when he saved her from a sea monster. Phineus tried to thwart their union; however, his plans for revenge turned out to be as ill advised as his efforts at romance. An edifying gloss on the Perseus myth was offered by Karel van Mander in “Wtleggingh op den Metamorphosis” (Commentary on the *Metamorphoses*), a section of his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604). The person who thinks he has passed every test will still encounter another. Life is an endless struggle, but divine wisdom will ensure the triumph of the just.<sup>4</sup>

Although the drawing might seem to exemplify Bramer’s attraction to rare subjects, even more unusual is *Deucalion and Pyrrha after the Flood* (IIIb).<sup>5</sup> In ancient, violent



times, these two were the only righteous people on the face of the earth; Jupiter decided, with Neptune's cooperation, to drown every living thing except them. Here the couple scramble to safety, looking like two aged veterans of the Battle of Cascina as conceived by Michelangelo (in his monumental cartoon in the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, which was well known through prints).<sup>6</sup> Typically, Bramer embellished the drama and gave it a spectacular backdrop, omitting the boat mentioned by Ovid. Curiously, the story ended with the old couple repopulating the earth as instructed by an oracle: they threw stones over their shoulders, and these gradually softened into women and men.

The Ovid drawings appear to have been owned by Caspar Netscher (1639–1684), the genre painter and fashionable portraitist of The Hague. A booklet or album “with the history of Ovid painted on parchment by

Bramer” as well as the same artist's illustrations for *Tyl Eulenspiegel* (seventy-two drawings of about 1646–50; now in the Kunsthalle, Bremen) were listed along with hundreds of other works on paper in the 1694 estate inventory of Margaretha Godijn, Netscher's widow.<sup>7</sup> It is not known whether Netscher acquired the drawings from Bramer himself or after the Delft artist's death in 1674. However, the fact that Netscher in The Hague and the scholar Snellonius in Leiden (see cat. nos. 106, 107) each owned more than one series of drawings by Bramer suggests that the artist's reputation remained great even in his declining years.

MCP

1. See The Hague 1980 and Sluiter 1986, pp. 295–96.
2. See Delft 1994, p. 316, no. 26. Four illustrations from this series have been traced.
3. Lugt 1950, no. 85, pl. VIII, and Delft 1994, p. 271, fig. 41a.

4. “Wteleggingh op den Metamorphosis,” in Van Mander 1604, fol. 42.
5. See my entry in Delft 1994, pp. 270–73, nos. 41, 42, which mentions some of the subjects more commonly drawn from Ovid by Dutch artists, such as *The Judgment of Paris* (see fig. 39 here).
6. The possible source was suggested to me by Walter Liedtke.
7. See Bredius 1887, p. 273, and Delft 1994, p. 316, nos. 25, 31.

REFERENCES: Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 270–73, nos. 41 (*Perseus*), 42 (*Deucalion*), and p. 316, no. 25.

EXHIBITED: Delft 1994, nos. 41 (*Perseus*), 42 (*Deucalion*).

EX COLL.: Caspar Netscher, The Hague (d. 1684); his widow, Margaretha Godijn (d. 1694); possibly S. van Huls (sold The Hague, May 14, 1736, no. 1056); private collection, the Netherlands.



Attributed to **WILLEM JACOBSZ DELFF**  
Delft 1580–1638 Delft

Best known as the exclusive engraver of Michiel Jansz van Miereveld (see his biography on p. 311), Delft came from a family of portraitists in Delft. His father was Jacob Willemsz Delff the Elder (ca. 1550–1601; see fig. 43) and his brother was Rochus Jacobsz Delff (1572/79–1617). Unlike those two artists, Willem Jacobsz never worked as a painter. He evidently began his career as a book illustrator, having trained as an engraver, possibly with the famous Haarlem artist Hendrick Goltzius.<sup>1</sup> From about 1610 on, Delft engraved portrait prints after paintings by Van Miereveld and Jan van Ravesteyn (ca. 1570–1657). In 1618 he married Van Miereveld's daughter Geertruyd and began reproducing on a grand scale his father-in-law's portraits of celebrated figures such as Sir Dudley Carleton (1620), the duke of Buckingham (1626), and the Dutch princes. Delft occasionally made engravings after portraits by painters other than Van Miereveld, such as Anthony van Dyck, Daniel Mijtens, Paulus Moreelse, and Adriaen van de Venne (see cat. nos. 131, 133). He also engraved book illustrations, including the celebrated plates in Gérard Thibault's *L'Académie de l'espée* of 1628.<sup>2</sup>

MCP

1. As suggested by Rudolf E. O. Ekkart in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 8, p. 664. This would have been in the late 1590s, since Goltzius gave up engraving about 1600.
2. See Hollstein, vol. 5, p. 234, nos. 102–4. The artists Crispijn de Passe II and Simon de Passe also contributed to this famous publication; see Hollstein, vol. 16, pp. 142, no. 181, 190, no. 140. See also De la Fontaine Verwey 1978.

**112. Portrait of Maria Strick**

1620  
Graphite on vellum, 9 x 6 1/4 in.  
(22.8 x 16.8 cm)

Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais,  
Paris

No drawings indisputably by Delft are known, and only two may be attributed to him: a portrait of the stadholder Frederick Hendrick (fig. 190) and the present example.<sup>1</sup> Evidently a substantial amount of work by Delft is lost. The portrait of Frederick Hendrick is preparatory to Delft's print after Michiel van Miereveld (fig. 191), as is evident from its format and its concentration on lights and darks. The function of the drawing exhibited here is less certain, but it, too, relates to a print by Delft after Van Miereveld. In this instance the handling is more meticulous, and framing elements, which do not correspond to the engraving, are included.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps Delft or an assistant (none is known, however) based this drawing on the engraving, with a view to inventing a new frame, though it must be admitted that there are no known examples of such a modification in Delft's graphic oeuvre. In any case, this is a superb drawing, certainly from Delft's studio, and a fine testament to the seventeenth-century Dutch fascination with calligraphy.

Maria Strick (1577–after 1630) was herself a famous calligrapher. She was the daughter of Caspar Becq, who ran a French school in 's Hertogenbosch and in 1589 moved to Delft to open a similar institution. Maria married the shoemaker Hans Strick in 1598. He became an engraver, and Maria took over her father's school after his death, in 1606. A year later the couple began collaborating on books and prints devoted to religious subjects and to calligraphy. At some time before 1615 they moved to Rotterdam, where Maria continued teaching. She must have remained in touch

with colleagues in Delft, since Van Miereveld painted her portrait (known only from the print and this drawing) in 1618.<sup>3</sup>

Maria Strick's expertise is acknowledged by the presence in the drawing of ink pots, pens, and a laurel wreath. Delft was a great center of calligraphy in the decades about 1600. The most respected Dutch calligrapher of his generation, Felix van Sambix de Jonge (ca. 1553–1642), resided in Delft from 1586 on,<sup>4</sup> and Jan van de Velde, author of one of the first books on calligraphy published in Holland and father of the draftsman of the same name (see cat. no. 125), lived in the city for a few years about 1590. Maria knew both of these forerunners and presumably drew inspiration from them when she and her husband published their first book, *Toneel der loflycke schrijffpen* (Theater of the Praiseworthy Pen), which first appeared in 1607.

MCP

1. In the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, is a drawing, *Portrait of Maurits*, that traditionally has been attributed to Delft. Felice Stampfle tried to attribute the sheet to Jacques de Gheyn the Younger—in my opinion, unconvincingly (Stampfle 1991, no. 64). It seems preferable, at least for the time being, to keep it under the traditional name.
2. See, for both prints, Hollstein, vol. 5, pp. 197, no. 61, 221, no. 86. The second state of Maria Strick's portrait was used in her *Schat oft voorbeelt ende verthooninge van verscheijden geschriften* . . . , 3rd ed. (Rotterdam, 1618); see Croiset van Uchelen 1976, pp. 342–43, no. 3.
3. This paragraph relies heavily on Croiset van Uchelen 1976, pp. 340–43. For Hans and Maria Strick's books and prints, see Hollstein, vol. 28, pp. 154–56, nos. 1–7. Interestingly, in Rotterdam the Strick couple bought Jan van de Velde's house; see Croiset van Uchelen 1976, p. 341.
4. De Jonge was also portrayed by Michiel van Miereveld, and the portrait was likewise brought out in print by Delft (Hollstein, vol. 5, p. 215, no. 78).

REFERENCES: De la Fontaine Verwey 1976, pp. 287–88.

EX COLL.: (Sale Jhr. D. van Akerlaken et al., Amsterdam, April 26, 1893, no. 79); F. Wellesley (sold at Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1920, no. 211, bought by Colnaghi for Lugt); Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (583).





# GERBRAND VAN DEN EECKHOUT

Amsterdam 1621–1674 Amsterdam

## 113. *The City Walls of Delft with the Mill Called "The Rose"*

ca. 1640–45

Black chalk and gray wash, 5 x 7 7/8 in.

(12.7 x 19.4 cm)

Signed lower left in pen and dark brown ink:  
G V: Eeckhout

Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais,  
Paris

Van den Eeckhout, a native of Amsterdam, entered Rembrandt's studio about 1635, when he was still in his mid-teens. He remained with the master for about six years and, according to Arnold Houbraken, became Rembrandt's "great friend and favorite pupil."<sup>1</sup> As a painter Van den Eeckhout is known mostly for history pictures and genre scenes (see fig. 158). His approximately two hundred known drawings reveal a greater versatility, for they include portraits, figure studies, landscapes, designs for ornamental engravings, and goldsmith's work, as well as genre scenes and biblical subjects.<sup>2</sup>

Most of Van den Eeckhout's rather simple but delightful landscape drawings are topographical studies, as is the present work. Although the drawing is thought to date from about 1640–45—that is, still during or shortly after the artist's apprenticeship—there is little trace of Rembrandt's influence in the style.<sup>3</sup> The subject, however, could have been suggested by Rembrandt, who often went sketching outside Amsterdam during the same period.<sup>4</sup> The precise subject of this drawing was unknown until several years ago, when the present writer recognized it as the ramparts of Delft, with (from left to right) the Henegouwse Tower, the mill "The Rose," and the Austrian Tower.<sup>5</sup> These structures were located at the southeast corner of the city, to the east of the Rotterdam Gate (at the right in Vermeer's *View of Delft*, fig. 23). Van den Eeckhout also made a detailed study in watercolor of the Austrian Tower, again from the

southwest side (British Museum, London).<sup>6</sup>

"The Rose," a typical post-mill, was used for grinding grain. The body of the mill rotated so that the sails could always catch the wind. All the other mills in Delft have disappeared, but this one, after being dismantled in 1679, was reinstalled more permanently on the Westvest (now Phoenixstraat). It is still called De Roos, "The Rose."<sup>7</sup>

In addition to his drawings of "The Rose," the Austrian Tower, and its surroundings, Van den Eeckhout made at least one drawing of another Delft site, the Oostpoort (East Gate) (see fig. 338). He also illustrated Jan Philipsz Schabaelje's pamphlet describing the explosion of 1654 in Delft (see cat. no. 114). How Van den Eeckhout came to be concerned with Delft is not known; as far as we know, he had no family ties to the city. One wonders whether he might have been involved with tapestry manufacture in Delft, since a series of his drawings illustrating the story of Joseph, which appears to date from the early 1640s, resembles tapestry designs (fig. 312).<sup>8</sup> Perhaps Van den Eeckhout, like the Delft artists Leonaert Bramer, Christiaan van Couwenbergh (see figs. 65, 210), and others, designed tapestries for the tapissier Maximiliaan van der Gucht (d. 1689). But artists, like tourists and amateurs, needed little reason to visit Delft other than the city itself.

MCP

1. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 174.

2. For Van den Eeckhout's drawings, see Sumowski 1979–, vol. 3, nos. 601–819<sup>xx</sup>.

3. As observed by Van Berge-Gerbaud in Paris, Haarlem 1997–98, under no. 52. On the present drawing's date, see also Sumowski 1979–, vol. 3, no. 670.

4. On Rembrandt and the tradition of walking-and-drawing, see Bakker in Amsterdam, Paris 1998–99, pp. 15ff.

5. Plomp 1996b, pp. 350–52.

6. Sumowski 1979–, vol. 3, no. 804<sup>x</sup>. For another detailed drawing of the Austrian Tower, made by Josua de Grave in 1695, see Delft 1981, fig. 68.

7. See Delft 1981, p. 67; Delft 1982–83, p. 44, figs. 83, 84; and Weve 1997, p. 158.

8. See Sumowski 1979–, vol. 3, nos. 697<sup>x</sup>–702<sup>x</sup>. Although Sumowski believes that these drawings in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Dresden, were intended as book illustrations, he remarks that his no. 700<sup>x</sup>, *Joseph Being Sold*, "looks like a tapestry design."

REFERENCES: Sumowski 1962, p. 29, n. 25; Sumowski 1963, p. 102, n. 73; Roy 1970, p. 61, n. 21; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 3, no. 670; Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 124; Plomp 1996b, pp. 350–51.

EXHIBITED: Brussels, Rotterdam, Paris, Bern 1968–69, no. 44; Paris, Haarlem 1997–98, no. 52.

EX COLL.: (Probably anonymous sale, Amsterdam, March 22, 1802, album V, no. 28, to Yver for 1 guilder); Johann Andreas Boerner (1785–1862), Nuremberg; Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1876; Frits Lugt (1884–1970), Paris and Maartensdijk, by exchange, May 9, 1930; Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris (4445).



Fig. 312. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *Joseph Being Sold*, 1640–45. Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink, 13 1/4 x 12 1/8 in. (35 x 31 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden





## II.4. Delft after the Explosion of the Gunpowder Arsenal in 1654

Probably late 1654

Graphite, pen and brown ink, gray  
washes, paper incised for transfer, 4¼ x 5¼ in.  
(10.9 x 13.6 cm)

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu  
Berlin

The famous Delft explosion of October 1654, with its tragic loss of life and property, was described in numerous written and pictorial accounts. Today the most familiar of these are the paintings of the explosion itself or its immediate aftermath by Egbert van der Poel and Daniel Vosmaer (see cat. no. 51; fig. 267). Herman Saftleven's panoramic drawing of the ruins (cat. no. 124) was made a few weeks after the event, probably in preparation for an engraving. The devastated Delft neighborhood as it appeared at a somewhat later date is represented or at least recalled in two paintings by Vosmaer (see cat. no. 87; fig. 299). Finally, a full account of the explosion and its consequences is given by Dirck van Bleyswijck in the second volume of his history of Delft (1667–80)—including the story of how after six or seven hours Carel Fabritius was found barely alive in the ruins of his house, only to expire shortly thereafter.<sup>1</sup>

One ray of sunshine in this otherwise gloomy narrative was described in a pamphlet by Jan Philipsz Schabaelje, *Historisch verhael van het wonderlick en schrickelick opspringen van 't Magasyn-huys, voor-gevallen op den 12 oktober 1654 binnen Delft* (Historical Account of the Strange and Terrible Explosion of the Powder Magazine Which Occurred on October 12, 1654, in Delft).<sup>2</sup> The print illustrating Schabaelje's title page (fig. 313) was made from Van den Eeckhout's drawing, seen here. (Frits Lugt plausibly suggested that the etching was made by Van den Eeckhout himself.)<sup>3</sup> The artist hardly needed to rush to the scene to record the catastrophe, since in this composition the ruins are clearly invented. Their jaunty rhythms are even more emphatic in the (reversed) print—meant for a broad public—where a heartwarming drama unfolds from the left. Schabaelje informs us that twenty-four hours after the explosion, a fifteen-

month-old girl was found sitting in her high chair under heaps of rubble. She appears in the foreground of Van den Eeckhout's picture, with an arm-waving mother and two babies in a cradle thrown in for good measure. A quarter-century later Van Bleyswijck picked up the story and spun it out further: "[The child] thanked her rescuers with a friendly laugh. One of her hands was slightly injured; in the other she held firm to the apple she was playing with. Not only was the little girl saved, but also an eighty-year-old graybeard who had lain under the ruins for thirty-six hours was freed from his perilous position unscathed."<sup>4</sup> In Van den Eeckhout's drawing and more clearly in the print, the old man's moment of liberation is crowned, soberingly, by a severed head. Schabaelje could hardly have found a better collaborator than Van den Eeckhout, whose stylish history pictures are often embellished with notes of human interest and picturesque details. MCP

1. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, pp. 63off., on the explosion, and p. 852 on Fabritius (quoted above, p. 115). On the Delft "Thunderclap," see also Houtzager 1988, pp. 31–71, and Delft 1996, pp. 93–100.
2. Published in Amsterdam, undated. Van Stolk 1895–1931, vol. 3, no. 2246.
3. Lugt 1931, p. 49, under no. 12815. As far as I know, this interesting point has never been taken up.
4. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 630. The author goes on to report that people "rose as if from the dead" as much as forty-eight hours after the explosion; see Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 98.

REFERENCES: Bock and Rosenberg 1930, p. 128, no. 12815; Lugt 1931, pp. 48–49; Henkel 1942, p. 80, under no. 22; Lugt 1950, under no. 173; Sumowski 1962, p. 32, n. 36; Sumowski 1975, pp. 162, 184, n. 69; Sumowski 1979–, vol. 3, no. 714<sup>2</sup>; Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 97–98; C. Logan 1996, p. 207; Plomp 1996a, p. 53.

EX COLL.: Barthold Suermondt (1818–1887), Aachen, Germany; acquired in 1874 by the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (12815).



Fig. 313. Title print from Jan Philipsz Schabaelje, *Historical Account of the Strange and Terrible Explosion of the Powder Magazine Which Occurred on October 12, 1654, in Delft*, 1654. Etching, image 4¼ x 5¼ in. (11 x 13.9 cm). Historisch Museum, Rotterdam (Atlas van Stolk)



Attributed to **CAREL FABRITIUS**

Midden-Beemster 1622–1654 Delft

See his biography on page 247.

115. *The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well*

Pen and brown ink and brush and brown wash, corrected with white gouache, 6 7/8 x 10 1/2 in. (16.7 x 26.6 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1906

The subject, which is fairly rare in the Rembrandt school, is taken from chapter 29 of Genesis. In the drawing Rachel stands at the head of her flock, while Jacob, her cousin, emotionally explains their relationship. Wilhelm Valentiner thought the drawing was probably by Rembrandt, but in recent years the sheet has been associated with a group of drawings in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, by an

anonymous pupil of the master during the 1640s.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this was Carel Fabritius, since motifs in the drawings are similar to those in his few known paintings of about the same time. However, no securely attributed drawings by Fabritius are known. The drawing is included in the present exhibition so that scholars may revisit the question.

MCP

1. Schatborn 1985, nos. 61–66; see also Logan in New York 1995–96, vol. 2, no. 75.

REFERENCES: "Collection of Drawings" 1906, p. 160 (as by Rembrandt[?]); Valentiner 1925–34, vol. 1, no. 79 (as probably by Rembrandt); Logan in New York 1995–96, vol. 2, no. 75.

EXHIBITED: New York 1995–96, no. 75.

EX COLL.: William Esdaile (1758–1837), London; acquired in 1906 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 06.1042.10).







## JAN VAN GOYEN

Leiden 1596–1656 The Hague

### 116. *View of Delft from the North*

1653

Black chalk, brush and gray ink, 4 7/8 x 8 1/2 in.  
(11.7 x 21 cm)

Signed in monogram and dated lower right:  
VG 1653

British Museum, London

Van Goyen is well known for the numerous on-site sketches he made while traveling. The artist recorded views in locations all over the northern Netherlands, including Arnhem, Nijmegen, Rhenen, and Utrecht, as well as in his more immediate surroundings of Leiden, Haarlem, and The Hague.<sup>1</sup> The "Dresden Sketchbook" of about 1648 contains views seen on a trip south through Dordrecht, Breda, Bergen op Zoom, Antwerp, and Brussels.<sup>2</sup> Van Goyen produced a variety of sketchbooks and several series of topographical drawings, but only one volume of drawings survives completely intact.<sup>3</sup>

From his sketches it is known that Van Goyen visited Delft a number of times; this is hardly surprising, since from 1632 onward he lived about an hour's travel away, in The Hague. In Delft, as in other cities, the artist was attracted by picturesque architectural motifs, such as the medieval ramparts and gates, especially the Oostpoort (East Gate), and the tower of the Oude Kerk (fig. 314).<sup>4</sup> No on-site sketch is known of the view from the north seen in the present drawing, which itself is a carefully finished work almost certainly made in the studio. Although Hans-Ulrich Beck describes the sheet as a preparatory drawing for Van Goyen's painted view of Delft dating from 1654 (fig. 341),<sup>5</sup> the differences between the two compositions suggest rather that the drawing and the painting are independent works based on the same on-site sketch. In both views the foreground is invented, but the Nieuwe Kerk, the tower of the town hall, the two-arched Lepelbrug (Spoon Bridge), the Oude Kerk, and other familiar features of

Delft are all recognizable. Indeed, these landmarks are seen from virtually the same angle as they are in Hendrick Vroom's *View of Delft from the Northwest* (cat. no. 90), although perhaps from a closer vantage point.<sup>6</sup>

It is easy to follow Van Goyen's development as a draftsman by means of stylistic changes and, more precisely, through the great number of dated examples. They reveal

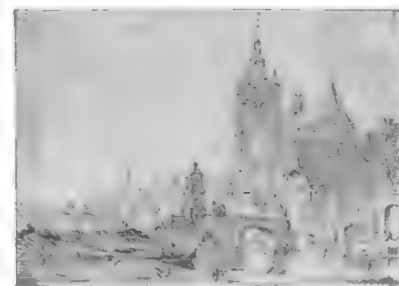


Fig. 314. Jan van Goyen, *The Oude Kerk at Delft in Phantasy Setting*, 1640–45. Black chalk, 4 7/8 x 6 1/2 in. (11.6 x 16.8 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin



that the artist drew intensively in certain years, including 1631, 1647, and 1651–53. In 1653 alone he made about 250 drawings comparable in degree of finish with the present one. Perhaps this activity had to do with the art market and the artist's financial circumstances at the time. In the early 1650s he sold off many of his movable goods at auction and found a less expensive place to live. Finished drawings brought lower prices than paintings but of course cost much less to produce in terms of both time and materials. As ever in

Van Goyen's work, no sense of hard times intrudes upon this view of a venerable city surrounded by an animated countryside and set beneath the endless sky. M C P

1. See H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 1, pp. 15–20 (biography), 67–72 (topographical index); also vol. 2 (paintings), nos. 272–424.
2. Ibid., vol. 1, no. 846 (see p. 271 for a map of the route).
3. On this sketchbook of about 1644–49 in the Bredius-Kronig Collection, see *ibid.*, no. 845, and Buijsen 1993. On Van Goyen's sketchbooks in general, see Edwin Buijsen in Leiden 1996–97, pp. 22–37.

4. See H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 1, p. 69, under Delft.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, no. 486, vol. 2, no. 420.
6. Painters in addition to Vroom and Van Goyen who depicted Delft from the north are Jan Peters (ca. 1624–after 1676) and Jan de Vos (1593–1649); see Kersten 1992.

REFERENCES: Hind 1926, p. 104, no. 8; H.-U. Beck 1957, pp. 242–46; H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 1, no. 486, vol. 2, under no. 420; Kersten 1992.

EX COLL.: Richard Payne Knight (1750–1824); bequeathed in 1824 to the British Museum, London (Oo.9-47).

## JAN VAN KESSEL

*Amsterdam 1641/42–1680 Amsterdam*

### II.7. *The Rotterdam Gate at Delft*

ca. 1664–69

Black chalk, pen and gray ink, gray and gray-brown wash, 7/16 x 9/16 in.

(17.9 x 24.4 cm)

Signed lower right in pen and brown ink: JvKessel; inscribed upper center in pen and brown ink: groote Houtpoort tot haarlem. 1560.

Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, De Grez Collection

This drawing by the Amsterdam artist Jan van Kessel represents the front and east side of the Rotterdam Gate, a view rarely recorded.<sup>1</sup> The gate was more frequently sketched from other angles, however, and of course is seen from the south in Vermeer's *View of Delft* (figs. 19, 23). Van Kessel seems to have set himself the task of making a pictorial inventory of the gate's several parts. On the left a drawbridge leads to the outer gate, which resembles the westwork of a Romanesque church. This structure's purpose is evident from the crenellated top (which is partly broken), arrow slits, and other unwelcoming

apertures. Between this defense work and the city gate itself, on the right, a long covered bridge spans most of the moat. At one time almost identical constructions introduced the Schiedam Gate—lightly indicated here beyond the drawbridge—but in 1614 everything in front of the Schiedam Gate proper was demolished, along with a triangular bastion surrounded by a moat. This allowed the Kolk, a triangular harbor, to be dredged. Josua de Grave's drawing of 1695 (fig. 336) is one of the last known records of the Rotterdam Gate as it appeared in Vermeer's lifetime. Its front gate and covered bridge were removed in the early eighteenth century, and about a hundred years later the remaining city gates and walls were torn down.<sup>2</sup>

Best known as a follower of Jacob van Ruysdael, Van Kessel spent most of his life in Amsterdam. In addition to sketching that city's sights the artist drew views in Deventer, Haarlem, Monnikendam, and Delft. There he presumably made not only a drawing of the Rotterdam Gate but also one of the Oostpoort (East Gate), since he included the latter in a painting of 1667 (Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps Van Kessel had relatives in Delft; three of

the city's *faienciers* shared his family name, and in 1640 his parents (although residents of Amsterdam) were married in Rijswijk, between Delft and The Hague.<sup>4</sup>

Among earlier drawings of the Rotterdam Gate, one of the most enchanting is a sketch by Simon de Vlieger showing people and horses on the frozen Kolk (fig. 315).<sup>5</sup> Hardly any other winter scenes featuring Delft topography are known.<sup>6</sup> De Vlieger, like Jack Frost, transformed reality, for in his version the covered bridge appears to be freestanding and the drawbridge is simplified. Perhaps on a warmer day during his years in Delft (about 1634–37) De Vlieger made a more faithful sketch of the Rotterdam Gate, which he then modified in the cozy confines of his studio.

M C P

1. This may partly explain the erroneous inscription on the verso, which refers to the Grote Houtpoort in Haarlem; see Brussels 1967, no. 95.
2. For the history of these two gates, see Delft 1979–80, pp. 81–82.
3. A. I. Davies 1992, no. 14, pl. 14.
4. Ibid., p. 14, n. 13.
5. Schapellhouman and Scharborn 1998, vol. 1, no. 428 (not identified as a Delft subject).
6. However, Esaias van de Velde included a version of the Oostpoort, seen from the same direction as in



De Vlieger's drawing, in *Frozen Singel before a City Gate*, a painting of about 1620 in the Národní Galerie, Prague (Keycs 1984, no. 88, pl. 200).

REFERENCES: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 1913, no. 1982; Colin 1916, p. 21, no. 11; A. I. Davies 1992, no. d14; Plomp 1996b, pp. 350–51.

EXHIBITED: Brussels 1967, no. 95.

EX COLL.: Jeronimo de Bosch (sold Amsterdam, October 5, 1767, no. 230); Johannes Enschedé (sold Haarlem, May 30, 1786, album L, no. 502); probably Diderick Baron van Leyden (sold Amsterdam, May 13, 1811, album E, no. 21); F. v.d. Schaft (sold Amsterdam, April 19, 1819, album A, no. 12); Abraham de Haas (sold Amsterdam, November 8, 1824, album X, no. 11, together with three other lots, to Clossin for 20 guilders); Jean de Grez, Brussels; his bequest to the Belgian state, 1910; Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, De Grez Collection (4060/1982).



Fig. 315. Simon de Vlieger, *The Northwest Side of the Rotterdam Gate in Wintertime*, probably 1645–50. Black chalk, brush and gray ink, 5 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (14.8 x 23.3 cm). Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam



## KAREL VAN MANDER THE ELDER

*Meulebeke 1548 – 1606 Amsterdam*

### 118. *Oriane Endeavors to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apolidon* (design for a tapestry)

ca. 1590/95–1600

Pen and brown ink, brown wash,  
10 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 19 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (27.2 x 49.6 cm)

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

The importance of Delft as a center of tapestry production is mentioned frequently in this book in chapters 1–3 and is discussed in Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis's introduction to the superb weavings catalogued below (cat. nos. 137–40). By far the most significant figure for the industry in Delft was François Spiering, who in 1593 set up his famous workshop in the former Convent of Saint Agnes. Trained weavers were subsequently drawn to Delft, but there were no experienced designers in the city, especially of the sort that might satisfy Spiering's eminent patrons (such as Sir Walter Raleigh). Thus the celebrated Haarlem artist Karel van

Mander the Elder was called upon to invent compositions for some of Spiering's most important early tapestries. Arnold van Buchell, the Utrecht art lover who visited Delft in 1598, recorded in his diary that a fair amount of preparatory material by Van Mander could be found in Spiering's workshop.<sup>1</sup> The only work of this kind known to survive, however, is the present drawing.

The Hermitage sheet was first ascribed to Van Mander in 1985 and was soon connected with a composition woven in Spiering's factory.<sup>2</sup> Hangings of this design, in reverse, are preserved in Knole House (Sevenoaks, Kent) and the Art Museum of Princeton University (fig. 316). On the latter example Van Mander's monogram appears on the shield held by a lion on a column to the left.

The Knole and Princeton tapestries are now recognized as belonging to a series, or more probably two series, made in Spiering's workshop.<sup>3</sup> Narrow hangings in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan are not only closely related in style and subject matter but bear

Spiering's full signature and the date 1602. Also, the tapestries at Knole and in Milan have the same border design (the Princeton example has no border). Now that two other related hangings have come to light (cat. nos. 138, 139), there can be no doubt that Van Mander and Spiering intended to create a magnificent series of tapestries.

The theme of the series to which this design belongs is from the late medieval romance *Amadis de Gaule* (see the discussion under cat. nos. 138, 139).<sup>4</sup> Van Mander's drawing shows Amadis on the enchanted island of Fermo, where he will be betrothed to his beloved, the princess Oriane. His comrades have also found partners. However, all must pass through an archway to test their love: if it is true and pure, the statue above the arch will emit melodious notes and spill out perfumed petals. The petals are already falling as Oriane approaches the archway (at the right), looking back at Amadis. On the left the less fortunate Grafinde swoons in the arms of her companions. In the center of the garden is a





Fig. 316. Workshop of François Spiering (after Karel van Mander), *Orianne Endeavors to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apolidon*, ca. 1600. Tapestry, 98 x 170½ in. (249 x 432 cm). The Art Museum, Princeton University, Gift of Hugh Trumbull Adams, Class of 1935

fountain of Venus, sketchy in the drawing but clear in the related tapestries. From Venus, Oriane will receive Paris's apple honoring the most beautiful woman. Fermo is also home to an enchanted palace once occupied by the Greek prince Apolidon. Only someone more chivalrous than he was or more beautiful than his wife, Grimanèse, can open the palace

doors. Of course, Amadis and Oriane are successful, and on the left side of the drawing, in the far distance, Oriane approaches the entrance.<sup>5</sup>

The Hermitage drawing is obviously a preliminary invention. A more finished design must have been made,<sup>6</sup> and a full-size cartoon for the tapestry would also have been painted

by a specialist in watercolor. The cartoons were usually cut into strips for the weavers to use as patterns. Thus, apart from the few tapestries that survive, Van Mander's drawing is almost the only known evidence of the work made for and in Delft's busiest studio in the decades around 1600. M C P

1. See Hoogewerff and Van Regteren Altena 1928, p. 44, and M. I. E. van Zijl in Delft 1981, p. 204.
2. See Gerszi 1985 and Kloek in Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 29, n. 5.
3. See Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, pp. 80–84.
4. First identified by Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996a and Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996b.
5. A cloud was released when the doors were opened; it is hard to make out in most reproductions of the tapestry but is visible in Van Mander's drawing. See Standen 1988, pp. 6–7, fig. 4, and Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996a, p. 260, fig. 8.
6. As noted by Hans Buijs in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 371.

REFERENCES: Gerszi 1985; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 29; Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996a, p. 253; Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996b, p. 82.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 29.

EX COLL.: Unknown collection; State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (15092).

## ANTHONIE PALAMEDESZ

Delft 1601–1673 Amsterdam

See his biography on page 318.

### 119. *Seated Cavalier with a Sword and a Raised Glass*

Probably 1640s  
Brush and two shades of brown oil paint  
heightened with white gouache, 8⅞ x 6⅞ in.  
(20.5 x 15.5 cm)

University of Leiden, Prentenkabinet

### 120. *A Walking Musketeer Seen from Behind*

Probably 1640s  
Black chalk, brush and brown ink,  
8⅞ x 6 in. (20.5 x 15.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Frits and Rita Markus Fund, 2000

The Delft artist Anthonie Palamedesz is best known as a painter of Merry Company scenes in the manner of such Haarlem and Amsterdam artists as Dirck Hals, Hendrick Pot, and Pieter Codde (see cat. nos. 47, 48). He was also a gifted draftsman, however, as Peter Schatborn demonstrated in publications of a generation ago.<sup>1</sup> In preparation for his paintings Palamedesz drew figures, usually with a brush and occasionally in oil paint. *Seated Cavalier with a Sword and a Raised Glass* and another Palamedesz drawing in the Prentenkabinet of the University of Leiden, *Seated Man with a Letter*, were both rendered in oil. But the medium was more common in Italy. Most Dutch artists worked with black or red chalk,<sup>2</sup> although Dirck Hals, a Haarlem

artist, also used oil paint for figure studies. This led Schatborn to hypothesize that Palamedesz was Hals's pupil,<sup>3</sup> which would partly explain how the Delft artist came to paint such Haarlem-like genre scenes.

Both the figure studies in Leiden may be connected with paintings by Palamedesz. The figure of a seated cavalier is found in at least two pictures, one of a Merry Company in the Hallwyl Museum, Stockholm (fig. 317), and another formerly on the art market in Vienna. The figure of a seated man with a letter reappears, in slightly modified form, in a painting in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick.<sup>4</sup> Several previously unpublished drawings by Palamedesz have surfaced or been recognized in recent years, including the page

in the Abrams Album (fig. 194); the Metropolitan Museum's drawing (cat. no. 120); *Standing Man Holding a Hat and a Sword* (art market, Amsterdam);<sup>5</sup> and *Standing Soldier Seen from Behind* (Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris).<sup>6</sup> The Abrams sheet, which is evidently the only signed drawing by the artist, is an exceptional case because it is highly finished in black chalk. The other works are close in style and technique to the drawings in Leiden and especially to a couple of figure studies by Palamedesz in the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, which are executed in pen and brush and brown ink, not oil.<sup>7</sup> *Standing Soldier* in the Collection Frits Lugt and *A Walking Musketeer* in the Metropolitan Museum served as studies for figures in paintings by Palamedesz in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen,<sup>8</sup> and formerly in Budapest (fig. 318), respectively.

The latter picture is dated 1657, and a painting dated 1647 repeats a figure found in one of the drawings in the École des Beaux-Arts.<sup>9</sup> This helps to place Palamedesz's drawings chronologically: it seems likely that the known figure studies date primarily from the 1640s. Some of these drawings are also of similar size, suggesting that they come from a sketchbook filled with studies. In any case, this prolific figure painter must have made many other drawings that are now unknown.

MCP

1. See Schatborn 1975, pp. 83–84, and Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, p. 76 and no. 76.
2. Figure studies in black chalk by Palamedesz are also known; see Bock and Rosenberg 1930, pp. 208–9, nos. 1375 (fig. 193 here), 4274.
3. Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, p. 76; see also Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 298.
4. L. C. J. Frerichs in Amsterdam 1956, no. 89, first mentioned the painting in Stockholm. The Brunswick picture was first cited in Schatborn 1975, p. 84. The present writer noticed that the figure of the seated cavalier also appears in the painting sold in Vienna (Dorotheum sale of June 6–9, 1961, no. 80, pl. 12).
5. Sold at Sotheby Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, November 26, 1984, no. 83, ill.
6. Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, inv. no. 1997-T-2, a drawing executed in brush and brown ink.
7. See Lugt 1950, no. 449, pl. LI.
8. Statens Museum for Kunst 1951, no. 531.
9. See Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, no. 76.



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Fig. 317. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Merry Company*, ca. 1640. Oil on wood, 24 x 35 in. (61 x 89 cm). Hallwylska Museet, Stockholm





CAT. NO. 119. *Seated Cavalier with a Sword and a Raised Glass*

REFERENCES: Schatborn 1973, pp. 83–84; Schatborn in Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, p. 76, no. 76.

EXHIBITED: Leiden 1948–49, no. 59; Amsterdam 1956, no. 89; Ingelheim 1964, no. 60; Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, no. 76.

EX COLL.: Comte de Robiano et al. (sold at F. Muller and Co., Amsterdam, June 15, 1926, no. 414); A. W. Mensing (sold at F. Muller and Co., Amsterdam, April 27, 1937, no. 518); A. Welcker, Amsterdam; University of Leiden Prentenkabinet (AW 1102).

CAT. NO. 120. *A Walking Musketeer Seen from Behind*

EX COLL.: W. Pitcairn Knowles (sold Amsterdam, June 25–26, 1895, no. 494); Hauser, Karlsruhe (sold Leipzig, May 4, 1905, no. 465); Alfred Normand, Paris (sold at Christie's, London, July 6, 1999, no. 131); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 2000.22).

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Fig. 318. Anthonie Palamedesz, *Halt in Front of an Inn*, 1657. Oil on wood, 26  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 36  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (67 x 93 cm). Art market, Budapest (1921)



## PAULUS POTTER

Enkhuizen 1625–1654 Amsterdam

See his biography on page 332.

### 121. *Horsemen near a Barn*

1646

Black and white chalk on buff-colored paper,  
6 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (17 x 13 cm)

Signed and dated lower left: Paulus. Potter.  
F. 1646.

Städelsches Kunstinstitut,  
Frankfurt am Main

As is discussed in the artist's biography and in chapter 3, Potter joined the Delft guild of painters on August 6, 1646. The present drawing was made that year, and some of the artist's finest and most famous works, including *The Young Bull* of 1647 (Maurits-huis, The Hague), date from his brief period in Delft (about 1646–49).

The drawing represents two mounted hunters who have paused at a barn. The farmer adjusts one of the rider's stirrup straps. The two dogs have evidently just met and are getting acquainted; the rifleman's horse relieves itself. Rustic details of this kind, and the subject itself, are familiar from the works of other Dutch artists active in the 1640s, particularly Pieter van Laer.<sup>1</sup> But Potter's drawing stands quite apart in its quality of light: like that in Potter's contemporary paintings (see cat. nos. 54, 55) and in slightly later landscapes by Adam Pynacker (cat. no. 56), it is the intense, picturesque daylight of late afternoon. In this drawing the effect is achieved mostly by heightening in white chalk. This artistic tour de force, the drawing's thorough execution, and the presence of a signature and date all suggest that the sheet was intended as a finished work of art made for independent sale.

Nonetheless the drawing evidently remained in the artist's possession, since two paintings, *Hunters by an Inn* of 1650 (Pushkin Museum, Moscow) and another version dated 1651 (H. M. The Queen, Windsor Castle), are based on its composition.<sup>2</sup> In both pictures Potter transformed the barn into an inn and added figures at the door. Curiously, *pentimenti* reveal that in both paintings he originally closed the view on the right with foliage, as in the drawing. In

repainting the passages with more open vistas he was returning to the type of composition he had employed in such paintings as the Philadelphia stable scene (cat. no. 54).

A version of this drawing in Windsor Castle, which reproduces the subject on a slightly larger scale, is also signed and dated 1646. It has been suggested that the Windsor sheet may be autograph, but both the present writer and Ben Broos consider this unlikely.<sup>3</sup>

MCP

1. See The Hague 1994–95, pp. 88, 94, 116.

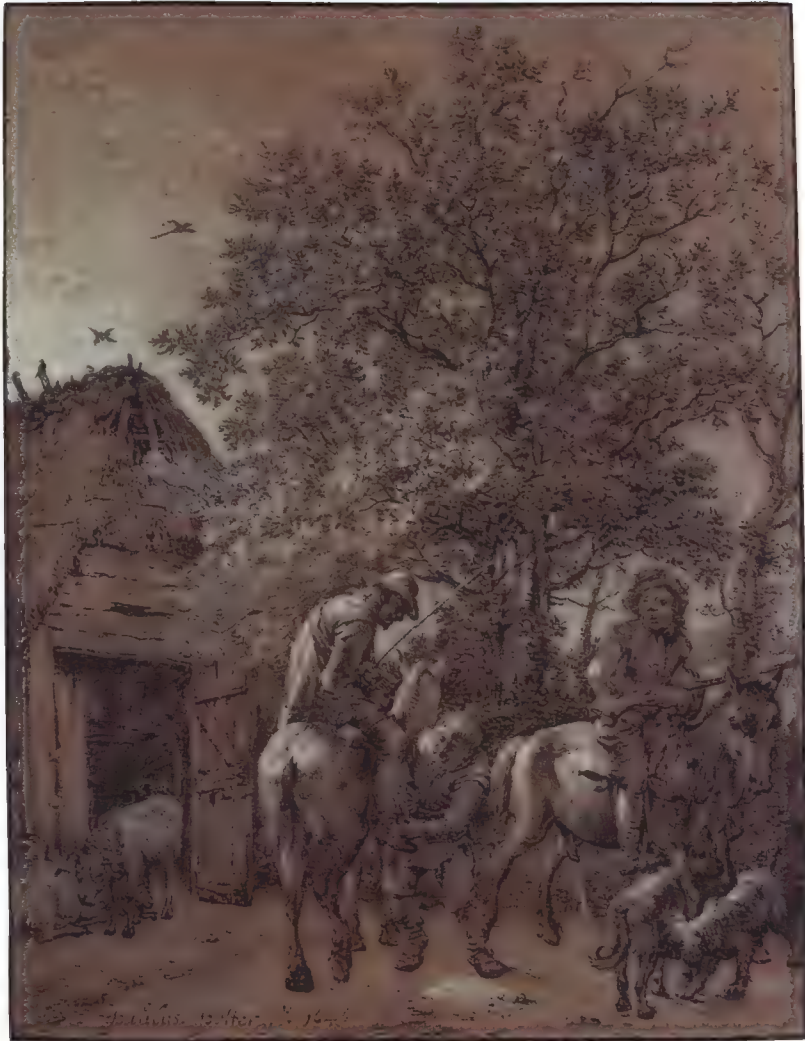
2. See *ibid.*, no. 20, for the painting in Moscow and a reproduction of the Windsor version.

3. White and Crawley 1994, p. 422, and Broos in The Hague 1994–95, p. 162, n. 2.

REFERENCES: Städelsches Kunstinstitut 1915, no. 7; White 1982, under no. 136; A. Walsh 1985, pp. 222–23, n. 76; Broos 1987a, pp. 190, 209, no. 1198; The Hague 1994–95, no. 34.

EX COLL.: Probably Valerius Röver (1686–1739), Delft, album 22, no. 44; \* S. Feitama, Amsterdam (sold Amsterdam, October 16, 1758, album C, no. 29); G. Hoet (sold The Hague, August 25, 1760, album E, no. 259); N. van Bremen (sold Amsterdam, December 15, 1766, album B, no. 114); H. van Eyl Sluyter (sold Amsterdam, September 16, 1814, album F, no. 7); J. A. G. Weigel, Leipzig (sold Stuttgart, May 15, 1883, no. 762); Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main (6735).

\*Valerius Röver owned a drawing by Potter described as "Two men on horseback near a barn, who are going hunting; black and white chalk on a brown ground; 1646 extra rare" (in album 22, no. 44; see his manuscript catalogue in the University Library, Amsterdam [inv. no. HS A 18]). This can hardly be anything other than the Frankfurt drawing (although one should be aware of the Windsor copy; see above, n. 3). Unfortunately, Röver's collection mark (Lugt 2984a–c) could not be checked because the sheet is pasted down on cardboard (many thanks to Margret Stufmann, who kindly inspected the Frankfurt drawing for me). If the drawing was indeed in the Röver collection in the early eighteenth century, a Feitama provenance going back to 1695 is unlikely (see Broos 1987a, p. 209, no. 1198).



## 122. *Deer in the Wood*

1647

Black chalk, 9 $\frac{7}{16}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (24 x 31.8 cm)

Signed and dated lower left: P. Potter f 1647

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

In a romantic tribute to this work, the eminent scholar and collector I. Q. van Regteren Altena described it as "one of the most astonishing drawings by Paulus Potter, remarkable for the very spiritual touches with which the light and the fine nuances of the foliage are reproduced."<sup>1</sup> Potter had a rare gift for conveying the effect of light shimmering through trees, and he employed it often in his short career in both paintings and drawings—especially in images dating from the late 1640s, when he was a member of the Delft guild.

Also characteristic of the artist is the elegance with which he was able to render a naturalistic scene. The balletic confrontation of the two young bucks in the foreground of this drawing could almost be a design for a heraldic device. The animals' horns, and their legs and bodies as well, play against each other with a gracefulness reminiscent of calligraphy. The trees and the other deer in the wood all serve to set off the main motif: at the right, Potter seems to offer a candid explanation of why bucks spar with each other in the first place. Perhaps he also had in mind some version of the Dutch saying that when two dogs fight over a bone, a third will walk away with it.

Potter's close observation of deer and other animals could only be the outcome of

long and sympathetic study from life. He probably drew deer in the Haagse Bos (Hague Wood), the well-known woodland on the north side of The Hague from which the palace Huis ten Bosch takes its name. This forest, formerly the hunting ground of the counts of Holland, was opened to the public in 1613. A clearing at the edge of the wood, called the Koekamp (cow field), was used by citizens of The Hague to graze their cattle (see Potter's painting of about 1650 in the Louvre).<sup>2</sup> In the same general area was a section of the wood where deer were confined, and it was probably there that Potter made his studies.<sup>3</sup> A drawing representing six deer resting under trees, smaller and much sketchier than the present one, is in the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento; and at least three paintings with deer by Potter are known.<sup>4</sup>

According to Arnold Houbraken, it was reported by the son of Potter's widow (who remarried) that "she never saw her husband idle, and that even when he could spare an hour to go out walking with her he always had a notebook in his pocket, so that he could sketch anything pleasing that caught his eye which he could use in his work."<sup>5</sup> The Rijksmuseum drawing certainly benefited from Potter's sketching out-of-doors; nevertheless,

in finish, scale, and composition it is clearly a product of the studio, a signed and dated work made for the appreciation of a connoisseur.

MCP

1. Amsterdam 1963, p. 53.
2. See Dumas 1991, pp. 177–87, for the Haagse Bos, and p. 179, fig. 6, for the painting in Paris.
3. The Hague 1982a, pp. 7–9, and Veldhuijzen et al. 1984, p. 160. Charles Dumas kindly brought these references to my attention.
4. See The Hague 1994–95, nos. 22–24, and for the Crocker drawing, p. 164, fig. 1.
5. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, p. 129; English translation from The Hague 1994–95, p. 45.

REFERENCES: Hofstede de Groot 1929, p. 146; Göpel 1931, p. 196; Sacramento 1940, under no. 34; Van Gelder 1958a, pp. 39, 96, no. 114; Broos 1987, pp. 192, 257, 260, n. 10; The Hague 1994–95, no. 35.

EXHIBITED: The Hague 1930, no. 85; Amsterdam 1935a, no. 126; Brussels 1937–38, no. 139; Paris 1950–51, no. 147; Paris 1960, no. 151; Amsterdam 1963, no. 67; The Hague 1994–95, no. 35.

EX COLL.: D. de Jongh (sold Rotterdam, March 26, 1810, album C, no. 15, for 39 guilders to Van Leen); (sale, Bellingham Smith et al., at Muller, Amsterdam, July 5, 1927, no. 280, for 3,200 guilders to Ederheimer for Hofstede de Groot); C. Hofstede de Groot (sold at Boerner, Leipzig, November 4, 1931, no. 159; purchased by the Rijksprentenkabinet for 2,700 marks); Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-T-1931-179).





# PIETER CORNELISZ VAN RIJCK

Delft? ca. 1568–after February 17, 1635 Italy?

Few details of Van Rijck's biography are known, and his oeuvre remains largely undefined. According to Karel van Mander, he was a pupil of the successful portraitist Jacob Willemsz Delft the Elder (ca. 1550–1601) but after two months was "taken away from art and for three years was put to other trades."<sup>1</sup> In about 1587 the young man became an apprentice to the Delft portraitist Hubert Jacobsz Grimani (1562/63–1631), and after some six months of introductory training he accompanied his master to Italy. Van Rijck remained there for about fifteen years, Van Mander reports, working "with many different masters and also for many princes, lords, prelates, monks, nuns and all sorts of people, in most parts of Italy, with oil-paint as well as in fresco."<sup>2</sup> The two artists appear to have been especially active in Venice, where Hubert Jacobsz adopted the name of the doge and art patron Marino Grimani (r. 1595–1605).<sup>3</sup> However, Van Rijck may have worked in Rome as well.<sup>4</sup> A drawing inscribed "PVR F Prag in vreden Rijck," or "PVR fecit [made] Prague rich [Rijck] in peacetime," indicates that the artist also visited the Bohemian capital.<sup>5</sup> In 1604 he was back in Holland, working in Haarlem as a painter of portraits and kitchen scenes. The large Kitchen Still Life in the Herzog Anton Ulrich–Museum, Brunswick, inscribed "Petrus van Ryck in. et fecit 1604," and a drawing dated 1605 (cat. no. 123) tend to support Van Mander's statement that the painter had "done much after Bassano's work."<sup>6</sup> Portraits by Van Rijck are also mentioned by Van Mander, but none appears to have survived.

Sometime after September 1, 1605, the painter returned to Italy. He had asked his cousin, the still-life specialist Floris van Dijck (1575–1651), to care for his children and become their guardian should he fail to return. Nothing is known of Van Rijck for the next twenty-seven years; in 1632 and 1635 Van Dijck acted on his cousin's behalf. According to the document of 1635, Van Rijck was still in Italy.<sup>7</sup>

MCP

1. This biography largely depends on Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 450–53 (fols. 298r–v), vol. 6, pp. 102–6, and B. W. Meijer 1999 (which concentrates mainly on Van Rijck and Venice). That Van Rijck "was taken away from art . . ." might be an indication that his parents did not want him to be an artist, as Hessel Miedema suggested (Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 6, p. 103). For the quotation, see vol. 1, pp. 450–51 (fol. 298r).
2. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 452–53 (fol. 298v). On Grimani, see chap. 2, p. 39.
3. In Venice, Van Rijck's activity was probably linked to some extent with that of his master, Huybrecht Jacobsz, as has been suggested recently by B. W. Meijer. Giovanni Grimani (1506–1593), patriarch of Aquileia, might have been the patron of both Delft artists. The Flemish painter Uberto ("Uberto Fian-drese pittore"), who lived for a while as a friend and guest in the Grimani family palace at Santa Maria Formosa in Venice, is almost certainly to be identified with Huybrecht Jacobsz. Grimani, one of the foremost art patrons in Venice, remembered Uberto handsomely in his testament with a legacy of 100 ducats. In the same testament paintings by Pietro Fiandra are mentioned next to those by Uberto di Fiandra. It seems not unlikely that this Pietro was Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck; see B. W. Meijer 1999, pp. 138–39.
4. According to Meijer, Van Rijck is to be identified with the Flemish painter "Pietro Fiammingo," who assisted Giambattista Fiammeri in his decoration of Trinity Chapel in the Roman church Il Gesù; B. W. Meijer 1999, p. 137.
5. Gerszi 1971, no. 218. For more literature on this sheet, see B. W. Meijer 1999, pp. 138–39, fig. 2, p. 149, n. 10.
6. Meaning Jacopo Bassano. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 452–53 (fol. 298v).
7. B. W. Meijer 1999, p. 137. Yet Van Rijck seems to have been back in Holland (for several years?) in the late 1610s and then the early 1620s, as can be deduced from the signed and dated 1621 kitchen

piece in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem, which has hardly any Italianate elements and a much more Northern character than the others; B. W. Meijer 1999, p. 149, n. 4.

## 123. Kitchen Scene with The Supper at Emmaus

1605

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, over lead pencil, 10½ x 16½ in. (26.7 x 41.9 cm)  
Signed lower left: PVR; inscribed over door on left: wie weet oft waer is [Who knows if it is true] / 1605

State Hermitage Museum,  
Saint Petersburg

This drawing from the collection of Catherine the Great represents the sumptuous kitchen of a wealthy household. The entire room overflows with food, and no fewer than nine servants busy themselves. Faced with such profusion, one might overlook the drawing's essential subject in the right background, The Supper at Emmaus. Van Rijck depicts Christ with his hand raised in blessing, just before the moment of recognition. A similar kitchen scene drawn by Van Rijck (location unknown) shows Christ and his disciples as they enter the inn.<sup>1</sup>

The artist is known to have returned to Italy sometime after September 1, 1605 (see his biography above), and thus this drawing, dated 1605, could have been made either in Holland or in Italy. Kitchen scenes of this kind were popular both north and south of the Alps. Van Rijck came from Delft but worked in Italy between about 1588 and 1604, so it is not surprising that the present composition strongly recalls kitchen scenes by Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer while also revealing the influence of Jacopo and Francesco Bassano. Figures like the boy sitting on the floor and the woman working at the



fireplace make one think of the Venetian artists; the attention to detail in the still life (despite the freedom of execution overall) is undoubtedly a trait retained from the artist's early years in the Netherlands. As discussed in chapter 3, the Delft artists Michiel Jansz van Miereveld and Cornelis Delff (ca. 1571–1643; see fig. 104) also painted kitchen still lifes of one kind or another.

Only four drawings are securely ascribed to Van Rijck: the present example, the other Emmaus composition cited above, a signed drawing in Budapest on the subject of Peace,<sup>2</sup> and *The Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.<sup>3</sup>

Several other sheets have been associated with Van Rijck in recent publications, not all of them convincingly.<sup>4</sup> Of those put forward, only *Susanna and the Elders* (Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden) and *Banquet in a Portico* (Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris) display something like the whimsical contours, masklike faces, and broadly washed shadows one would expect of Van Rijck. Our understanding of the artist's work as a draftsman, like that of his painted oeuvre, is still in an early stage.

MCP

1. The drawing, formerly in the Alice M. Kaplan collection, was first published as by Van Rijck in Bantel

1981, no. 35. It is not in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, as is mistakenly stated in New York 1998–99, under no. 48.

2. See the biography above and its n. 4.

3. Inv. no. RP-T-1994-163; Amsterdam 1993, no. 10.

4. See Diederik Bakhuijs in Rouen 1998–99, no. 13, and B. W. Meijer 1999, pp. 144–49.

REFERENCES: Klessmann 1983, p. 182, under no. 205; Amsterdam 1993, under no. 10; Rouen 1998–99, under no. 13; B. W. Meijer 1999, pp. 142–43.

EXHIBITED: Leningrad 1971, no. 85; Dresden 1972, no. 88; Brussels, Rotterdam, Paris 1972–73, no. 93; Leningrad 1974, no. 46; Amsterdam 1991, no. 47; New York 1998–99, no. 48.

EX COLL.: Count Heinrich Brühl (1700–1763), Dresden; acquired by Catherine the Great in 1769; State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (7833).

# HERMAN SAFTLEVEN

Rotterdam 1609–1685 Utrecht

## 124. *View of Delft after the Explosion of the Gunpowder Arsenal in 1654*

1654

Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash on two sheets of paper, 9 3/4 x 29 1/2 in. (24.9 x 74.9 cm)

Signed in monogram and dated lower left: HSL 1654

Inscribed across the top: .De. Stadt. Delft. De. Maend. de. H.M. heere Staten haer Magusijn. tooren op den Maendach voorde middach tussen tiennen en half Elf ueren Den 12 octob: 1654. is in de locht op ge Sprongen Als: A . . . [The City of Delft, where the arsenal tower of the H[igh] and M[ighty] States [of Holland] exploded on Monday between ten and half past ten on October 12, 1654, as A . . .] [For remainder of text, see entry and n. 2.]

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Bequest of Helen Hay Whitney, by exchange, and The Mnuchin Foundation, Mr. and Mrs. David M. Tobey, and Werner H. Kramarsky Gifts, 1995

In this extraordinary document the artist Herman Saftleven, who was living in Utrecht at the time, records the condition of the section of Delft that was devastated when a municipal arsenal exploded on October 12, 1654. Letters mark the main points of interest, which are described in the legend below. It reads, in translation:<sup>1</sup>

A. is the hole or pool 13 feet deep and full of water where the tower had stood when I drew it on October 29 new style.

B. is the Nieuwe Kerk where the glass was destroyed and a large hole torn in the roof and was very damaged, but the coats of arms and sepulchre on his majesty's grave were not damaged.

C. is the Oude Kerk where the glass and the walls were torn away. I saw a remarkable thing in this church that the wall behind the arms of Admiral Tromp was blown away but the arms were not

damaged, also those of Admiral Piet Hein were similarly not damaged.

D. is the place where the Militia Hall stood and also where the maid of the Militia Hall was pulled out fully clothed from under the stones on October 27 so miserable from having been buried.

E. the trees which stand on the city walls were little or not at all damaged.<sup>2</sup>

Saftleven informs us in the legend that he drew the site seventeen days after the catastrophic event. He stationed himself at the northeast corner of the city (see fig. 344, no. 8) and surveyed the scene to the south. The composition is centered on a hole filled with water "13 feet deep" (about 15 or 16 modern feet). This was the site of the secret arsenal, where eighty to ninety thousand pounds of gunpowder had been stored.<sup>3</sup> When the building exploded—an accident that has never been explained—more than two hundred houses were destroyed and another three hundred or so lost their roofs and windows. The Nieuwe

Kerk (behind the trees in the center) and the Oude Kerk appear undamaged, but in fact, all of their stained-glass windows were lost.<sup>4</sup>

While the many pictures of the tragedy by Egbert van der Poel and Daniel Vosmaer (see cat. no. 51; fig. 267) offer poignant details, none of them conveys the scope of the destruction as Saftleven's drawing does. Images like this were uncommon before World War I. The famous poet and dramatist Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) made an attempt to describe the explosion's aftermath in verse, beginning with the observation that "our gunpowder"—in other words, the nation's ally—had become the enemy. He continues:

Like a churchyard full of bodies,  
Crushed, truncated, torn, burned:  
A Chaos, mixed indistinguishably.  
And the moment of moments.  
A century's construction, and a Croesus's  
treasure:  
One spark, one instant and a city is  
destroyed.<sup>5</sup>







Saftleven's straightforward, sketchy technique and the plainness of the panorama seem to indicate that he made the drawing at the site itself. That is unlikely, however. The large dimensions of the sheet of paper (which was cut in two at a later date) would be unwieldy for work done out-of-doors, and the composition as a whole, including the inscriptions, was obviously designed with care. Saftleven probably made several less extensive sketches on location and later transformed them into this sober but forceful work of art.<sup>6</sup>

Saftleven drew other views of cities in later years. He made several conventional townscapes of Utrecht in preparation for an engraving commissioned by the city government in 1669.<sup>7</sup> More reminiscent of the present drawing are his studies of Utrecht churches and houses that were damaged by a tornado in 1674. The sketches, which form two series, have an immediacy similar to that of the present drawing. One of the series was sold to the city of Utrecht in 1682.<sup>8</sup>

It is not known whether Saftleven made

this drawing in connection with a commission or specific project, but the composition strongly resembles those in contemporary broadsheets, which usually contained illustrations and interpretations of political or religious events.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the artist had a particular patron in mind, namely the city of Delft itself. In any case, the drawing's scale and quality suggest that it was intended for a broad public, which the work has finally reached after three and a half centuries in private collections.

MCP

1. Here and throughout this entry the author has relied heavily on C. Logan 1996.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 203, and for the original Dutch text, p. 209, n. 2.
3. According to Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 622; and see pp. 622–34 for his full account of the disaster.
4. The loss was especially lamentable in the Oude Kerk, for which the stained-glass windows had been made in the 1560s by two important artists, Willem Tybaut of Haarlem and Dirck Crabeth of Gouda; see Van Eck and Coebergh-Surie 1997.

5. From "Op het onweder van 's lands bussekruit te Delft." See Vondel 1986, p. 908.
6. As noted in C. Logan 1996, p. 205, Saftleven uses the past tense ("when I drew it") in the inscription under letter A. His omission of any trace of the town hall's tower might also indicate that the final drawing was made in the studio.
7. Schulz 1982, nos. 397, 456; see also Salomonson 1983, pp. 60ff.
8. See Schulz 1982, pp. 91–93.
9. As noted by C. Logan 1996, pp. 208–9, broadsheets also feature a title, an illustration, and an explanatory text.

REFERENCES: Schulz 1982, p. 75, no. 617; Broos 1985, pp. 114, 135, nos. 7a, b; C. Logan 1996; Plomp 1996b, pp. 355–57.

EX COLL.: Possibly Isaac Feitama (d. 1700); Sybrand II Feitama; given away, probably to Jeronimo de Bosch (sold Amsterdam, October 5, 1767, album F, no. 335, to Ottens for 15 guilders); (sale at Christie's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1994, no. 97); [Katrin Bellingier, Munich, 1994]; acquired in 1995 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 1995.197).

125. *The Oostpoort (East Gate)  
at Delft*

ca. 1625–30

Pen and brown ink, 7 1/2 x 12 in.

(19.1 x 30.4 cm)

Inscribed lower right: W. Buyten weech

Musée de l'École Nationale Supérieure des  
Beaux-Arts, Paris

The Oostpoort (East Gate), also known as Saint Catherine's Gate, was the oldest of all the medieval entranceways to Delft. It stood farthest from the fire of 1536 (see fig. 28, bottom) and remains largely intact today. Travelers to Delft coming from the east crossed the wooden bridge on the left, part of which is a drawbridge, and then went through the archway in the step-gabled, houselike front gate. This drawing shows the structure from the rear, the only side without a gable; a drawing attributed to Simon de Vlieger (fig. 319) depicts it from exactly the opposite direction. Once through the front gate, one turned left to go through the Oostpoort proper.<sup>1</sup> Its twin towers flanking the thoroughfare presumably protected the waterway into the city as well as the front gate. Boats from Pynacker and Bleiswijk would have arrived from this direction, carrying vegetables and other products. The mill on the right, unsurprisingly called the East Mill, was used for grinding grain, especially for breweries. Between the gate and the mill the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk marks the heart of the city.<sup>2</sup>

The drawing bears an old inscription, "W. Buyten weech," referring to Willem Buytewech (1591/92–1624), who drew a few comparable cityscapes. Neither the signature nor the style of the drawing supports the identification. In 1933 Jan van Gelder tentatively suggested that the artist was Buytewech's

cousin Jan van de Velde the Younger, and in 1955 he expressed the same view with more conviction.<sup>3</sup> In the present writer's opinion this attribution is convincing, as is Van Gelder's dating of the drawing to about 1625–30.<sup>4</sup> Van de Velde may have had ties to Delft, since his father, a calligrapher, lived there in the late 1580s and early 1590s before moving to Rotterdam and then Haarlem. It is even possible that the artist was born in Delft.<sup>5</sup>

The Oostpoort attracted other talented draftsmen, such as Jan de Bisschop and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (see cat. no. 100; fig. 338). In Van den Eeckhout's drawing and in the one ascribed to De Vlieger (fig. 319) the towers of the Oostpoort are given shorter steeples, an unexpected variation, since no such modification of the structure is known to have occurred. It seems likely that both artists, coincidentally, shortened the steeples for compositional reasons, while Van de Velde—as befits a pioneering landscapist from Haarlem—let the Oostpoort proudly stretch to the sky.<sup>6</sup>

MCP

1. The point of this right-angle approach, according to the implausible explanation in Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 680, is that cannon and musket balls could not be fired through both archways at once.

2. On the topography, see Delft 1981, p. 67; A. I. Davies 1992, no. 14; and Weve 1997, pp. 24, 56–57, 76–77.

3. Van Gelder 1933, no. 282, and Van Gelder 1955, p. 29. Since the nineteenth century and probably for much

longer, the drawing has been preserved in the École des Beaux-Arts together with a similar drawing, *Boats before a City* (Van Gelder 1933, no. 283; Lugt 1950, no. 126, pl. XI). The technique in the two works is comparable and the dimensions are almost the same (the second drawing is 17.5 x 30.4 cm).

Van Gelder 1933, nos. 282, 283, tentatively attributed both drawings to Jan van de Velde the Younger and described the view with boats as also a Delft subject, without explaining why. Copies of both drawings by another hand are noted in Haverkamp-Begemann 1959, nos. 151 and 152, where an attribution of the works to Claes Jansz Visscher, following the lead of Kunstreich (1957, no. 89), is considered plausible. The present writer finds this less convincing than the attribution to Van de Velde, which Haverkamp-Begemann does not dismiss.

4. Compare the execution of drawings by Van de Velde in Berlin, Dresden, and Paris: Van Gelder 1933, nos. 30, 38, and 63, respectively.

5. See the biography in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 320.

6. On Van de Velde's place among landscape artists in Haarlem and Amsterdam, see Brown in London 1986, pp. 173–77.

REFERENCES: Bredius 1922, p. 174 (as by Willem Buytewech); Van Gelder 1933, no. 282 (as possibly by Jan van de Velde); Lugt 1950, no. 125 (as by Willem Buytewech); Van Gelder 1955, p. 29, n. 13 (as by Jan van de Velde); Kunstreich 1957, pp. 84, no. 89, 139 (as probably by Claes Jansz Visscher); Haverkamp-Begemann 1959, no. 151 (as possibly by Claes Jansz Visscher); A. I. Davies 1992, under no. 14.

EXHIBITED: Paris 1955, no. II.

EX COLL.: Jean Masson (1856–1933), Paris; Musée de l'École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris (M 1.593).



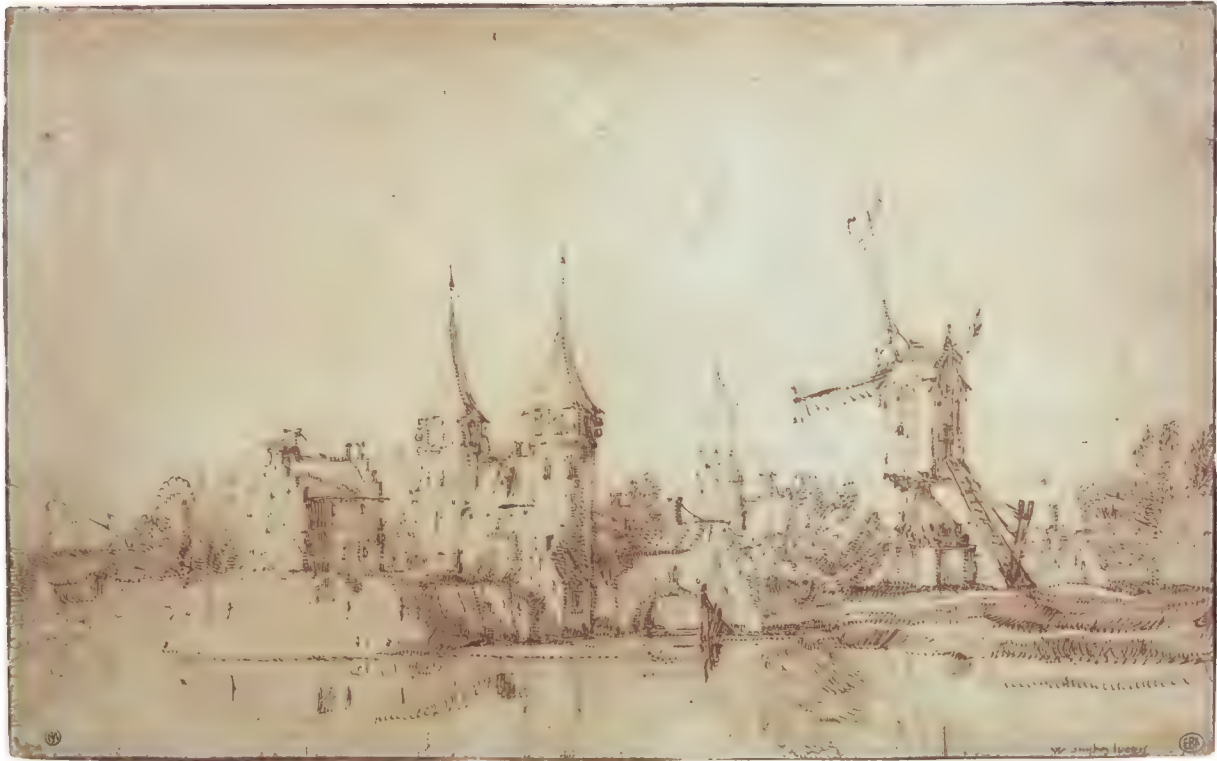


Fig. 319. Simon de Vlieger (?), *The Oostpoort at Delft*, possibly ca. 1650. Black chalk, brush and gray ink, 7½ x 12¼ in. (18.7 x 30.8 cm). Kunsthalle, Bremen

# JOHANNES VERKOLJE

Amsterdam 1650–1693 Delft

See his biography on page 352.

## 126. *Portrait of an Anatomist, Possibly Reinier de Graaf*

Possibly early 1670s

Pen and brown ink, brush and gray ink,  
8 1/4 x 7 7/16 in. (22 x 20.3 cm)

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen,  
Rotterdam

Verkolje moved to Delft shortly after his marriage in October 1672 to a young woman of the city. His fashionable portraits (see cat. nos. 61, 62) reveal that he knew the work of the leading portraitists in Amsterdam and especially The Hague, such as Caspar Netscher and Jan Mijtens. In the early 1680s Verkolje also made engravings in mezzotint after Peter Lely (1618–1680) and Godfrey Kneller (1646/49–1723), which suggests that he may have visited London.

Comparatively few portrait drawings by Verkolje are known. Most of them are executed in pen and brown ink with gray shading, as this example is. The sheet is undoubtedly a compositional study of a kind fairly common at the time (Hendrick Cornelisz van Vliet's sketchbook, cat. no. 128, contains a few modest efforts in the same vein). It seems likely that an artist used such a study not only to work out his ideas for a painted or engraved portrait but also to present them to his patron for approval.

One can imagine that in this case the approach was practical, since portraits of a surgeon standing alone next to a corpse and holding an internal organ were not commonplace (however, compare Van Miereveld's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Willem van der Meer*, cat. no. 45). The doctor is also accompanied by numerous books, a large skeleton, and various anatomical models or specimens.

Whoever the sitter is, this drawing is a testament to the profound interest in medical research that existed in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. The most familiar such figure in Delft is, of course, the microscopist Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), who for a time lived next door to the anatomist Cornelis 's-Gravezande (1631–1691). Van Leeuwenhoek appears as an on-looker in the upper right corner of Cornelis de Man's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. 's-Gravezande* of 1681 (Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft),<sup>1</sup> and independent portraits by Verkolje of both learned gentlemen are known.<sup>2</sup> The present drawing may portray another Delft doctor and anatomist, Reinier de Graaf (1641–1673), who introduced Van Leeuwenhoek to the Royal Society of London.<sup>3</sup> De Graaf, who conducted extensive research on the pancreas and the reproductive organs, must have been a prominent figure in the surgeons' guild in Delft.

It is conceivable that this study was made with a painting in mind, but for such a professional portrait the composition would be extremely unusual. A more plausible hypothesis is that Verkolje had an engraving in mind. On the title page of De Graaf's book on the pancreas (*De succo pancreatico*, 1663), the author appears as an anatomy lecturer with just two observers. The drawing in Rotterdam may have been intended for another publication.<sup>4</sup>

But De Graaf died at the age of thirty-two, in 1673, the same year that Verkolje joined the painters' guild in Delft. MCP

1. Brière-Misme 1935a, pp. 18–19, fig. 8.
2. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Van Leeuwenhoek), and Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft; see Delft 1982–83, fig. 157. Verkolje based a mezzotint on his portrait of Van Leeuwenhoek, while his portrait of 's-Gravezande was engraved by Abraham Bloteling (Hollstein, vol. 35, p. 247, no. 31, ill. [Verkolje]; vol. 2, p. 229, no. 162, ill. [Bloteling]).
3. This identification of the sitter was first advanced in Cetto 1958. As noted by Cetto, De Graaf's features are known from an engraved portrait by Gerard Edelinck after Henri Watel , but since the present drawing is a compositional study, the sitter's identity must remain conjectural.
4. Support for this idea also comes from the woodcut portrait of Andreas Vesalius in his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem* (Basel, 1555); see The Hague 1998–99b, p. 22, fig. 14, for the print (after Johann Stephan von Kalkar).

REFERENCES: Cetto 1958; Wolf-Heidegger and Cetto 1967, no. 268; Delft 1982–83, p. 104; Amsterdam 1993, under no. 86.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1949, no. 864 (as by Samuel van Hoogstraten).

EX COLL.: F. J. O. Boymans (1767–1847); his bequest in 1847 to the Boymans Museum, now the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (NV 5 [pk]).



## 127. *Elegant Company on a Terrace*

ca. 1680

Graphite, pen and brown ink, brush and gray  
ink, 8 1/4 x 8 1/16 in. (22.2 x 20.5 cm)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Genre scenes of this kind, with young couples making music and flirting on terraces or in garden settings, had been popular in Delft and The Hague since the 1620s. They also flourished in Amsterdam during the 1650s in paintings by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Jacob van Loo, and Gerrit Pietersz van Zijl (1619–1665). Verkolje reportedly studied Van Zijl's compositions and even finished a few of them after that painter's death.<sup>1</sup> In large part self-taught, Verkolje drew in various media and styles and was influenced by a range of artists, including Gerard ter Borch's former pupil Caspar Netscher, the highly successful genre painter and portraitist in The Hague. The present work is reminiscent of Netscher's compositions of elegant companies,<sup>2</sup> while other terrace and garden scenes recall drawings by Adriaen van de Velde.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps a reflection of Verkolje's eclecticism that the Rijksmuseum sheet was once ascribed to still another painter and draftsman of elegant portraits and genre scenes, the Amsterdam artist Barent Graat (1628–1709).

However, there can be no doubt about the authorship of this drawing, both for stylistic reasons and because of its obvious relationship to known paintings by Verkolje. To cite only one example: his *Musical Company*, a signed painting in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, features a female violinist in virtually the same pose as the one seen here, also with a

man standing in front of her stilling the instrument's strings.<sup>4</sup> As in the case of his portraits (see cat. no. 126), Verkolje, it is clear, used drawings—such as this one—in preparation for making his paintings.<sup>5</sup> M C P

1. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 3, pp. 282–85.

2. See Wieseman 1991, p. 168, n. 19.

3. For example, the drawings by Verkolje of couples romancing on palace grounds, reproduced in Bernt 1957–58, vol. 2, nos. 624, 625. See also Rennes 1981–82, no. 91.

4. For the painting in Stockholm, see Nationalmuseum 1990, p. 371, no. NM1392. Other paintings by or after Verkolje also include similar figures, but these have not been seen in some time: for example, a *Musical Company* was sold at Van Marle and Bignell, The Hague, on September 1, 1942, no. 30, ill., and another was with a Wiesbaden dealer in the 1960s (photograph at the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague).

5. Similarly, the composition of a drawing in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, is repeated in a painting of an elegant company making music on a terrace (see chap. 6, figs. 199, 200); and a drawing of a lady at her toilet (Houthakker sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 25, 1992, no. 568) was the basis for a painting sold in Cologne (Kunsthau am Museum, Cologne, May 15, 1963, no. 1054a, wrongly as by Netscher) (as entered in the photographic files of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, by an anonymous scholar).

EX COLL.: Jacob de Vos Jbzn (sold Amsterdam, May 22, 1883, no. 217, as by Barent Graat, bought by the Vereniging Rembrandt); acquired from the Vereniging Rembrandt in 1883 by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RPT-1884-A340).







# HENDRICK CORNELISZ VAN VLIET

Delft 1611/12–1675 Delft

See his biography on page 407.

## 128. Sketchbook

1655–65

Black, white, and red chalk on nineteen leaves of blue paper, each  $10\frac{3}{16} \times 8\frac{3}{16}$  in. (27.5 x 22 cm)

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam

Seventeenth-century sketchbooks and similar ensembles of preparatory material are now extremely rare; some examples by landscape painters survive, but there are hardly any others.<sup>1</sup> The present sketchbook is a welcome exception. Its nineteen leaves of blue paper have drawings on both sides, a total of thirty-eight sketches in black and white chalk, with red chalk as well on four of the sketches. While the great majority of the images are portraits, there are also three sketches of church interiors, a drawing of a pulpit, and one of a grave board. Finally, four sides are devoted to studies of staffage, or figures, like those Van Vliet placed within church interiors in his paintings. Unfortunately, the sketchbook is not in its original binding, nor is the sequence of pages original.<sup>2</sup>

The sketchbook sheds a somewhat different light on the artist's character from that cast by his paintings. The drawings reveal a quick and occasionally virtuoso hand. Moreover, our knowledge of Van Vliet as a portraitist is considerably amplified. Perhaps two dozen painted portraits by the artist have been identified. The sketchbook includes twenty-nine ideas for (or records of) portrait compositions, and thirteen of the portrait sketches show two or more figures, with settings such as terraces, gardens, and patrician interiors. Among Van Vliet's painted portraits only two group portraits are known, the Van der Dussen family portrait of 1640 (cat. no. 80) and a *portrait historié* of the Van Wageningen family painted in 1654 (fig. 320).<sup>3</sup> While studies for these two pictures are not found in the Rotterdam sketchbook, which probably dates from slightly later than 1654, affinities to

known portraits can be seen in a number of details. Finally, it is especially noteworthy that half of the twelve group portrait compositions include pastoral elements (see 128a). The fashion for such motifs flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century, not least in Delft, where Anthonie Palamedesz and Christiaan van Couwenbergh followed the trend (see fig. 53).<sup>4</sup> Van Vliet, too, added pastoral touches, such as sheep, dogs, and falcons, especially when making paintings of children.

The function of the portrait drawings is not entirely clear. It would appear that at least some of them are ideas for compositions: with such a sketchbook in his pocket, Van Vliet could have shown clients a variety of possibilities. Some of the portrait drawings are more

finished than others (compare 128b and 128a), perhaps because in those cases commissions had been secured. But the matter requires further consideration and may be less puzzling when a greater number of Van Vliet's painted portraits become known.<sup>5</sup>

The four pages with figure studies are less problematic. In each case similar figures can be found in paintings of church interiors by Van Vliet.<sup>6</sup> For example, a little sketch of a man speaking with a gravedigger, one of Van Vliet's most familiar motifs (see cat. no. 81), clearly corresponds to figures in a 1662 painting of the Oude Kerk, Delft, now in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe. The same painting has figures in the background that surely were based on studies found on



Fig. 320. Hendrick van Vliet, *Portrait of the Family van Wageningen*, 1654. Oil on canvas,  $45\frac{1}{4} \times 75\frac{1}{4}$  in. (115 x 192 cm). Dekema State (Stichting Old Burgerweeshuis), Jelsum (Friesland)



128a

another page of the sketchbook. Most obvious is the connection between a drawing of fighting youngsters and other boys (128d) and a painting in Munich (fig. 321). Finally, a couple strolling with a child and a standing soldier on the fourth page of figure studies in this sketchbook were utilized in Van Vliet's canvas of 1661, *The Tomb of Admiral Jacob van Wassenaer in the Choir of the Jacobskerk in The Hague* (Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine).<sup>7</sup> The directness of observation and

freedom of execution that characterize these figure studies suggest that the artist drew them mostly from life.

The two architectural studies seen here represent views in the Nieuwe Kerk, Delft (128c); the one on the left corresponds to a painting of 1655 in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow.<sup>8</sup> It should be noted, however, that Van Vliet produced many closely related pictures, so the page probably should not be regarded as a study for a particular work.

Indeed, the third, quite summary drawing of a church interior in the sketchbook and the study of a pulpit seem to indicate that Van Vliet was simply considering various views and motifs found in the church itself.<sup>9</sup>

Van Vliet must have made many more drawings of the kind preserved in the Rotterdam sketchbook. His paintings of Delft church interiors include a great number of rather faithful details. He also must have made finished compositional studies; two



128b

possible such drawings are now in a New York collection (see cat. no. 129). Clearly a large quantity of working material has been lost, a conclusion underscored by two very different bodies of evidence: the numerous on-site sketches and construction drawings by Pieter Saenredam that survive<sup>10</sup> and the nearly unique example of the Rotterdam sketchbook by Van Vliet. MCP

1. For sketchbooks by Jan van Goyen, see Buijsen 1993 and Leiden 1996–97, pp. 22–37. A sketchbook by Pieter Moninx also survives; see Amsterdam, Ghent 1982–83, p. 27.

2. The fact that there are imprints of certain drawings but the drawings adjacent to them are now different indicates that the present sequence of pages is not the original one. The sketchbook may also be incomplete. When the museum bought the sketches in 1910 they were probably rebound; see Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 316.

3. For the Van Wageningen painting, see Moes 1897–1905, vol. 2, p. 569, no. 882. The picture presently belongs to the Stichting Dekema State and has been conserved at the Stichting Kollektief Restauratieatelier, Amsterdam. Claas Hulshoff of the latter institution kindly allowed me to examine the work. The attribution of another family portrait to Hendrick van Vliet is uncertain; see the sale catalogue, Fischer, Lucerne, November 9–16, 1982, no. 2720, ill.

4. As discussed in chap. 3. See also Utrecht, Frankfurt, Luxembourg 1993–94, pp. 96, 285. For a pastoral

family portrait by Anthonie Palamedesz, see Ekkart 1995, no. 53. An example by Jacob Willemsz Delft the Younger is in the Stedelijk Museum Het Catharina-Gasthuis, Gouda (inv. no. 55.124).

5. Another possibility is that Van Vliet's drawings record portraits he had already painted, as suggested in Liedtke 1982a, p. 60, n. 4. Catalogues of that type were compiled by Caspar Netscher (see Wieseman 1991, pp. 152–58), Daniel de Blicck (see Buijsen 1995 and Liedtke 2000, pp. 104–6), and, most famously, Claude Lorrain. Of course, such *ricordi* might have served as *modelli* for future commissions.

6. As Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, no. 73, was the first to observe.

7. Liedtke 1982a, p. 110, no. 132, fig. 62.

8. As noted in *ibid.*, p. 60, n. 4, and by Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 70, respectively.

9. These two sentences were added at Walter Liedtke's suggestion.

10. Schwartz and Bok 1990 and Plomp 2000–2001.

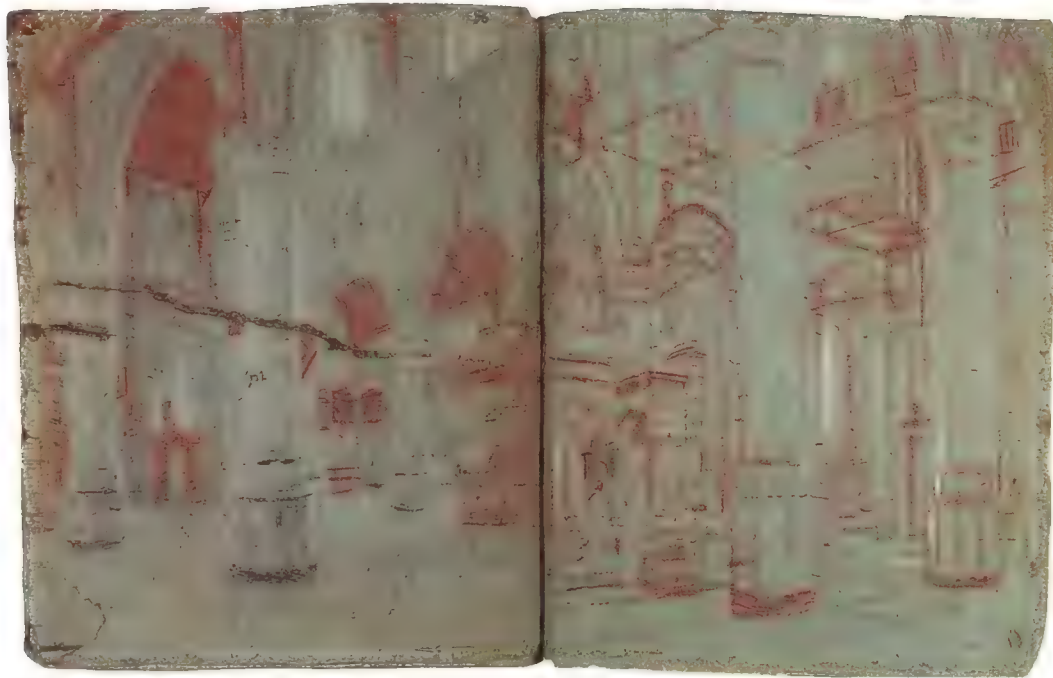
REFERENCES: Liedtke 1982a, p. 60, n. 4; Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 215, no. 73; Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 70; Plomp in Osaka 2000, p. 74.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam 1991, no. 73.

EX COLL.: Acquired by the Boymans Museum (now the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen), Rotterdam, in 1910 (H.v.V. 1).



Fig. 321. Hendrick van Vliet, *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft*, probably ca. 1660. Oil on wood, 16¼ x 13 in. (41 x 33 cm) Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich



128c



128d



Attributed to HENDRICK CORNELISZ VAN VLIET  
Delft 1611/12–1675 Delft

129. *Interior of the Oude Kerk,  
Delft (View of the Nave to  
the West)*

ca. 1660–65  
Graphite, pen and brown ink, squared in  
graphite, 7¼ x 11¼ in. (18.4 x 28.5 cm)  
Eric Noah, New York

This rare and impressive drawing represents a view westward from the crossing in the Oude Kerk. The organ and organ loft on the west entrance wall, the familiar pulpit (see fig. 34), the chandeliers, benches, grave boards, floor tiles, tombstones, and many other details are rendered with great precision. The drawing is squared for transfer to another surface, presumably a prepared panel or canvas.

This drawing first became known in the 1970s. In 1991 a very similar drawing of the Nieuwe Kerk (fig. 322), of nearly the same size, turned up at auction and was acquired by the same collector. Construction drawings of this kind must have been made by many architectural painters, such as Gerard Houckgeest, Anthonie de Lorme, Daniel de Blicke, and others. Pieter Saenredam's preliminary drawings are the same size as his painted panels and are blackened on the verso and traced.<sup>1</sup> If the present work is a preparatory drawing by Van Vliet, it seems that he employed a similar method but transferred his designs by using a network of squares.

This drawing and the similar one in the same collection are considered autograph Van Vliets by Walter Liedtke. However, he agrees that the two sheets cannot be ascribed to Van Vliet with certainty, since the only other known architectural drawings by Van

Vliet are the very different studies in the Rotterdam sketchbook (cat. no. 128). It is true that the construction drawings come closer to known compositions by Van Vliet than to the work of any other artist, including Cornelis de Man (see cat. no. 41).<sup>2</sup> But the question is complicated by the fact that Van Vliet's approach to the subject of church interiors influenced several artists in the southern part of Holland and even Job Berckheyde in Haarlem.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the works of these artists were occasionally copied or imitated by eighteenth-century masters about whom very little is known. Still, nothing specific about the present drawing points to an origin outside Van Vliet's studio in the 1660s, and the drawing vividly records the appearance of the venerable Oude Kerk at about that time.

MCP

1. See Liedtke 1971; Schwartz and Bok 1990, chap. 6; and Plomp 2000–2001.

2. The present drawing is related to Van Vliet paintings of the early 1660s in Liedtke 1982a, p. 66, and Liedtke 2000, p. 105.

3. On Van Vliet's influence, see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 68–75.

REFERENCES: Liedtke 1982a, p. 66; Van Biezen 1995, vol. 1, pp. 169, 342–43; Liedtke 2000, pp. 105, 135.

EX COLL.: [B. Houthakker, Amsterdam, 1974]; (sold at Christie's, Amsterdam, November 25, 1992, no. 589); the present owner.



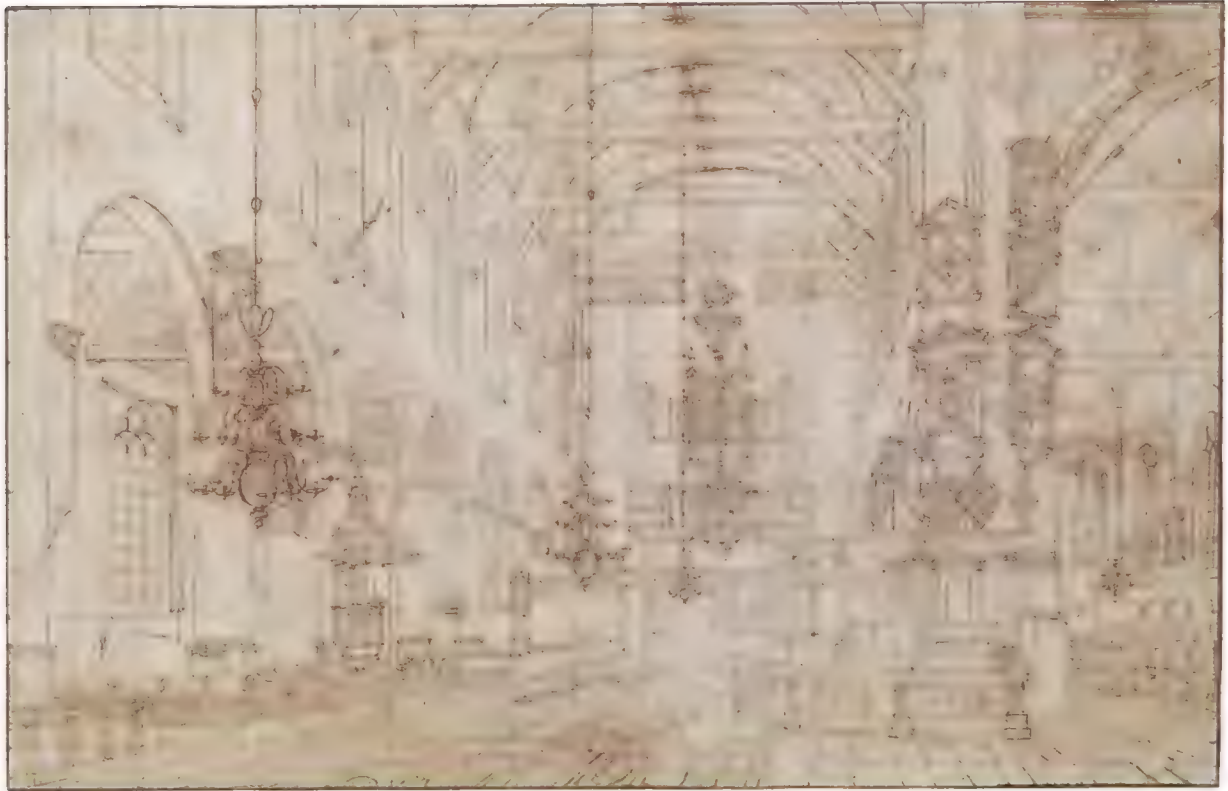


Fig. 322. Attributed to Hendrick van Vliet, *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk (View of the Nave to the West)*, ca. 1660–65. Graphite, pen and brown ink, squared in graphite,  $7\frac{1}{16}$  x  $11\frac{1}{16}$  in. (17.9 x 28.1 cm). Eric Noah, New York



## JACOB WOUTERSZ VOSMAER

Delft ca. 1584–1641 Delft

See his biography on page 425.

### 130. *Landscape with a Tall Tree on the Right*

1641

Black chalk, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 9 $\frac{1}{16}$  in. (17.5 x 23 cm)

Signed (the first two letters interlaced) and dated upper left, in graphite: J Vosmaer 1641

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Vosmaer came from an important family of Delft artists. His brother Arent was also a painter, and Arent's three sons, Abraham, Daniel, and Nicolaes, entered the same profession, as still-life, cityscape, and marine painters, respectively. Curiously, all the Vosmaers are now somewhat obscure, with

the possible exception of Daniel (see his biography on p. 421). The little we know of Jacob Vosmaer comes in good part from Dirck van Bleyswijck, who wrote that the artist began his career as a landscapist.<sup>1</sup> On the basis of that statement and the old-fashioned style, one might assume that the present drawing is an early work, were it not for the date: 1641, the last year of Vosmaer's life. However, at least two pieces of circumstantial evidence support the hard evidence of the inscription. First, "a landscape by the Major Vosmaer" (he was captain major of a civic-guard company) was mentioned in 1653 as being in the collection of the Delft burgomaster Joost van Adrichem.<sup>2</sup> Second, landscapists in Delft, such as Jacob van Geel, Pieter Groenewegen,

and others, showed little inclination to break with the past. For that matter, the charmingly archaic quality of this drawing is reminiscent of prints made by Jan van de Velde the Younger during the 1620s and 1630s.<sup>3</sup> In any case, Vosmaer himself found nothing amiss, to judge from the careful execution of this work and its signature and date. MCP

1. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 848.

2. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 4, p. 1440.

3. As noted by Schapelhoutman in Schapelhoutman and Scharborn 1998, no. 432.

REFERENCE: Schapelhoutman and Scharborn 1998, no. 432.

EX COLL.: J. H. J. Mellaart, Scheveningen; his gift in 1941 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RPT-1941-49).

# WILLEM JACOBSZ DELFF

Delft 1580–1638 Delft

See his biography on page 466.

## 131. *Portrait of Maurits, Prince of Orange-Nassau (1567–1625)*

## 132. *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick, Prince of Orange-Nassau (1584–1647)*

1619; third state (first state 1618)

Engravings, each 16 1/4 x 12 1/4 in. (41.5 x 31.1 cm), printed on silk satin

Cat. no. 131 inscribed in the image, lower left: A V Venne/ Pinxit./ W Delphus/ sculps; inscribed in the legend: Mauritius D. G. Princeps Aulicae; Comes Nassaviae . . . Gubernator et Praefectus Confaederatarum provinciarum Gelriae, Hollandiae, Zelandiae, Westfrisia, Zutphania, Vltracti . . . Eques Regij Ordinis Jarterij. [Maurits, Prince of Orange; Count of Nassau . . . stadholder and commander-in-chief of the United Provinces of Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, West Friesland, Overijssel, Utrecht . . . Knight of the Garter.] Cum Privilegio sexennio Ord. Conf. Prov. I. P. vande Venne excu. Middelburgensis. 1618.

Cat. no. 132 inscribed in the image, lower right: Av [in monogram]Venne in./ W Delphus sc.; inscribed in the legend: Henricus Fredericus origine Princeps Aulicae; Comes Nassavia . . . Hondsholredijkiae etc. Praefectus equitatis universi confaederatarum Provinciarum. [Frederick Hendrick, hereditary Prince of Orange; Count of Nassau . . . Honselaarsdijk etc. Commander-in-chief of the combined cavalry of the United Provinces.] Cum Privilegio sexennio/ Ord. Conf. Prov./ I. P. vande Venne exc./ Middelburgensis. 1618.

The Hearn Family Trust

These two impressive engravings, printed on silk satin, date from 1618 and represent William the Silent's two surviving sons (Philips Willem van Nassau, William's son by his first wife, died in 1618). Maurits, whose mother was William the Silent's second wife, Anna of Saxony (1544–1577), became Prince of Orange-Nassau at his half brother's death. As stadholder of the States of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Gelderland and captain general of the Dutch army he led the United Provinces in its war of liberation from Spain. In 1618, however, the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21) was in force, and the nation's future seemed fairly secure. Frederick Hendrick, Maurits's other half brother, was seventeen years younger; his mother was William the Silent's fourth wife, Louise de Coligny (1555–1620). After an excellent military training wisely supervised by Maurits, in 1603, at the age of nineteen, he became general of the Dutch cavalry. When Maurits died in 1625, Frederick Hendrick inherited the title of Prince of Orange-Nassau and was appointed stadholder of the five provinces mentioned above (Groningen followed in 1640).

Portraits of the two princes had been painted by Michiel van Miereveld in 1607 and in about 1610 (see cat. nos. 43, 44). The two prints seen here, however, made by Van Miereveld's son-in-law (as of 1618), were engraved after portraits by Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662), the Delft-born artist who worked in Middelburg from about 1605 until

1625, when he moved to The Hague. In 1618 Van de Venne began collaborating with his brother Jan Pietersz van de Venne, the proprietor of a successful printing business in Middelburg (which sold paintings as well as book and prints).<sup>1</sup> The Van de Vennes were acquainted with Jacques de Gheyn the Younger, who since 1597 had worked for the States of Holland and the stadholder's court.<sup>2</sup> Polychrome paintings by Adriaen van de Venne dating from about 1614 to 1618 that include depictions of Prince Maurits and his relatives in outdoor settings testify to the artist's support for the House of Orange and suggest that he was already appreciated in court circles during those years.<sup>3</sup> In any case, in or shortly before 1618 Adriaen painted portraits of Maurits and Frederick Hendrick that apparently hung at Honselaarsdijk, passed to the king of Prussia in 1702, and now are lost.<sup>4</sup> A remark made by Cornelis de Bie in 1661 has been taken to indicate that the lost portraits were painted in grisaille, which would suggest that they were made expressly to be engraved. However, it is also possible that the original models were conventional paintings; these probably would have been copied (in reverse) in drawings, which Delft would have carefully duplicated on the copperplates.<sup>5</sup>

Jan van de Venne published the two prints in 1618 and again in 1623, with the permission of the States General. On April 16, 1619, the Van de Venne brothers were paid 300 guilders



Fig. 323. Adriaen van de Venne, *The Printing Shop*, Middelburg, 1623. Oil on wood, 18 1/4 x 30 in. (46.5 x 76.2 cm). Private collection, London



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for twenty-five impressions of both portraits, printed on satin.<sup>6</sup> These were evidently intended for presentation as diplomatic gifts.<sup>7</sup> In 1623 Jan van de Venne also published Delft's engraving after Adriaen van de Venne's portrait of William the Silent (see fig. 42), which was intended to complete a suite of three portraits all including similar accessories—batons, swords, suits of armor, and so on—and with analogous views in the backgrounds. The Ridderzaal (Knights' Hall) in the Binnenhof at The Hague, with its captured Spanish flags, is featured in the background of the portrait of Maurits, along with guards

and a dog (no doubt suggesting fidelity to the prince).<sup>8</sup> The churches in the background of Frederick Hendrick's portrait appear to be those of Delft; the view through an arcade in the portrait of William the Silent is an equally imprecise rendition of the court buildings and Stadholder's Quarters at The Hague.

Portrait prints were common currency in diplomatic circles, but these rare impressions would have seemed to contemporaries like bars of silver in a heap of copperplates. The satin cloth, reminiscent of luxurious damask, wonderfully complements the tonal subtleties of Delft's fine engraving, which even on paper

achieves subtle shadows and a silky sheen. In the stadholders' costumes, made of silk or satin embellished by an extravagant amount of gold thread,<sup>9</sup> the satin support of the print creates a *trompe-l'oeil* effect.

In 1623 Adriaen van de Venne painted an interior view of his brother Jan's printing shop in Middelburg (fig. 323). Hanging on the right-hand wall from left to right are Delft's portrait prints of Maurits, William the Silent, and Frederick Hendrick, and his engraving of the "Nassau Cavalcade" (1621; see cat. no. 133). Below those prints, all of which were protected by privileges granted by the





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States General, is an impression of *The Synod of Dordrecht 1618–19*, which was engraved after Adriaen van de Venne, provided with a poem by Jacob Cats, and published by Jan van de Venne in 1619.<sup>10</sup> These political images express loyalty to the House of Orange-Nassau, of course, but also, undoubtedly, artistic pride.

WL

1. See Bol 1989, chap. 9, and The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 255–62.
2. However, Jan van de Venne was not married to De Gheyn's sister or daughter, as is often stated; see Royaltion-Kisch 1988, p. 118, n. 21.
3. See *ibid.*, pp. 42–48.

4. Bol 1989, p. 69.

5. See Gerdien Wuestman's entry for Delft's print of Frederick Hendrick in Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 263. De Bie 1661, p. 234, says that Adriaen van de Venne "painted in white [and] in black the entire line of the house of Nassau from the old prince Willem to the present prince" (see Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 592, n. 3, under no. 263, for the quotation in Dutch and a slightly different translation). This does not resolve the matter (as Wuestman implies it does), since a conventional painted portrait of Maurits corresponding to Delft's print is preserved in The House of Orange-Nassau Historic Collections Trust, The Hague (The Hague 1997–98b, p. 206, fig. 185), and Van de Venne appears to have begun painting grisailles only in the mid-1620s (see Royaltion-Kisch 1988, p. 49). The quality of the painting in The Hague is clearly that of an old copy or workshop

replica (despite the fact that the work is described as autograph in Royaltion-Kisch 1988, pp. 62, 121, n. 93, with no explanation). It could have been made after Delft's print, but it may also repeat a conventional portrait; the dog seen in the background of the print does not appear in the painting, and there are other minor differences. Curiously enough, the printed portrait of Maurits is inscribed "A V Venne Pinxit," which usually indicates an original painting, whereas the printed portrait of Frederick Hendrick is inscribed "A v Venne in," implying only that Van de Venne invented the composition (the "invention" usually took the form of a drawing, although a grisaille or even a conventional painting might have been meant). Delft's engraving after Van de Venne's portrait of William the Silent (fig. 42) is inscribed "A: vande Venne pinxit," but no painting of any kind is known.



6. In Bol 1989, p. 69, the amount is given as 300 English pounds and the source is cited simply as "Resolutions of the States General." In the actual transaction document, published in Obreen 1877–90, vol. 2, p. 108, the stated amount is "Drye hondert ponden van xl. grooten 't stuk" (300 "pounds," each of 40 *grooten*). A "groot" was a half-stuiver, and there were twenty stuivers in a guilder (see Montias 1982, p. xvii); thus the 300 "pounds" were 300 guilders. In 1621 a smaller order was placed by the city of Middelburg; see Royaltan-Kisch 1988, p. 124, n. 160.

7. As is stated, without reference to any source, in Bol 1989, p. 69. In Franken 1872, pp. 54–55, it is noted that each current representative of the States General received a pair of the prints on satin, additional prints were given to the princes themselves, and others on paper were given to friends of the Van de Vennes. These were the only impressions that could bear the privilege of 1619.

8. The hall appears to be filled with sales counters and a crowd of ordinary people, not members of the government. Compare this detail to Aegidius Sadeler's engraving *The Great Hall of the Castle at Prague*, 1607 (impression in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

9. See Groeneweg's discussion in *The Hague* 1997–98b, p. 206.

10. Royaltan-Kisch 1988, pp. 39, 61, 124, n. 154, fig. 19.

REFERENCES: Hollstein, vol. 5, pp. 193, no. 57 (*Maurits*), 196, no. 60 (*Frederick Hendrick*); Royaltan-Kisch 1988, p. 62 (*Frederick Hendrick*, first state before letters, 1618); Bol 1989, pp. 67, 69; Gerdien Wuestman in Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 263 (*Frederick Hendrick*).

EX COLL.: Private collection, England; [Hill-Stone Inc., New York, in 1995]; the present owner.

### 133. *Cavalcade of Eleven Princes of Orange-Nassau*

1621

Engraving (second state), 16 1/4 x 22 1/16 in. (42.5 x 56 cm)

Inscribed lower center, in cartouche:  
Adrianus Vennius Inventor; lower left:  
W: Delft sculpsit. I. P. Vennius exc.

Middelb.[urg] 1621 Cum Privilegio sex ennio  
Ord. Conf. Prov.

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

This large engraving representing a cavalcade of Dutch princes conforms to a type of dynastic portraiture that was fairly well established in the Netherlands by the first quarter of the seventeenth century (compare Hendrick Pacx's painting, fig. 6). The riders in the foreground are the three sons of William the Silent, from left to right, Maurits, Philips Willem, and Frederick Hendrick (compare fig. 155). Their coats of arms hang from the tree on the left. Between the first two princes is Willem Lodewijk (1560–1620), count of Nassau and stadholder of Friesland.<sup>1</sup>

While equestrian portraits of rulers may be traced back to ancient times, the cavalcade of princely figures was an essentially Netherlandish convention dating back to the early sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> By the 1620s Dutch artists treated the subject as if it were an actual event taking place in The Hague—recognizable here because of the Jacobskerk in the background. However, two of the horsemen, Philips Willem and Willem Lodewijk, would have been dead in the saddle in 1621, the date inscribed on this print.

Delft's engraving reproduces a composition by Adriaen van de Venne, the gifted portraitist, painter of proverbs, and chronicler of courtly society (see also the discussion under cat. nos. 131, 132). It has been suggested that the print was based directly upon a painting by Van de Venne in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, but this hypothesis is not convincing, given the number of differences in the figures and backgrounds of the two works.<sup>3</sup> It seems more likely that both compositions derive from a finished drawing by Van de Venne. A fair number of images

depend upon the original invention, including paintings in which Frederick V, the Winter King, joins the group.<sup>4</sup>

The States General purchased several impressions of this print as well as engraved portraits of Maurits and Frederick Hendrick (see cat. nos. 131, 132). The portraits were printed on satin, as specified in the order; in the case of the *Cavalcade* such a request is unknown. However, impressions of the *Cavalcade* on satin survive, two of them in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The commissions do not refer to Delft but only to Van de Venne and his brother Jan Pietersz, who also published this engraving in Middelburg. Nevertheless, the government had a high regard for Delft's work. In 1622 he was granted a privilege protecting his prints from plagiarists and was required to deposit one impression of each print with the States General. Despite this authorization, pirated copies are known.<sup>5</sup>

MCP

1. The horsemen in the second row are probably to be identified, from left to right, as: Ernst Casimir, count of Nassau-Dietz (1573–1632); Johan II, count of Nassau-Siegen (1583–1638); unknown; Willem Lodewijk, count of Nassau (1560–1620); Philip, count of Nassau-Dillenburg (1566–1585); and Johan Louis, count of Nassau-Hadamar (1590–1633) (or Johann Ernst, count of Nassau); see also Royaltan-Kisch 1988, p. 124, n. 161. As was pointed out to me by M. D. Haga of the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, the names underneath the print do not clearly relate to the image.

2. See Dumas 1991, p. 655, where the contributions of Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen and Lucas van Leyden are noted. For a history of equestrian portraits and monuments, see Liedtke 1989.

3. See Bol 1989, p. 69, fig. 58.

4. See Dumas 1991, pp. 655, 659, n. 56.

5. As noted in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 304.

REFERENCES: Franken 1872, no. 95; Hollstein, vol. 5, p. 231, no. 95; Royaltan-Kisch 1988, pp. 62–63; Dumas 1991, p. 655.

EX COLL.: Unknown collection; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-76.729).



## JOHANNES DE RAM

Amsterdam 1647/48–1696 Amsterdam

and

## COENRAET DECKER

Amsterdam 1651–1685 Amsterdam

### 134. *Map and Profile of Delft*

1703 or 1752 (original version 1678);  
frame, 1678  
Etching and engraving, 43 $\frac{3}{16}$  x 49 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.  
(109.8 x 126 cm); frame, gilt limewood,  
58 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 60 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (149 x 154.4 cm)

### 135. *Nine Images of Public Buildings in Delft*

1729 (original version 1678); frame, 1678  
Etching and engraving, 22 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 32 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.  
(56 x 83 cm); frame, gilt limewood,  
35 $\frac{1}{16}$  x 44 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (91 x 114 cm)

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk  
Museum Het Prinsenhof

In 1675 the former burgomaster and unofficial city historian Dirck van Bleyswijck (1639–1681) was commissioned by the municipal government of Delft to produce a plan of the city, accompanied by engraved cityscapes and depictions of important buildings. Printed ensembles of this kind expressed civic pride but were also promotional, being presented to other city governments and to foreign diplomats.<sup>1</sup> The burgomasters who commissioned this work may also have been reacting to a map of the Maas River delta published by Jacob Quack in 1665 in Rotterdam, in which the port city is featured prominently and Delft is reduced to a supporting role.

The plan of Delft, called the *Kaart Figuratief* (Illustrated Map), was engraved by Johannes de Ram and Coenraet Decker (after designs by Johannes Verkolje, Pieter van Asch, and Herman Witmont; see p. 190) and was published by Pieter Smith in 1678 under Van Bleyswijck's supervision.<sup>2</sup> The completed work consisted of a plan, or bird's-eye view, of Delft, with all the buildings seen foreshortened; city profiles of Delft and the

harbor town of Delfshaven; twenty-two images of individual buildings; two smaller plans of Delfshaven and nearby Overschie; eight family crests of the Delft burgomasters who were in office at the time; and a short text describing the city. The parts were designed to form a monumental ensemble, but smaller configurations could also be arranged.

De Ram etched the plan of Delft (cat. no. 134), while Decker was responsible for all the pictorial elements, including the large insets in the upper corners of the plan itself: the crest of the *Groote Visserij* (Large Fishing Industry) at the upper left and the elaborately framed map of Delfland at the upper right (compare fig. 20). These embellishments were obviously propagandistic. Delft wished to present itself as an important seaport, and Delfshaven was part of the municipality. Moreover, Delft was the headquarters of the Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland, the commission that exercised authority over all the waterways in the region. These distinctions served as a resounding rebuttal to upstart Rotterdam. Finally, at the lower right, three cheerful male figures sitting in a pile of goods represent the city's two major products, faience and cloth (beer, it should be noted, is no longer "on the map").

Ram's plan was reprinted in 1703 and again in 1752. For the reprint of 1703 the plan was revised to reflect changes made to streets and buildings and also to change some of the family crests of the burgomasters. First editions of the *Kaart Figuratief* are extremely rare, understandably enough, since the print became outdated and also yellowed from years of exposure.<sup>3</sup> The reprinting of 1752 was unrevised, and therefore it is impossible to say whether the present example dates from that year or from 1703.

In 1678, when the *Kaart Figuratief* first rolled off the presses, the burgomasters asked Van Bleyswijck to commission several frames for various combinations of the print

ensemble to be displayed in the town hall.

Steven de Swart (1642–1709), a woodcarver, and Joris Arentsz van Cleef (dates unknown), a painter and gilder, made eleven elaborate frames. Three of these have survived, and two are exhibited here.<sup>4</sup> Each frame carried imagery that referred to the room in which it was intended to hang; Van Bleyswijck described the entire program in the second volume of his *Beschryvinge*, which came out in 1680.<sup>5</sup> The two frames in the present exhibition originally hung in the Schepenenkamer (Aldermen's Chamber). On the frame for the city plan, the sun at the top center is explained in Latin: *Sol iustitiae illustra nos* (The sun of justice shines on us). The scroll is inscribed *Diligite iustitiam qui iudicatis terram* (Love justice, you who judge the people of the earth). The law is represented by the tablets of the Ten Commandments on the left and by books of Roman civil law and modern law on the right. Also displayed on the frame are an assortment of swords, shackles, chains, a whip, and other sobering motifs. The death sentence is symbolized at bottom center, where a line from Virgil is also quoted: *Discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere deos* (Learn to dispense justice and do not scorn the gods).

The nine engravings of buildings or places in Delft (cat. no. 135) occupy another frame. These prints, reading from left to right and beginning in the top row, represent the fish market and meat hall; the Gemeenlandshuis of the Hoogheemraadschap van Delfland; the Waterslootse Gate; the Doelen (civic-guard headquarters); the town hall; the pesthouse; the armory; the horse market, with the municipal stables and artillery depot; and the new gunpowder magazine. Not featured, understandably, is the "Secret of Holland"—the gunpowder magazine that had blown up in 1654. The storehouse that replaced it, designed by Pieter Post, was built on the river Schie about one and a half kilometers







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outside the city walls.<sup>6</sup> The horse market occupied an area that the explosion cleared.

The frame for this ensemble, crowned by a wreath of oak leaves and olive branches, presents an allegory of war and peace. Pax (Peace) stands at the left with a palm frond, and Bellona, the sister of Mars, holds a lance at the right. The scroll at the top reads *Justitia magistratum pax est populorum* (The magistrates' justice means peace for the people). The lion, sleeping with its eyes open, stands for vigilance, while the mask refers to "blind" justice. Mercury's attributes, a winged helmet and a caduceus, seen at the right, pay tribute

to the eloquence of lawyers. At the bottom, a scroll wrapped around weapons reads *Silent leges inter arma* (During war the law is mute). And Medusa's shield bears the words *Cedant arma togae: concedant laurea linguae* (Victory through wisdom and eloquence is greater than victory with arms).

MCP

1. See Weve 1997, passim. For this type of Illustrated Map, see Dumas 1991, pp. 222–26.
2. See Fockema Andreae 1967 and Weve 1997, pp. 24–25.
3. A copy of the first edition is preserved in the Gemeentearchief, Delft; see Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, p. 329, n. 3.

4. On the frames, see *ibid.*, no. 83.

5. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, pp. 861–73.

6. The building is discussed in Delft 1981, pp. 62–65, and see pp. 15–17, 54–56, on Delft as a military city.

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1984a, no. 83 (on the frames); Van Thiel and De Bruyn Kops 1995, no. 83 (on the frames); Weve 1997 (on the print, with additional literature); Plomp in Osaka 2000, nos. 1, 2.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1984a, no. 83; Osaka 2000, nos. 1, 2.

EX COLL.: City of Delft since 1678; deposited in the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (D 160 [Map and Profile], PDD 71 [Nine Images]).



## GILLIS VAN SCHEYNDEL

Active in Haarlem 1622–mid-1650s, d. before 1679

### 136. *Funeral Procession of Prince Maurits in Delft*

1626

Engraving and etching in four plates; image, 23 $\frac{3}{4}$  x 39 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (60.1 x 100.1 cm); with surrounding text, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 49 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (66.3 x 125 cm) Inscribed in cartouche second from left, below tomb of William the Silent: Cum Privilegio. G. v. Schindel fecit; in cartouche third from left, below crest of Prince Maurits: 1625 Veneunt AMSTELODAMI apud Nicolaum I. Visscher. 1626 [see also n. 2 below]

Stichting Atlas Van Stolk, on loan to the City of Rotterdam, housed in the Historisch Museum, Rotterdam

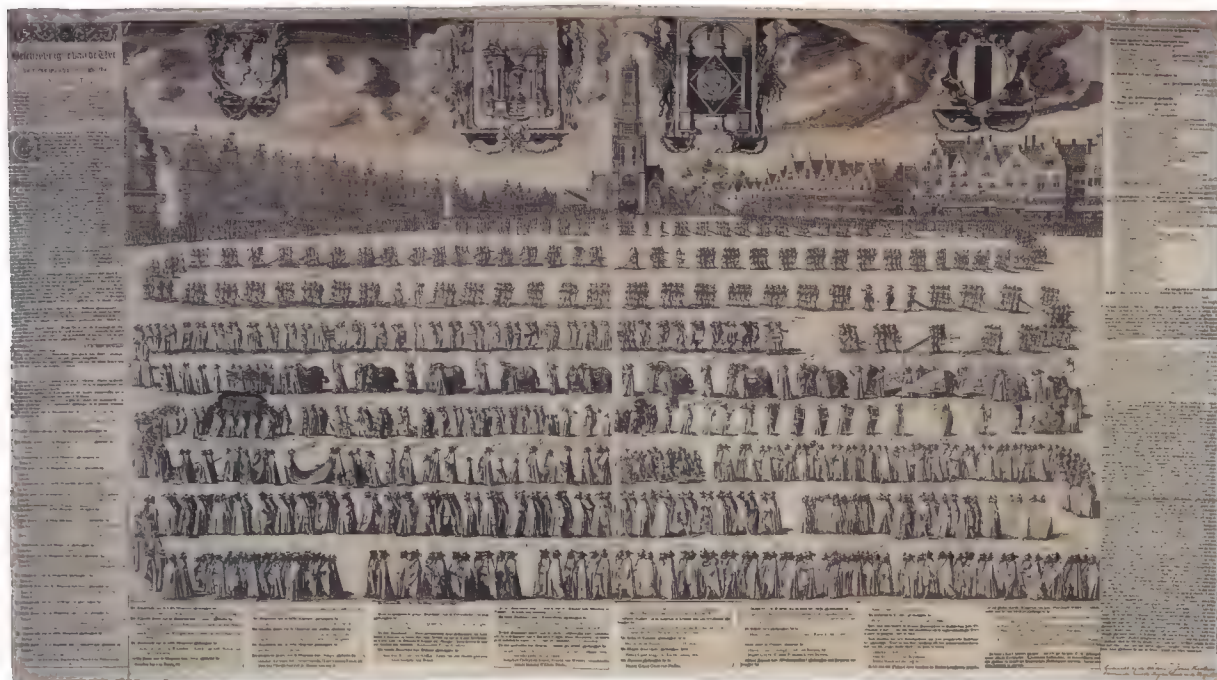
Prince Maurits died at the age of fifty-eight on April 23, 1625 (see his biography in cat. no. 43). His embalmed corpse was brought to Delft for burial on September 26 of the same year. This engraving, made in the following year, records the elaborate funeral procession that made its way through Delft to the crypt

of the Nieuwe Kerk (see cat. no. 37), which appears here in the center of the print. The seemingly endless cortege consisted of the nation's leaders—representatives of the States General, the provinces, and the major Dutch cities—and large contingents from the local civic-guard companies. The most important individuals and institutions are named in the border text. In the background, hundreds of spectators witness the solemn ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, the city of Delft had a strong bond with the House of Orange. William the Silent lived and died (July 10, 1584) in the Convent of Saint Agatha, known since the end of his life as the Prinsenhof. William the Silent's tomb in the choir of the Nieuwe Kerk was commissioned by the States General in 1614 from Hendrick de Keyser and completed shortly after the sculptor's death in 1621. In Van Scheyndel's engraving, an image of the monument is inserted to the left of the Nieuwe Kerk; also included, to the right of the church, is

Maurits's coat of arms, flanked by those of the province of Holland and the city of Delft. It is important to remember that Prince Maurits, like his father, was considered a liberator of the northern Netherlands. Already during his lifetime the tablet on top of William the Silent's tomb paid tribute to both national heroes, declaring that the Father of the Fatherland "at last left the nearly regained liberty to be attained by his son Prince Maurits."<sup>2</sup>

The image was engraved on four copper-plates. A separately printed text, "Beschryvinghe van de Uytvaert des Hoochgeboren Vorsts MAVRITS" (Description of the Funeral of the Highborn Prince Maurits), was available as a pamphlet or, as here, in the form of a border.<sup>3</sup> Complete versions of the composition, which are extremely rare, also include a title in white capital letters on a black ground: "POMPA FUNEBRIS ILLUSTRISSIMI PRINCIPIS MAURITII" (Funeral Procession of the Most Illustrious Prince Maurits).<sup>4</sup>



Clearly there was a substantial demand for prints of this kind. The same funeral was represented somewhat differently, with the tomb alone standing for the site, by Jan van de Velde the Younger (1593–1641). Van de Velde's composition, on ten sheets that together are almost five meters long,<sup>5</sup> was inspired by Hendrick Goltzius's set of engravings illustrating the funeral of William the Silent.<sup>6</sup> In 1651 the funeral of Maurits's successor, Frederick Hendrick (1584–1647), was commemorated by Pieter Nolpe's engraving after a design by Pieter Post.<sup>7</sup> Frederick Hendrick's wife, Amalia van Solms (1602–1675), was remembered in the same manner, and Romeyn de Hooghe's two engravings of her funeral

had the added interest of representing a nocturnal ceremony.<sup>8</sup>

M C P

1. See Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Rotterdam 2000, pp. 122–23.
2. The inscription was composed about 1620 by Constantijn Huygens; see Jimkes-Verkade 1981, pp. 216–17, for the full text in Latin and Dutch.
3. The handwritten inscription at the lower right on this impression, which translates "In Amsterdam, printed at the widow of Joris Veselaer's, living near the Zuyderkerk in the house 'The Hope,'" probably refers to the printer of the long text.
4. See Hollstein, vol. 24, p. 203, no. 8, ill.
5. See Hollstein, vol. 33, pp. 36–41, nos. 82–101, vol. 34, pp. 50–59, ill.
6. See Strauss 1977, vol. 1, nos. 192–203.
7. Hollstein, vol. 14, p. 174, nos. 174–203; see also The Hague 1997–98a, p. 33, fig. 5.

8. For De Hooghe's depiction of Amalia van Solms's funeral, see Landwehr 1973, pp. 96–97, ill.

REFERENCES: F. Muller 1863–82, no. 1536; Van Stolk 1895–1931, vol. 2, no. 1623; Hollstein, vol. 24, p. 203, no. 8; Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Rotterdam 2000, pp. 122–23.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Rotterdam 2000 (shown in Rotterdam only).

EX. COLL.: Abraham van Stolk Czn (1814–1896); descended through the Van Stolk family; Stichting Atlas Van Stolk, on loan to the City of Rotterdam since 1967, housed in the Historisch Museum, Rotterdam (Stolk 1623).

## DECORATIVE ARTS

**D**ELFT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY was not only an important center of painting and to some extent of drawing but also home to outstanding artisans in three areas of the decorative arts: tapestry, silver, and faience, or Delftware. Each field is represented by a small number of works in the following sections of the catalogue. In selecting objects for the exhibition different principles were applied according to the medium. François Spiering and his son Aert Spiering so dominated the manufacture of fine tapestries in Delft that it seemed appropriate to limit their representation to a few superb examples from the decades around 1600. In the case of silver and silver-gilt objects, by contrast, excellent pieces were produced by a fair number of smiths (many of them anonymous) from the late sixteenth century onward. Therefore, the six items

chosen offer a concise survey of forms and styles dating from between the 1590s and the 1660s. The ten examples of Delftware all date from 1650 onward, when faience factories flourished in Delft. The objects were selected mainly because of their close connections with painting and drawing in Delft; no attempt was made to properly represent the extraordinary variety of this medium. Two bronzes by Willem van Tetrode are also included because he was a Delft-born sculptor who (although he died in 1580) is considered one of the most influential figures in Dutch art at the dawn of the Golden Age. The wineglass (cat. no. 159) serves simply as an exclamation point punctuating a century of artistic achievement and civic pride.

WL

## TAPESTRY MANUFACTURE IN DELFT

Delft owes its reputation for excellence in tapestry weaving primarily to François Spiering (1549/51–1631), a burgomaster's son from Antwerp, who ran a tapestry business in his native city during the early 1570s. After his warehouses were looted during the Spanish Fury of 1576, Spiering, a Protestant, went north to build a new future for himself. Nothing is known of his activities during the first ten years after he left Antwerp, apart from his marriage in 1582 to Oncommera Menninxdr Duyst van Voorhout, the daughter of a Delft brewer. Thereafter, Spiering may have lived for some years in Cologne, a city that attracted other Protestant emigrants from the southern Netherlands. By 1593, however, he was working in Delft, executing prestigious commissions, including one from the States General to furnish their assembly rooms in The Hague with tapestries. Spiering may have decided to settle in Delft because it was only a few miles from The Hague, where the stadholder's court and the government meeting rooms were located. Moreover, Delft welcomed his business and offered him space in the former Convent of Saint Agnes, which stood empty after the Reformation (Spiering's

father-in-law, a wealthy man, may have used his influence to secure the arrangement).

In 1593, for the states of Zeeland, the Spiering workshop wove *The Naval Battle near Bergen op Zoom*. It was the first in a famous series of tapestries on the theme of the sea war fought in the maritime province against the Spaniards. (The six tapestries are preserved in Middelburg in a hall of the old abbey complex for which they were designed, which is now the Zeeuws Museum.) The rest of the set was manufactured in Zeeland, as the provincial government considered Spiering's work too expensive. Other patrons did not agree, however, and commissions arrived in rapid succession. The English admiral Charles Howard ordered a series of tapestries to commemorate the sea battles between the British navy and the Spanish Armada (1596; destroyed when the Houses of Parliament burned to the ground in 1834). Spiering's workshop also produced tapestries on classical themes, such as events in the lives of ancient heroes (*Scipio*, woven in 1607 and later). Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—particularly the Roman poet's tales of the goddess Diana—must have proved popular,

as Spiering produced several series on the theme after different designs (see the discussion under cat. no. 137). Tapestries based on great medieval romances, such as *Orlando Furioso* (presented by the City of Breda in 1609 to Philips Willem van Nassau, the eldest son of William the Silent) and *Amadis de Gaule*, were also put on the loom (see cat. nos. 138, 139). The States General regularly ordered tapestries from Spiering as diplomatic gifts; his other clients included city councils and other Dutch governing institutions and members of the English, French, and Polish nobility. So important were the commissions that came from the Swedish court and aristocracy that Spiering's son Pieter took up residence in Stockholm as his father's agent.

Of all the tapestry designers and cartoon painters employed in the Spiering studio, the best known was Karel van Mander the Younger (1579–1623), son of the famous Haarlem scholar and painter Karel van Mander (1548–1606). Both father and son were born in the southern Netherlands. The elder Van Mander designed a number of tapestries for Spiering, probably in the early 1590s,



Fig. 324. Workshop of François Spiering, *The Meeting Between David and Abigail*, ca. 1620. Tapestry, 83 x 247½ in. (211 x 627 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

including the *Amadis de Gaule* series and one of the workshop's two *Dianna* series (cat. nos. 137–39). He also introduced Spiering to the celebrated Haarlem marine painter Hendrick Cornelisz Vroom (ca. 1566–1640), who would design tapestries depicting naval engagements for the Delft entrepreneur. Van Mander the Younger proved to be a prolific designer but a difficult employee. He entered Spiering's workshop about 1606 and left the premises in 1615 in a rage. During his years with Spiering he designed, among other tapestries, the very successful *Orlando Furioso* suite. When he broke with his employer he was still busy designing a series on the theme of Antony and Cleopatra. A number of less well known Delft cartoon painters, such as Abraham Boonaert and Pieter Pastinox, both from the south, also worked for Spiering.

After leaving Spiering's workshop, Van Mander set up his own studio in Delft. He took orders from the Danish crown away from his former employer and also found new clients. While reweaving designs he had initially worked up for Spiering, he embarked on tapestries with fresh subjects as well. Among the latter were the *Exploits of Christian IV* for Frederiksborg Castle, north of Copenhagen (destroyed in a fire in 1859), *Alexander the Great*, and a number with hunting subjects. Van Mander died bankrupt in 1623.

After 1620, when François Spiering retired, his sons Aert (1593–1650) and Pieter (d. 1652) took over the business. That year, the Swedish royal household, their most prestigious client, ordered forty-six tapestry weavings, including four caparisons (see cat. no. 140). The Flemish immigrant David Vinckboons (1576–1632) evidently supplied designs to the Spierings: the splendid *David and Abigail* (fig. 324) and *Triumph of David* (ca. 1620) are thought to be in his distinctive



Fig. 325. Workshop of Maximiliaan van der Gucht (after a design by Christiaan van Couwenbergh), *Hunting Company with Dead Game* (from a series of *English Hunts*), ca. 1650. Tapestry, 155½ x 281 in. (395 x 715 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

style. When the younger Van Mander's business failed in 1623, the Spiering brothers took over their rival's shop.

We have seen that tapestry making was brought to Delft by Flemish immigrants, both designers and weavers. From the mid-1630s onward the role played in the shops by Dutch-born weavers and designers became increasingly important. In the 1630s the Delft entrepreneur Maximiliaan van der Gucht (1603–1689) opened a workshop on the premises of what was by then called the Spiering Convent. He supplied various Polish noblemen with tapestries, including Jakuka Zadzik (1582–1642), bishop of Kraków. Parts of a set of portieres with the bishop's coat of arms are preserved in Kraków (Wawel Cathedral and Muzeum Czartoryskich) and in Sweden (private collection). Still on display in the choir of Wawel Cathedral is a set of eight verdure woven by Van der Gucht in 1670. These tapestries with decorations of wooded landscapes carry at the top the coat of arms of Bishop Trzebicki (1607–1679). But once again the Swedish crown proved to be the workshop's best client. Many tapestries

were commissioned by Queen Christina, who had succeeded her father in 1632 at the age of six. Among them was a series of hunting tapestries, the so-called *English Hunts*, ordered for her coronation in 1644. Four editions of this series are preserved; one is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (fig. 325) and three are in Sweden (two in the Swedish Royal Collection, one dated 1647, and one in Skokloster Castle, north of Stockholm).

At this time Sweden and Denmark were developing closer ties with the other nations of western Europe, and their interest in Dutch tapestries doubtless reflects their new orientation. The Baltic trade, in which Poland participated, also promoted close cultural contacts between the northern kingdoms and the Dutch Republic. Another reason for foreign interest in Van der Gucht's tapestries may have been that young men from all over Europe were studying at the world-famous University of Leiden, a mere fifteen miles from Delft. Some orders are known to have come from Polish students there.

The designer of Queen Christina's *English Hunts* was most probably Christiaan van



Couwenbergh (1604–1667). This Delft-born artist worked as a painter at the stadholder's court, decorating walls of reception rooms in Frederick Hendrick's palaces in and around The Hague. The stadholder also liked to have the walls of his houses hung with tapestries, and he placed a number of orders with Van der Gucht for verdure, a specialty of the firm. These wall hangings with scenes of wooded landscapes and forest animals were intended to cover all the walls of a room to simulate an outdoor environment. Van der Gucht also contributed four pieces to the *Nassau Genealogy*, an important series initially woven in Brussels in the 1530s after designs by Bernard van Orley. Ordered by Frederick Hendrick in 1639, the four additional tapestries were designed by the Utrecht Caravaggist painter Gerard van Honthorst (1592–1656). They have not survived, but another historically important weaving by

Van der Gucht's shop is preserved in Brussels (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire). It depicts with historical accuracy the battle of Nieuwpoort, fought by the Dutch against the Spanish in 1600. Bought in 1647 by a Polish nobleman in the service of Frederick Hendrick, it apparently belonged to a series of *Battles of Frederick Hendrick*, the rest of which Van der Gucht had sold to another Polish nobleman five years before.

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Coppens family brought the grand tradition of Delft tapestry weaving to a final flowering. Willem Jansz Coppens had been active as a weaver in Delft since the 1630s, and his son Cornelis expanded the business both in Delft and in Gouda in the 1660s. Well known for his skill as a weaver was François Coppens, a third-generation member of the family. He and his brother Samuel won a major commission to furnish

with tapestries a number of rooms in Delft for the ambassadors negotiating the Treaty of Rijswijk in 1697. At the behest of the stadholder-king William III, who like his grandfather Frederick Hendrick aspired to bring the culture of the Dutch court up to an international level, the Coppens workshop wove a roomful of tapestries for Honselaarsdijk, a country house south of The Hague, in 1701. Only one set of three of these landscape verdure has survived (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). They bear François Coppens's signature and were woven about 1700, effectively bringing a century of fine tapestry production in Delft to a close. E H J

REFERENCES: Böttiger 1895–98; Böttiger 1928; Van Ysselsteyn 1936; Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962; *Wand-tapijten* 1971; M. I. E. van Zijl in Delft 1981, pp. 202–9; Amsterdam 1993–94; Hennel-Bernasikowa 1994.

## WORKSHOP OF FRANÇOIS SPIERING

### 137. *Niobe's Pride*

Design by Karel van Mander the Elder  
(Meulebeke 1548–1606 Amsterdam)

1610

Wool and silk on a woolen warp,  
11 ft. 9¼ in. x 17 ft. 4¾ in. (3.6 x 5.3 m)

Signed and dated center bottom, between  
the border and the field:

FRANCISCVS SPIRINVS FECIT ANNO  
1610

Marked at the lower selvage on the left: HD  
[Holland, Delft] flanking the town mark; at  
the right selvage: the weaver's mark

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

*New York only*

The weaver and entrepreneur François  
Spiering (1549/51–1631) received his first  
important commissions in the early 1590s

in Delft. There he produced tapestries for an  
international clientele. Among those with  
subjects drawn from classical mythology are  
two series of *Diana* tapestries with different  
measurements and after different designs.<sup>1</sup>

*Niobe's Pride* belongs to the *Diana* series of  
which a weaving of twelve tapestries is docu-  
mented in 1593. This set, possibly the first edi-  
tion of the series, was bought by Sir Walter  
Raleigh, a favorite of Queen Elizabeth I of  
England.<sup>2</sup> Another weaving of *Niobe's Pride*  
and one of *Actaeon Spying Diana* have been in  
the collection at Knole, one of England's  
great country houses, for many years.<sup>3</sup> Apart  
from these three tapestries, five complete  
*Diana* tapestries by Spiering are known:  
*Cephalus and Procris*, *Latona and the Lycian*  
*Peasants*,<sup>4</sup> *Actaeon Devoured by His Hounds*,<sup>5</sup>  
*Jupiter and Callisto*,<sup>6</sup> and a narrow tapestry

with two scenes, *The Birth of Diana* and  
*Latona Fleeing from the Python*.<sup>7</sup> The present  
tapestry with *Niobe's Pride*, the only *Diana*  
tapestry bearing a date, was woven for an  
unknown customer.<sup>8</sup>

The subjects of all these tapestries, which  
are based on classical myths in which the  
goddess Diana plays an important part, are  
taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (written  
about A.D. 8), which also inspired many  
Dutch seventeenth-century painters. The  
story of Niobe is told in book 6 (ll. 146–312):  
as the wife of the king of Thebes, daughter of  
Tantalus, a sister of the Pleiades, and grand-  
daughter of Atlas, Niobe took pride in her  
lineage and in her offspring, seven sons and  
seven daughters. Considering herself superior  
to the goddess Latona, she prevented the  
Theban women from crowning themselves



with wreaths in honor of Latona and from bringing offerings to her and her children, Apollo and Diana. Outraged by Niobe's disdain for the gods, Latona ordered Apollo and Diana to kill Niobe's children, despite the queen's supplications.

In Spiering's tapestry the dramatic aspects of the story are suppressed. In the foreground the proud, richly adorned Niobe appears at left, followed by female attendants. She gestures toward the women and children of Thebes on the right, who are about to honor Latona. In the center of the scene a fire is kindled on an altar, behind which stands a statue of Latona and her children. A priest offers a libation. The dramatic conclusion of the story appears in the background. At the left, from a cloud, Apollo and an assistant are shooting arrows toward fleeing and already stricken

young men. At the far upper right Diana lifts her arm in a gesture toward Niobe's daughters, who implore her mercy.

Although the name of the designer of the *Diana* series is not recorded, scholars agree that he must have been Karel van Mander the Elder, the biographer, poet, and artist who since 1583 had been living in Haarlem. Van Mander's famous *Schilder-Boeck*, published in 1604, contained not only biographies of painters but also an "explanation" ("Wlegghingh") of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In this learned treatise Van Mander states that Niobe's behavior was attributable to her ancestry, since her father, Tantalus, was the epitome of avarice and her mother, Euryasse, the embodiment of affluence. Niobe's pride, he said, might serve as an example for humans who live in contempt of God.<sup>9</sup> Whereas the

moral aspects of the story are implicit in Ovid's poem, Van Mander made them explicit in the *Niobe* tapestry.

Successive scenes of the story of Niobe are represented together as in Flemish Renaissance tapestries, with which both Spiering and Van Mander were familiar. The atmosphere is that of a fairy tale, and the idyllic wooded landscape is in the manner of Gillis van Coninxloo (1544–1606), another Flemish artist who had left Antwerp for the northern Netherlands. Van Mander's personal style is also evident, however, particularly in the elongated figures and the small heads with elaborately dressed hair, often adorned with veils. The *Amadis de Gaule* tapestries that Spiering wove after designs by Van Mander (see cat. nos. 138, 139) show close stylistic similarities with the *Diana* series. The borders of

both, which display a pattern of human figures within grotesque designs, are in the Brussels tradition. The identities of the two couples in the lower corners are revealed in inscriptions reading: "Mars et Venus" and "Ipytiter et Callisto."<sup>10</sup> E H J

1. The first set, to which *Niobe's Pride* belongs, is of greater height than the second set, which was possibly designed by David Vinckboons (1576–1632); sold at Sotheby's, Zurich, June 16, 1998, nos. 244–47. See Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, p. 80. Documentary sources reveal that sets of "small-size" *Diana* tapestries produced by Spiering's shop were owned by Elizabeth Stuart, wife of the Elector Palatine Frederick V (1613), and by Gustaf II Adolf of Sweden (1620); Böttiger 1895–98, vol. 4 (1898), pp. 55, 56, and Van Ysselsteyn 1936, vol. 1, no. 225.
2. Van Ysselsteyn 1936, vol. 1, no. 165.
3. The tapestries are neither signed nor dated but carry the Brussels town mark and Spiering's weaver's mark; see Crick-Kuntziger 1936, p. 171, and n. 15. According to Wijsenbeek and Erkelens (1962, p. 101, n. 30), they were acquired in 1619 by Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, based on the assumption that they came to Knole about 1700, when Cranfield's only heir, Frances, married the fifth earl of Dorset. The two *Diana* tapestries hang in the Venetian Ambassador's Room at Knole, together with another Spiering tapestry with a scene from *Amadis de Gaule: Oriane Endeavors to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apolidon*. Apparently it was considered appropriate to hang together tapestries with similar borders but two different subjects.
4. *Cephalus and Procris* and *Latona and the Lycian Peasants* are signed but not dated; nor does either one have a weaver's mark (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. nos. BK-1954-59-B, BK-1969-2).
5. Not signed; Neilson Winthrop sale, Hall du Savoy, Nice, auctioned by J.-J. Terris, February 22–23, 1937, no. 199; sold at Christie's, New York, March 17, 1990, no. 231.
6. Signed; François Coty sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, November 30–December 1, 1936, no. 115.
7. In 1944 this tapestry was at Duveen Brothers, New York; see Standen 1988, p. 8. Two other tapestries with hunting scenes—*Meleager and Atalanta* and *Leopard Hunt*—were in the François Coty sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, November 30–December 1, 1936, nos. 116, 117 (see above, n. 6). They belong to the same series but are based on other tales in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, not the *Diana* stories.
8. Crick-Kuntziger stated in error that all six *Diana* tapestries that belonged to Émile Bézard in 1874 were dated 1610 (Crick-Kuntziger 1936, p. 171, n. 15). Three of the tapestries formerly in the Bézard collection are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. The whereabouts of the other three are unknown.
9. "Wteggghingh op den Metamorphosis," in Van Mander 1604, fol. 50v.
10. See the discussion under cat. nos. 138, 139, n. 23.

REFERENCES: Jacquemart 1876, pp. 147, 148; Crick-Kuntziger 1936, p. 170; Springfield 1943, no. 9; Th. H.

Lunsingh Scheurleer 1954, p. 65; Amsterdam 1955, pp. 150, 151; Stockholm 1959, no. 1; Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, pp. 79, 80; *Wandtapijten* 1971, pp. 5, 9; M. I. E. van Zijl in Delft 1981, pp. 204–6.

EXHIBITED: Springfield 1943, no. 9; Amsterdam 1955, no. 277; Stockholm 1959, no. 1.

EX COLL.: Émile Bézard, Carcassonne, ca. 1874–76(?); Stanford White, ca. 1900; Mrs. Charles T. Barney, Newport, Rhode Island, on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 1915–16; probably Mrs. E. F. Hutton, 1925; [Duveen, New York, from at least 1943 to 1954]; given in 1954 by Van Leer's Vatenfabrick to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-1954-69-A).

## Two tapestries from a series on the theme of *Amadis de Gaule*:

### 138. *The Liberation of Oriane*

### 139. *Urgande Handing Over the Lance to Amadis*

Design by Karel van Mander the Elder (Meulebeke 1548–1606 Amsterdam)

ca. 1590–95

Gold thread, wool, and silk on a woolen warp. *Oriane*: 11 ft. 5 in. x 13 ft. (3.48 x 3.96 m); *Urgande*: 11 ft. 5 in. x 10 ft. 9 in. (3.48 x 3.28 m)

Marked at the lower selvege on the left:

B fl [Brabant, Brussels] flanking the town mark; at the lower selvege on the right: the weaver's mark

Private collection, London

New York only

No contemporary sources mention tapestries woven by François Spiering of Delft on the theme of *Amadis de Gaule*, a chivalric romance that was extremely popular in Europe during the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth. In fact, few *Amadis* tapestries executed by any other western European weavers are known.<sup>1</sup> The dearth of *Amadis* tapestries is surprising since *Orlando Furioso*, the other great romance of chivalry, was a subject ordered at many tapestry shops, including Spiering's. The revival of interest in the medieval romance during the Renaissance was the very last flowering of what the Dutch historian Johan Huizinga called the "dream of heroism and love,"<sup>2</sup> to which Cervantes

finally delivered the coup de grace in his *Don Quixote* (1605).

The earliest known edition of the Iberian romance of *Amadis* was published in Spain in 1508.<sup>3</sup> In 1540 Francis I of France had the first eight books translated into French by Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts. Many editions followed, and there was a rage for *Amadis* in court circles. At the festivities on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Le Cateau-Cambrésis and the marriage of Elizabeth of Valois, daughter of François's successor, Henri II, to Philip II of Spain, both in 1559, a tournament was organized in the style of *Amadis*.<sup>4</sup> In Elizabethan England the romance was equally popular.<sup>5</sup> Jan van Waesberghe and the famous Antwerp publisher Christophe Plantin brought out d'Herberay's French translation in 1561.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the first three or four books of the romance were translated into Flemish and published in Antwerp in 1546 by Martinus Nuyts;<sup>7</sup> a reprint by Daniël Vervliet and Guillam van Parijs followed in 1568.<sup>8</sup> In 1592 the first northern Netherlandish edition of the first book of *Amadis* was published in Dutch by J. C. van Dorp in Leiden,<sup>9</sup> and later editions followed well into the seventeenth century. It was probably either the French or the Flemish edition (the latter based on d'Herberay's translation) that the designer of the present tapestries used for his painstakingly precise rendering of the romance of *Amadis*, since the episodes depicted in both tapestries in the present exhibition and in other tapestries in the series are taken from the first four books.

Guy Delmarcel was the first to recognize the two tapestries in this exhibition as works by François Spiering.<sup>10</sup> Anne Desprechins de Gaesebeke identified their subjects as episodes of the *Amadis* romance.<sup>11</sup> She also identified four others as belonging with the two tapestries presently in the exhibition and catalogued the six together, pointing out that they illustrate four subjects. One bears the monogram of its designer, Karel van Mander the Elder. Hans Buijs, who was also following the *Amadis* trail, attributed two more tapestries to the series.<sup>12</sup> Another example, which was on the New York art market in 1935, is the ninth *Amadis* tapestry known.<sup>13</sup> As it stands now, seven subjects can be identified among the nine tapestries: *The Liberation of Oriane* (cat.

no. 138; and Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan);<sup>14</sup> *Urgande Handing Over the Lance to Amadis* (cat. no. 139);<sup>15</sup> *Oriane Endeavors to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apolidon* (Art Museum, Princeton [see fig. 316], and Knole);<sup>16</sup> *The Farewell* (Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan);<sup>17</sup> *The Duel between Amadis and King Abies of Ireland* (formerly Epinay);<sup>18</sup> *Amadis and Oriane with the Enchanted Jewels of Macandon* (formerly Epinay);<sup>19</sup> *Amadis Fighting the Knights of Leonor* (on the New York art market in 1935).<sup>20</sup>

The most complicated intrigue of the romance is woven around the quest of Amadis (the love child, born in secret, of Prince Péron de Gaule and Princess Elisène, sister of the king of Denmark) for his beloved Oriane, daughter of King Lisuart of England and his wife, Brisène, princess of Denmark. In *Urgande Handing Over the Lance to Amadis* (cat. no. 139) two episodes from chapters 5 and 6 of book 1 are depicted. At the left Amadis is shown on horseback and at the right his protectress, the fairy Urgande, is about to give him a lance. The beginning of the massacre that ensued is represented in the center of the composition. On the tapestry with *The Liberation of Oriane* (cat. no. 138) another event with great consequences is shown (book 1, chapter 36). In the foreground Amadis kisses the hand of Oriane, while the princess's messenger, the Damsel of Denmark, holds Amadis's charger by the bridle at left. At the right Amadis's companion Gandalin sits astride his horse, while in the background Oriane is freed from her persecutors.<sup>21</sup>

The nine tapestries thus far identified are part of at least two sets, since the examples have two different borders.<sup>22</sup> The border of the group to which the present tapestries belong is almost identical to the border of a number of *Diana* tapestries also woven by Spiering, including *Niobe's Pride* (cat. no. 137).<sup>23</sup> The Amor-driven chariots and the classical couples in the borders seem more in keeping with the love story of Amadis and Oriane than with the sometimes grim tales centering on Diana. It is therefore conceivable that these border figures were first designed for the *Amadis* series and then reused by Spiering for the *Diana* series.

The two *Amadis* tapestries in the exhibition are of exceptional quality,<sup>24</sup> whereas the

examples at Princeton, Knole, and Milan seem somewhat more coarsely executed. As the two tapestries in Milan bear the date 1602, it is possible that they are part of a later edition of the series. The tapestries in the exhibition and the tapestry formerly on the New York art market carry the Brussels town mark and Spiering's weaver's mark.<sup>25</sup> Before marrying in Delft in 1582, Spiering had lived in Antwerp. His Antwerp premises were named "De Schilt van Bruessele" (The Shield of Brussels), which may explain his use of the Brussels town mark, despite the fact that this mark was intended for the exclusive use of Brussels' tapissiers. Since Spiering apparently put the Brussels mark on the tapestries he made during his first years in Delft, and since his two narrow weavings now in Milan bear both the Delft and the Brussels marks, it may be assumed that the present tapestries (and the other three in the same group) were executed in the early 1590s, when the artist received his first important commissions in Delft.<sup>26</sup>

The *Amadis* series must have been designed and woven in Holland, since *Oriane Endeavors to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apolidon* carries the monogram formed by the letters KVM, for Karel van Mander the Elder, the well-known Flemish artist and writer, who settled in Haarlem in 1583.<sup>27</sup> Van Mander designed other tapestries for Spiering, including the *Diana* series (see cat. no. 137), to which, as noted above, the *Amadis* tapestries are closely related stylistically.

The learned Van Mander must have been familiar with the story of Amadis, for he wrote that he did not think it suitable reading for young people.<sup>28</sup> In court circles, however, it was thought to be excellent reading, particularly for young women, to teach them about courtship and love. William the Silent (1533–1584) was a passionate reader of *Amadis*. In 1561 he advised his young Lutheran bride, Anna of Saxony, to read it instead of the Scriptures!<sup>29</sup> The above-mentioned Amadis festival of 1559 was one of a number of royal wedding parties conceived on the theme. It is therefore quite possible that the *Amadis* series was woven as a wedding present—perhaps for one of William's children, for example, Louise Juliana (1576–1644), who was married in 1593 in Dillenburg to Frederic IV

(1574–1610), the Elector Palatine. Whoever ordered this unique series from Spiering inspired a work of art that is out of the ordinary, a "dream of heroism and love."

E H J

- Göbel states that *Amadis* tapestries were popular at the end of the sixteenth century but names only one set of six in a French inventory of 1681 and some unspecified pieces on the art market; see Göbel 1923, pp. 100, 577, n. 94. A series of four tapestries based on the opera *Amadis* (1684), by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) with a libretto by Philippe Quinault (1635–1688), was executed about 1700 by the weaver Alexander Baert (active in Amsterdam 1698–1718). It is preserved at the Neues Schloss, Bayreuth, Germany; see Göbel 1923, pp. 201, 589–91, nn. 264, 265, and Heym 1998.
- Quoted by De la Fontaine Verwey 1984, pp. 93, 94.
- The origins of the *Amadis* romance are to be found in popular narratives of the late thirteenth century. The Spaniard Garci Rodriguez de Montalvo adapted these stories and added another cycle. His *Amadis* was published in 1508 in Saragossa.
- Henri II participated in the tournament and was accidentally wounded, which caused his death; see De la Fontaine Verwey 1984, pp. 91, 92.
- See O'Connor 1970.
- Van Zanen 1996, bibliographical descriptions, no. 1.1 A/B. I am grateful to Hans Buijs, who pointed me to further reading, particularly Van Zanen 1996 and Van Selm forthcoming. My thanks also to Berry Dongelmans for discussing both manuscripts.
- A unique, incomplete, and badly damaged copy of book 1 is preserved in the Liberna Foundation, Hilversum, The Netherlands; see Van Selm forthcoming, bibliographical descriptions, no. 1.1.
- No copy of this edition is known; see Van Selm forthcoming, bibliographical descriptions, no. 1.2.
- No copy of this exists. A number of copies of the 1598 edition are known, including one in the Amsterdam University library; see Van Selm forthcoming, bibliographical descriptions, nos. 1.3, 1.5A, 1.5B.
- See the catalogue of the sale at Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1991, nos. 6, 7.
- Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996a and Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996b.
- Hans Buijs, in conversation (1998). My profound thanks are due to Buijs, who generously shared with me his notes for a forthcoming article on the *Amadis de Gaule* tapestries.
- With French and Company, New York, in 1935; illustrated in Crick-Kuntziger 1936, fig. 1.
- Called "The Kiss on the Hand" by Desprechins de Gaesebeke. The example in Milan is a narrow tapestry with a reduced design carrying Spiering's full signature and the date 1602, the Brussels and Delft town marks, and Spiering's weaver's mark.
- Called "The Handing Over of the Lance" by Desprechins de Gaesebeke.
- Called "a court scene" by Desprechins de Gaesebeke. The tapestry at Princeton bears Karel van Mander the Elder's monogram on a shield at the upper left and is without a border; the tapestry at Knole House





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(Sevenoaks, Kent) has a border and includes Spiering's full signature in Latin: "Franciscvs. Spiringivs."

17. This narrow tapestry carries Spiering's full signature, the date 1602, the Brussels and Delft town marks, and Spiering's weaver's mark. It must represent a reduced design of a larger tapestry. Because the full-scale composition has not been located, the episode in the romance cannot be identified.

18. This piece is known only from old photographs.

19. See above, n. 18.

20. This bears Spiering's mark and the Brussels town mark. In 1935 it was at French and Company, New York; illustrated in Crick-Kuntziger 1936, fig. 1.

21. For a detailed analysis of the episodes depicted in

the tapestries, see Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996b, pp. 84–87.

22. One group is formed by the two *Amadis* tapestries in the present exhibition, the two tapestries formerly in one of the French towns called Epinay, and the example that was on the art market in 1935. The other group includes the two tapestries in Milan and the one at Knole. The Princeton tapestry has no borders.

23. Almost identical is the rendering of the grotesques and of the chariots driven by Amor. The female figures depicting Peace and Fame in the upper left and upper right corners of the borders of both *Amadis* tapestries in the exhibition are identical to those in

*Niobe's Pride*. Three of the four classical couples in the lower corners occur as well in the *Diana* tapestries.

Mars and Venus, in the lower left corner of *Urgande Handing Over the Lance to Amadis*, are also present in *Niobe's Pride*; Pyramus and Thisbe, at the lower right, appear in another *Diana* tapestry, *Latona and the Lycian Peasants* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. BK-1969-2). The image of Paris and Helen in the lower left corner of *The Liberation of Oriane* also appears in *Meleager and Atalanta*, which forms part of a series by Spiering based on stories also taken from the *Metamorphoses* but not involving Diana (François Coty sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, November 30–December 1, 1936, no. 116). Mercury and Herse, in





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the lower right corner of that tapestry, have so far not been identified in any other Spiering tapestry.

24. The quality of the tapestry that was on the New York art market in 1935 can be judged only from a photograph. No clear photographs of the weavings that once were at Epinay are available. Nevertheless, there is little reason to suppose they are from a different set.
25. The same weaver's mark appears on the two narrow *Amadis* tapestries in Milan, both of which also carry Spiering's full signature.
26. There is a gap in the records between 1582, when Spiering married in Delft, and 1591, the year of his first known commission (from the States General

in The Hague: see Van Ysselsteijn 1936, vol. 1, pp. 68–69, vol. 2, no. 8). Spiering may have spent some of those years in Cologne.

27. Of an earlier collaboration between Spiering and Van Mander the Elder when both were still living in the southern Netherlands there is no evidence. On the Princeton tapestry, see Standen 1988, p. 11, n. 19, fig. 5. The tapestry with the same scene in the collection at Knoke is marked with an unidentified coat of arms, not Van Mander's monogram. A preliminary drawing for the two *Oriane Endeavors to Perform Feats of Magic in the Garden of Apollon* tapestries is attributed to Van Mander on stylistic grounds and is dated ca. 1590/95–1600 (cat. no. 118);

see Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 29 (with additional literature).

28. He advised them to abstain from reading such immoral poetry (Van Mander, *Olijf-bergh, ofte Poëma van den laetsten Daghe: In Nederlandtschen dicht beschreven* [Enkhuizen, 1609], p. 7). See Van Selm forthcoming.
29. De la Fontaine Verwey 1984, p. 93.

REFERENCES: Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996a; Desprechins de Gaesebeke 1996b.

EX COLL.: Possibly Émile Bézard, Carcassonne, ca. 1874–76(?); Irene, Countess of Plymouth; (sale at Sotheby's, London, December 13, 1991, nos. 6, 7); the present owner.

## WORKSHOP OF AERT SPIERING

### 140. *Caparison (shabrack, shoulder cloth, and neckcloth)*

1621

Wool and silk on a woolen warp

Shabrack: 8 ft. 4 in. x 3 ft. 9 in. (2.55 x 1.15 m); shoulder cloth: 4 ft. 4 in. x 4 ft. 6 in. (1.32 x 1.37 m); neckcloth: 4 ft. 9 in. x 4 ft. 11 in. (1.46 x 1.50 m)

The shabrack displays the arms of Sweden and is marked at the lower right: A 2 [the weaver's initials] on either side of the weaver's mark; at the lower left: H D [Holland, Delft], flanking the town mark. The shoulder cloth bears the monogram GA (for Gustaf II Adolf of Sweden) with his name cypher 2; dated at the lower left and right: ANO 1621

Kungliga Livrustkammaren (Royal Armory), Stockholm

*New York only*

In 1620 the brothers Aert (1593–1650) and Pieter (d. 1652) Spiering took over the workshop of their father, François, in Delft. That very year they received an order from Gustaf II Adolf of Sweden (1594–1632) for a large number of tapestries and four caparisons. The king needed these items for the celebration of his marriage to Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, which was to take place in the late autumn. The tapestries, surely from stock, arrived in time. But the four caparisons, comprising twelve pieces, which had to be woven with special designs, arrived late. The date on one of them indicates they were completed in 1621. Aert Spiering — who was the weaver in the partnership — proudly put his initials on one of the caparisons. In 1620 Pieter — the businessman — received an advance of 1,000 Swedish half-crowns and the following year the balance of 4,525 half-crowns.<sup>1</sup> The magnificent caparisons were intended to deck out horses in processions and tournament festivities.<sup>2</sup> Whether Gustaf Adolf's daughter and successor, Christina (1626–1689), ceremoniously dressed her horses in these caparisons upon her accession to the throne in 1644 or her coronation in 1650 is unknown. She apparently liked them, since she took two sets with

her to Rome after her abdication in 1654.<sup>3</sup>

Christina's sets were subsequently lost, but the remaining two sets of caparisons — one on a red ground, the other on a blue — are still preserved in Sweden.

The blue shabrack included in this exhibition displays shields, helmets, sheaves of arrows, and other martial accoutrements ranged about the escutcheons of Gustaf Adolf. Crowned lions support the national coat of arms. Festoons of flowers hang between various decorative elements. A lavish embellishment of this sort, but without armor, appears in the border of a tapestry-woven table cover that Aert Spiering executed for the Swedish crown in 1626.<sup>4</sup> Armor is featured in the border of a tapestry with a bear hunt, probably designed and woven by Karel van Mander the Younger (1579–1623) for Christiaan IV of Denmark in 1620 (fig. 326).<sup>5</sup> Van Mander had worked as a designer for Spiering, but he left the workshop in 1615 and set up his own studio in Delft. Particularly in their decorative designs, the products of the two workshops are hard to distinguish. It is therefore not surprising that the grotesques with armor and a festoon in the border of the bear-hunt tapestry are close to the motifs on the caparison. The designs on both the tapestry and the caparison have their origins in sixteenth-century grotesque designs drawn by such artists as Cornelis Bos (ca. 1510–1556), Cornelis Floris (1514–1575), and Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1604). The emphatic shading of the decorative elements on the caparison, the table cover, and the border of the bear-hunt tapestry, however, is a feature typical of Delft tapestry weavings of the 1620s.

E H J

1. Böttiger 1895–98, vol. 2 (1895), p. 8, vol. 4 (1898), p. 56.

2. Stockholm 1992, no. 152.

3. In that year an inventory was made at the royal armory listing the firearms, horse cloths, and trappings that were to remain in Sweden. Two caparisons are included in the list; see Hellner 1990, pp. 120, 121.

4. Swedish Royal Collection, inv. no. HGK 423; see Böttiger 1895–98, vol. 4 (1898), p. 59, pl. I.

5. The right border is the only preserved border of the tapestry (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, inv.

no. NM 1399/1885). The piece was probably brought to Sweden in 1660 as booty taken from Denmark; see Böttiger 1895–98, vol. 2 (1895), pl. XVI. It was originally part of a series of hunting scenes, two pieces of which are preserved in Sweden, the one under discussion and one without borders; see Böttiger 1895–98, vol. 2 (1895), pl. XV, vol. 3 (1896), p. 22. Böttiger was the first to suggest that the series was woven for Christiaan IV (1895–98, vol. 2 [1895], p. 46).

REFERENCES: Böttiger 1895–98, vol. 3 (1896), p. 87, vol. 4 (1898), pp. 58, 59; Göbel 1923, p. 542; Göbel 1928, pl. 495; Van Ysselsteijn 1936, vol. 1, p. 97; Steneberg 1940–42, p. 143; Stockholm 1959, no. 4; Hellner 1990, pp. 34, 62, 63, 93; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 84; Dahlberg 1996, p. 22.

EXHIBITED: Stockholm 1959, no. 4; Delft 1962, no. 72; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 84.

EX COLL.: Made for King Gustaf II Adolf of Sweden in 1621; by descent to his daughter Christina, queen of Sweden, until her abdication in 1654, when it entered the Kungliga Livrustkammaren, Stockholm (6122-6124).



Fig. 326. Detail, right border of *A Bear Hunt*, woven by Karel van Mander II for Christian IV of Denmark, Delft, ca. 1620. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, preserved in the Royal Armory





## BRONZES

### WILLEM DANIELSZ VAN TETRODE

Probably Delft ca. 1525–1580 Arnsberg, Westphalia

*Born about 1525, the son of Daniel Adriaensz van Tetrode of Delft, Willem van Tetrode is recorded in 1545 in Florence, where he collaborated with Benvenuto Cellini, among other sculptors. He remained in Italy, moving between Florence and Rome, until 1567, when he returned to Delft to execute a many-figured alabaster altar for the Oude Kerk, famous in its day but long since destroyed. His last years were spent in Cologne making sculptures for the house of Peter Terlan von Lennep, and he became architect to Archbishop Salentin von Isenburg, at whose castle of Arnsberg he died in 1580.*

JDD

#### 141. *Hercules Pomarius*

Probably 1545–ca. 1565

Bronze

H. 15½ in. (39.1 cm), w. 5¼ in. (13 cm),  
d. 9¼ in. (23.2 cm)

The Hearn Family Trust

New York only

Between 1545 and about 1565, Van Tetrode received first-rate, hands-on training from the premier Italian Mannerist sculptors Benvenuto Cellini and Bartolommeo Ammanati in Florence and Guglielmo della Porta in Rome. In Florence, he made several bronze statuettes after the antique that entered the collections of Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. These are perfunctory efforts, with the exception of two figures of Hercules (Uffizi, Florence) that are variations on the *Farnese Hercules*. The *Hercules Pomarius* is another reflection of that famous classical sculpture; Van Tetrode took its muscle-bound virility as a point of departure for extremes that have seldom, if ever, been matched. The hero's body is at ease but his face is dour. Behind his back he grasps tiny apples that underscore his titanic physique. These fruits represent the Apples of the Hesperides, which the hero brought back to Eurystheos of Argos at the successful completion of his eleventh labor for the king. The hero's gloomy demeanor here suggests that he is gathering strength to perform the last of his twelve labors for Eurystheos, the descent to the underworld to oust the monster Cerberus.

It is worth raising the question whether Van Tetrode modeled this composition in Italy. It represents the culmination of his apprenticeship, reflecting the vitality of earlier Italian sculpture but vying with, in some ways even outstripping, the work of his

predecessors in expressive force. His interest perhaps centered on Ammanati's spread-legged *Neptune* for the fountain in the Piazza della Signoria, Florence, an enterprise that extended over several years; by 1565 Van Tetrode had worked on at least one of the bronze satyrs for the base. His own artistic identity had clearly taken shape during this period. The Florentine output of "Guglielmo Fiammingo," or "Guglielmo Tedesco," frequently won praise. Strapping nudes seen from the back in the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci and Domenico Beccafumi offer comparisons that have been interpreted to suggest an older common source of influence, but the differences between this work and the drawings are as telling as the similarities.<sup>1</sup>

The impact of Van Tetrode's *Hercules Pomarius* was felt chiefly in the north: the precocity of his achievement is registered by the sculpture's influence on Dutch Mannerist painters and engravers, notably Hendrick Goltzius, for decades after the sculptor's death. It apparently circulated in plaster and bronze replicas that were presumably cast in the north. The Delft goldsmith Thomas Cruse, whose possessions were inventoried in 1624, had a bronze "Hercules by W. T.roe" as well as "a mold of the great Hercules by W. Tettero." Four bronzes are known to survive: this one; one in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; one in the Robert H. Smith





collection; and one in the Abbott Guggenheim collection. The last is perhaps the crispest and earliest. The others presumably represent a second campaign of casting. The present example offers certain features of distinction. Despite its weightiness, the cast exhibits a buoyant plasticity in the rendering of the hair; a delicately striated chasing of the body that reinforces the muscular contours; and a well-preserved and well-integrated patina of dark brown lacquer that reveals a lustrously oxidized golden brown metal where rubbed.

JDD

1. See San Francisco 1988, pp. 114–15.

REFERENCES: Radcliffe 1985, pp. 100–101; Nijstad 1986, pp. 272, 274; San Francisco 1988, pp. 114–16; Radcliffe 1994, pp. 135–39.

EX COLL.: [Daniel Katz, London]; purchased in 1983 by Barbara Piasecka Johnson, Princeton, N.J.; [Daniel Katz, London]; the present owner.

## 142. *Nude Warrior*

Mid-1570s

Bronze

H. 15½ in. (39.4 cm), w. 11 in. (27.8 cm),  
d. 8¼ in. (21 cm)

The Hearn Family Trust

New York only

As in the case of *Hercules Pomarius* (cat. no. 141), it was Anthony Radcliffe who first proposed the attribution of this bronze statuette to Van Tetrode, noting its influence on Hendrick Goltzius's engraving *Calpurnius*.<sup>1</sup> The resemblance is made strikingly manifest when the statuette is rotated along its left flank. What Goltzius relished, and what continues to inspire Van Tetrode's statuette, is the way in which the aggressive stride and open, curvilinear arm movements encapsulate vigorous action frozen in time. The Goltzius connection sheds no light on Van Tetrode's subject, which is unlikely to have been Calpurnius, a relatively obscure commander in the first Punic War. The *Nude Warrior*'s only distinguishing attribute would have been the missing sword. Perhaps it represents Mars or a gladiator. In his Florentine days Van Tetrode may have developed a certain insouciance toward his subject matter as well as an aptitude for making sleek, curvilinear bronzes in the manner of Giovanni Bologna, who famously declared to a patron that he himself cared not at all how his balletic two-figure group usually known as *The Rape of a Sabine Woman* was interpreted—the point was formal, not iconographical, “to give scope to the knowledge and study of art.”

Van Tetrode's figure comes close to mirroring a *Jupiter* with windswept hair that he made for a collector in Cologne, Peter Terlan von Lennep (engraved in 1574 by Adriaen de

Weert).<sup>2</sup> Being so close a cousin to the *Jupiter* (of which no casts survive), the *Nude Warrior* probably also dates from Van Tetrode's last years in Cologne. To see it side by side with the *Hercules Pomarius* is to sense innumerable differences and the passage of time. Classical antiquity still informs the overall pose, and there is more than a hint of the *Laocoön* in the tortured arch of the brow, but the *Nude Warrior*'s thickset anatomy and walrus mustache have more in common with Dutch genre painting.

Three other casts survive—in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; in the Castello Sforzesco, Milan; and in a private collection in New York. The Rijksmuseum example preserves its original oblong bronze base with lobed ends. The present bronze, very lightly cast in a reddish gold metal, bears a coat of well-preserved dark brown lacquer. Tiny casting holes in the mouth (there is also one on the crown of the head) also serve to enliven the whole. The superlative chasing includes deft strokes that reinforce details—from worry lines to little folds of flesh above the heels.

JDD

1. Strauss 1977, vol. 1, no. 238.

2. See Nijstad 1986, p. 270.

REFERENCES: Radcliffe 1985, pp. 104–5; Amsterdam 1986, vol. 2, no. 359; Nijstad 1986, p. 276; Van Binnebeke 1993.

EX COLL.: [Daniel Katz, London]; the present owner.



## SILVER AND SILVER GILT

Attributed to **NICOLAES DE GREBBER**

*Master in Delft in 1574, d. in Delft in 1613*

### 143. *Nautilus cup*

1592

Silver gilt, nautilus shell, glass, and enamel; the two clamps securing the shell on either side are replacements

H. 10½ in. (26.5 cm), w. 7¼ in. (19.6 cm), d. 4 in. (9.9 cm)

Marked on the underside of the foot rim: Delft, year letter B [1592], and a maker's mark attributed to Nicolaes de Grebber [a cooking-pot(?) in a shield]. Engraved on the underside of the foot rim: 13, N° 7 22 = II, and again 22 = II. Engraved on the book held by one of the satyrs: staves with musical notation and JE·PRENS/GRE·/LA·DVRE/MO[R]T. Engraved on the upper surface of the shell, presumably for Sir Robert Paston, first earl of Yarmouth: the Paston coat of arms.

Gemeente Musea, Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof

Beginning in the 1580s many Flemish silver-smiths left Antwerp to settle in the United Provinces. Inevitably, their work was at first closely based on Antwerp models. It is probably thanks to these immigrant artisans that the silver production in many Dutch cities at the time became both stylistically unified and of high quality. Relatively little silver made in Delft about 1600 survives. Known pieces are distinguished by their particularly fine execution. In this they reflect the city's prosperity as a center for beer brewing, an industry that would decline in the early decades of the seventeenth century. They do not show a distinct, local style, however.

Mounted nautilus shells were popular in Europe from at least the thirteenth century onward, but no Dutch nautilus cups are known from before the 1590s. From Delft a fairly large number of late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century examples exist, and the one exhibited here is the earliest of them. The piece has a remarkably bold design. The main mount is in the shape of a sea monster with a gaping mouth. Neptune rides on the back of the beast, which is supported by two satyrs standing on a turtle in a sea filled with fish. This fantastic Late Mannerist composition derives directly from Antwerp prototypes,<sup>1</sup> although a certain restraint in the small-scale decoration and a marked clarity of structure testify to the emergence of a distinctive Dutch silver-making style. For obvious

reasons maritime and nautical motifs were deemed particularly suitable for the decoration of nautilus cups. Here the silver-gilt lip is engraved with scenes of a ship at sea and of Jonah brought to shore by a whale.

The identity of the first owner of the cup is not known; however, about 1660 it belonged to Sir Robert Paston, later the first earl of Yarmouth. A well-known painting of a number of works of art from this English collection shows the cup prominently displayed.<sup>2</sup> It was probably not made for a member of the Paston family; the Paston arms, engraved in an inconspicuous position, appear to be a later addition.

R B

1. Such as, for example, the cup illustrated in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 428, fig. 86a.

2. Glanville 1990, pp. 192, 312–13, 321, ill. on pp. 314–15.

REFERENCES: The Hague 1952, no. 170; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 13; Frederiks 1952–61, vol. 4 (1961), no. 16; Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, pp. 20–22; Duyvené de Wit-Klinkhamer and Gans 1965, fig. 8; Amsterdam 1992b, no. 101; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 86 (with additional literature).

EXHIBITED: The Hague 1952, no. 170; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 13; Amsterdam 1992b, no. 101; Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 86.

EX COLL.: Sir Robert Paston, 1st Earl of Yarmouth, ca. 1660; [Messrs. Joseph A. Morpurgo, Amsterdam]; purchased from them in 1949, with the support of the Vereniging Rembrandt, by the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDZ 3).



# DELFT MASTER

Early seventeenth century

## 144. Covered cup

1604

Silver gilt

H. 15 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (40.3 cm), diam. of cover 5 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (14.5 cm)

Marked on the outside of the upper rim: Delft, year letter O [1604], and an unattributed maker's mark [a bird's claw in a shield]. Engraved on the upper rim: DEES·ONDERSCHREVEN·ALS·CONINCK·STABELS·BINNEN·GORCVM·IN·HAER·TYT·TOT·SCHVTTERS·GLORY·VAN·SINT·IORIS·HEBBEN·DOEN·MAECKEN·VAN·DINCOMSTE·DEES·COPPEN·TOT·EEN·MEMORY/IC [interlaced]·VANDERWERVEN·I·VERVOREN·FOLF<sup>1</sup>·CORNELIS·I·VAN·ARMEYDE/ANNO·1603. On the ungilded underside of the cover are engraved four coats of arms, parcel-gilt and provided with compartments that were initially filled with colored enamel, only some parts of which are still in place. They are of Ameyde, for Jan van der Ameyde; Vervoorn, for Jan or Jacob Vervoorn; Cornelis[?], for Folkert Cornelisz, and Van der Werven, for Jan van der Werven. Similarly engraved in the center, on a raised, gilded boss, was a coat of arms with Saint George's Cross. This is now missing from the piece exhibited, although it is still present on the matching cup.

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The inscription on this cup says that the piece was commissioned in 1603, as one of an identical pair, by the chief officers of the *schutterij*, or civic guard, of the town of Gorinchem. The members of this local militia were archers armed with the crossbow. Most cities in the northern Netherlands had such a guard, whose

patron saint was invariably Saint George.

Bastions of civic pride, these companies accumulated considerable amounts of plate. The inscription on the cup exhibited here states that it was ordered "tot schutters glory" (to the glory of the civic guardsmen), "tot een memory" (in commemoration).

The Gorinchem guard's collection of plate remained largely intact until well into the nineteenth century. Thanks to this lucky circumstance, much more than usual is known about it. As early as 1592 the guard had commissioned a comparable, though smaller, pair of cups from the local silversmith Melchior van Neurenborch. He died in 1602, at which time there probably was no silversmith of comparable skill working in Gorinchem. The guard then turned to a maker in Delft, although the town is quite far from Gorinchem (both Dordrecht and Rotterdam are much closer). Perhaps the officers were attracted by the particular reputation of the maker to whom they entrusted their commission. Unfortunately, his name is not known, but the Gorinchem cups and his only other known works, a pair of tazzas made in 1604 and 1606 and bearing the same maker's mark,<sup>1</sup> show him to have been a highly distinguished silversmith.

The shape of the cup is traditional. It is composed in the Renaissance manner as a succession of distinct elements, with the cover conceived as a variation on the foot and stem. Similar pieces had been made in Paris

and Antwerp from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Around 1600 cups of this type were still in demand throughout the Dutch Republic, and several comparable pieces survive. The unknown Delft silversmith who made this cup reveals his skill primarily in the beautifully balanced proportions, the execution and distribution of the fine, small-scale ornament, and, in particular, the figurative band running around the body. This shows George, the soldier saint, slaying a dragon and rescuing a princess, who had been offered as a sacrifice to the monster. The triumphant moment of the story, when the saint kills the dragon, is depicted again on the finial crowning the cup.

R B

1. Amsterdam 1993-94, no. 90.

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1854, no. 12 (incorrectly dated 1592); Fairholt 1860, pp. 20-21; Delft, Amsterdam 1956-57, no. 14; Frederiks 1952-61, vol. 4 (1961), no. 18; Amsterdam 1964, no. 30; Duyvené de Wit-Klinkhamer and Gans 1965, fig. 9; Haarlem 1988, no. 98; Amsterdam 1993-94, no. 89 (with additional literature).

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1854, no. 12; Delft, Amsterdam 1956-57, no. 14; Amsterdam 1964, no. 30; Haarlem 1988, no. 98; Amsterdam 1993-94, no. 89.

EX COLL.: Made for Saint George's civic guard, Gorinchem; Lord Londesborough, 1860; Gustave de Rothschild, Paris; [J. Kugel, Paris]; given in 1963 by the Commissie voor Fotoverkoop to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-1963-58-B).





## CORNELIS JANSZ VAN DER BURCH

*Apprentice in Delft in 1579, master in 1591, recorded there until 1614*

### 145. *Tazza*

1611

Parcel-gilt silver

H. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (18.5 cm), diam. of dish 7 $\frac{3}{4}$  in.  
(19.5 cm)

Marked on the outside of the upper rim:  
Delft, year letter W [1611], and the maker's  
mark of Cornelis Jansz van der Burch  
[a cloverleaf].

Gemeente Musea, Delft; Collection Stedelijk  
Museum Het Prinsenhof

*New York only*

Probably made to hold wine, but simply called *schalen* (dishes) at the time, ornamental tazzas like this example from Delft were a widespread type of silver drinking vessel in early-seventeenth-century Holland, second in popularity only to the plain beakers primarily used for beer and referred to in contemporary documents as *bierbekers*. Closely similar examples survive from many other Dutch cities, testifying to the remarkable stylistic unity found in early-seventeenth-century silver from all over the Dutch Republic.

The convex foot and vase-shaped stem of this tazza are like those found on cups from the same period (see the discussion under cat. no. 144), and the form of the piece is a traditional and long-established one. Its distinguishing feature is the large scene on the inside of the bowl representing Orpheus charming the animals with his music. It is well executed, but the composition is stiff and lacks naturalism. To fully succeed in making such a high-relief composition, similar to those in bronze or lead, the silversmith needed the

skills of a sculptor; thus, there are great differences in quality among surviving examples. A lead plaque of very similar composition probably made in Holland about 1600 undoubtedly served as a model for the silversmith of this example, Cornelis van der Burch, who failed, however, to match its liveliness and realism.<sup>1</sup> Because they were decorated with figural reliefs, ornamental tazzas tend to be unique pieces, and they are usually listed in contemporary inventories alone or in pairs, unlike beakers, which may be found in larger sets.

Cornelis Jansz van der Burch became a master goldsmith in Delft in 1591. Surviving from that very year and until the late eighteenth century is a series of nine registers (in the form of copper plates) recording the name of each new master in the Delft goldsmiths' guild and the year in which he qualified. Each goldsmith's name is accompanied by an impression of his maker's mark. This is a rare and fortunate circumstance since the guild registers for almost every other Dutch city

are partly or entirely lost. As a result, the historian has a name for every Delft maker's mark found on pieces dating from the two centuries covered by the registers.<sup>2</sup>

Another tazza by Van der Burch, dating from 1604, is decorated inside the bowl with an extremely refined ornamental composition in four circular panels.<sup>3</sup> It is beautifully executed and shows the artist more at ease than when he made the delightful but somewhat stiff figural scene inside the tazza exhibited here.

R B

1. For this relief, see I. S. Weber 1975, no. 698.

2. Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, pp. 8–9, fig. 2.

3. Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 15.

REFERENCE: Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 18.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 18.

EX COLL.: [A. van der Meer, Amsterdam]; purchased in 1967 by the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Delft (PDZ 56).



## CORNELIS ADRIAENSZ VAN BLEYSWIJCK

*Apprentice in Delft in 1605, master in 1619, d. in Delft in 1648*

### 146. *Ewer and basin*

1630

Silver gilt

H. of ewer 13 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (34.5 cm), h. of basin 1 $\frac{7}{8}$

in. (4.7 cm), diam. of basin 18 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (47 cm)

Marked underneath the border of the basin and on the lower rim of the body of the ewer:<sup>1</sup> Delft, year letter T [1630], and the maker's mark of Cornelis Adriaensz van Bleysswijck [a lily]. Engraved in the center of the basin with a coat of arms, probably of the Van Berckel family.

Metropolitan Chapter of Utrecht

*New York only*

In this splendid ewer and basin old-fashioned forms and motifs mingle in fascinating fashion with elements of a revolutionary new style. The shape of the ewer—with its low, stepped, slender foot, oviform body, high S-shaped handle, and pointed spout—is entirely traditional. Pieces of similar outline were already being produced in Germany and other European countries in the first half of the sixteenth century; the earliest known Dutch example that survives was made in Amsterdam in 1608.<sup>2</sup> Much of the ornament is old-fashioned, too. The stylized female mask below the spout and the mask surmounted by a shell and the hermlike figure applied to the handle are reminiscent of sixteenth-century prototypes, as are the stiff, foliate borders around the lower part of the foot and of the neck. These borders were produced with a stamp, whereas the decoration of the spout and the handle is cast. Thus, dies and models may have been used for them that had been in existence for years or even decades. By contrast, the chased decoration of the body is much bolder and larger in scale. Although the foliate borders and swags of fruit are not really innovative, the large S-scrolls and the cartouche surrounding the central scene herald the new, so-called auricular style. This is characterized by a fantastic combination of irregular, flowing shapes reminiscent of bones and other anatomical forms, such as the auricle of the human ear. The style emerged before 1610 and is typical of the most spectacular Dutch silver of the first half of the seventeenth century, especially the work of the famous Utrecht silversmith Adam van Vianen (1568/69–1627) and his Amsterdam “successor” Johannes

Lutma (1587–1669).<sup>3</sup> In the auricular decoration of the basin, the entire surface of which is chased, the linked C-scrolls lapping from the bowl over the rim are even more prominent, and they determine the curving outline of the piece.

The coat of arms in the center of the basin is almost certainly that of the Van Berckel family of Delft, and the ewer has a beautifully rendered representation of The Baptism of Christ. This suggests that the set may have been commissioned for the christening of a young Van Berckel, in which case one might expect to find an inscription on the piece recording the event, but in fact neither the front nor the back offers much space for a text. Normally, ewers and basins of this kind were used for rinsing the hands at table, and they occupied a prominent position on the sideboard during meals. Genre paintings suggest that they were also used at the dressing table (see fig. 17).

R B

1. The marks on the ewer were almost entirely obliterated during a repair.

2. For the ewer of 1608, see Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 99.

3. For a survey of the auricular style, see J. R. ter Molen, “Auriculaire,” in Gruber 1992, pp. 26–91.

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1880, no. 278; Frederiks 1952–61, vol. 1 (1952), no. 41; The Hague 1952, no. 171; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 21; Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, p. 33; Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 32.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1880, no. 278; The Hague 1952, no. 171; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 21; Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 32.

EX COLL.: Probably made for a member of the Van Berckel family, Delft; Roman Catholic Church, Utrecht, by 1880.





## WILLEM CLAESZ BRUGMAN

*Master in Delft in 1641, recorded there until 1665*

### 147. *Candlestick*

1652

Silver

H. 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (32 cm), diam. of foot 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (21.7 cm)

Marked on the underside of the foot rim: Delft, year letter T [1652], and the maker's mark of Willem Claesz. Brugman [a bunch of grapes]. Engraved with the coats of arms accolés of Meerman, for Gerrit Meerman, and Deutz, for Agneta Deutz, who married in 1651.

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, on loan from the Deutzenhofje, Amsterdam

*New York only*

This candlestick is part of a set of four. Three were made by Willem Brugman and one by the well-known Amsterdam silversmith Johannes Grill (ca. 1614–1670), all in the year 1652.<sup>1</sup> They were made for Gerrit Meerman, councillor of the city of Delft, and Agneta Deutz, presumably on the occasion of their marriage in 1651. Only the three Delft examples are engraved with the couple's coats of arms. Stylistically the set matches a ewer and basin made three years previously for Gerrit Meerman by a brother of Johannes Grill, the silversmith Andries Grill (ca. 1604–1665), who worked in The Hague; indeed, these objects together constitute an early form of service.<sup>2</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that the Amsterdam candlestick was the model for the three Delft ones, rather than the other way around.

The lobed candlestick, built up in tiers that would reflect light in a fanciful manner, is decorated in the auricular style (see the discussion under cat. no. 146). As on much auricular silver, masklike motifs may be discerned amid the swelling forms. On this piece the ornament is mainly linear, in contrast to the more sculptural works of the foremost exponents of the style, Adam van Vianen and Johannes Lutma. In its abstraction, the decoration is the invention of a great designer; the Grill brothers were among the foremost silversmiths in The Hague and Amsterdam. Other works by their Delft colleague Brugman are known, but he never reached the same level of originality and forcefulness on his own. By the midcentury, artistic innovation in silver-smithing had come to be concentrated in a

few main centers; Brugman's candlesticks provide a particularly clear example of how the artists in lesser towns, such as Delft had become, were obliged to follow cosmopolitan models.

Few seventeenth-century candlesticks of this impressive shape and size survive. Such pieces were undoubtedly considered profoundly unfashionable in the eighteenth century and most were accordingly melted down so that the metal could be used to make modern objects. The Meerman set owes its survival to the terms of Agneta Deutz's will. At her death, in 1692, she left a considerable amount of money to found an almshouse, the Deutzenhofje on the Prinsengracht in Amsterdam, which is still in existence today. To the fledgling institution she bequeathed furniture, paintings, and a sizable collection of plate, including the candlesticks and the ewer and basin that belonged with them.

R B

1. De Lorm 1999, no. 20.

2. Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 49.

REFERENCES: Amsterdam 1880, no. 542; Rijksmuseum 1952, no. 140; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 27; Frederiks 1952–61, vol. 4 (1961), no. 97; Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, p. 24; Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 55.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam 1880, no. 542; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 27; Delft 1962, no. 95; Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 55.

EX COLL.: Made for Gerrit Meerman and his wife, Agneta Deutz; bequeathed by her to the Deutzenhofje, Amsterdam, in 1692; on loan since 1925 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-13268).



# NICOLAES KEYSER

Delft ca. 1645–1710 Delft

## 148. Dish

1667

Parcel-gilt silver

Diam. 14 7/8 in. (37.6 cm)

Marked on the underside of the rim: Delft, lion of Holland, year letter L [1667], and the maker's mark of Nicolaes Keyser [a bust below two stars]. Engraved with the coat of arms of the Van der Straet (Straten) family, above the inscription IAN vander STRATE & JACOMIJNTJE van WEEMAER Echtecliek versaemt binnen DELFT den 18 Meij 1642.

Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen,  
Rotterdam

New York only

In the third quarter of the seventeenth century a number of richly decorated silver dishes were made in Delft, testifying to the renewed prosperity of the city as a result of the booming faience industry. Of these, the dish exhibited here is one of the most sumptuous. As recorded in the inscription, it was made in commemoration of the wedding of Jan van der Straten and Jacomijntje van Weemaer, who were married in Delft in 1642. As the dish dates from 1667, it was evidently made on the occasion of their silver wedding anniversary. It seems somewhat surprising that such a splendid piece should have been made for a relatively obscure couple, but this may be explained by the close relationship between the silversmith and the celebrants: a daughter of the Van der Stratens, Franchyna, married the maker of this dish, Nicolaes Keyser, in the same year, 1667.

The undulating rim of the dish shows that the auricular style remained in favor with Delft silversmiths for many years (see cat. nos. 146, 147). It surrounds six scenes, separated by trees, showing men and women in the open air, playing cards, herding cattle, drinking, conversing, and engaging in other activities.

These vignettes are based on a series of engravings extolling leisure that was executed by Cornelis Bloemaert (1603–1684) after designs by Abraham Bloemaert (1564–1651; see fig. 327).<sup>1</sup> Rest and leisure were probably judged suitable subjects to adorn a present for a couple advanced in years. Ornamental dishes combining figurative scenes with auricular motifs were produced in other Dutch cities, notably Amsterdam, beginning about 1650; by the mid-1660s, floral and naturalistic motifs tended to overshadow the auricular elements on such pieces made in Amsterdam and other major centers.<sup>2</sup>

Nicolaes Keyser became a master goldsmith in 1666, the year before he made this dish. It shows that he was an artist of great ability, and archival records indicate that for many years he played a prominent role within the Delft goldsmiths' guild. And yet no other work by him is known.

R B

1. Hollstein, vol. 2, p. 77, nos. 212–15.

2. Compare De Lorm 1999, nos. 16, 17, 24, 25.

REFERENCES: London 1862, no. 6182; Jones 1907, pl. XXXIII; Frederiks 1952–61, vol. 1 (1952), no. 205; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 38; Wijsenbeek and Erkelens 1962, pp. 33–34; Ter Molen 1976, pp. 100–101; Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 75; Ter Molen 1994, no. 34 (with additional literature).

EXHIBITED: London 1862, no. 6182; Delft, Amsterdam 1956–57, no. 38; Amsterdam, Toledo, Boston 1979–80, no. 75.

EX COLL.: Made for Jan van der Straten and his wife, Jacomijntje van Weemaer, on the occasion of their twenty-fifth wedding anniversary; Lionel de Rothschild, about 1862; Leopold de Rothschild, about 1900; [J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam, 1934]; J. G. van Beuningen, Vierhouten; acquired in 1958 by the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen (M.B.Z. 198).



Fig. 327. Cornelis Bloemaert (after Abraham Bloemaert), *Gambling Soldiers*. Engraving, 4 1/4 x 6 1/4 in. (11.5 x 15.6 cm). From *The Leisure Series*, ca. 1620–25. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949





## DELFTWARE

### DELFT FACTORY

#### *149, 150. Two Plaques with Views of the Tomb of William the Silent in Delft*

Painted by Isaack Junius (active in Delft 1640–50)

1657

Tin-glazed earthenware

H. 12 1/4 in. (31 cm), w. 9 1/4 in. (24 cm)

Signed and dated on the reverse

Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Museum Lambert van Meerten

There must have been quite a large market in Delft for illustrations of the tomb of Prince William the Silent, designed by Hendrick de Keyser and completed in 1621. A select group of Delft artists, including, most notably, Gerard Houckgeest, produced paintings of church interiors in which the tomb occupied a prominent place. Following the untimely death, in 1650, of the prince's grandson, Stadholder Willem II, the tomb of the patriarch of the House of Orange took on an even greater measure of symbolic significance for the Dutch people. These Delftware plaques of 1657 are an expression of the political sentiments of the country at that time.

Most pieces of Delftware that were not decorated in the Chinese manner — a very



Fig. 328. Anonymous engraver after Hendrick de Keyser, *Two Views of the Tomb of William the Silent in Delft*, published by Pieter de Keyser in 1622. Engraving, overall 20 1/4 x 33 in. (52.8 x 83.9 cm). Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, Cambridge (photo courtesy Christopher Mendez, London)





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small proportion of the total output—must have been painted by local craftsmen employed by the city's Delftware potteries. On rare occasions, however, a professional painter from elsewhere or an amateur decorated Delftware. These two views of William the Silent's monumental tomb are a case in point. They were executed by Isaack Junius, who was baptized in Haarlem on May 29, 1616, and worked as a painter in Delft from 1640 to 1650, specializing in battle scenes in the style of Palamedes Palamedesz (see cat. no. 49). Junius left Delft in 1650 and a few years later was appointed

to the relatively prestigious post of sheriff of "beide Catwycken en 't Zandt." He probably never painted Delftware professionally.<sup>1</sup> Several pairs of plaques with the same views of the tomb are known, however; most of them are signed by Junius and all were painted in May or June 1657.<sup>2</sup> During this period the artist also painted military scenes on faience.<sup>3</sup>

The size of these plaques was dictated by the dimensions of the engravings after Hendrick de Keyser published in Salomon de Bray's *Architectura Moderna* of 1631 (see fig. 328 for an earlier version of the same

print),<sup>4</sup> from which Junius made pricked drawings to guide him in painting the two views of the tomb. It is not surprising that such exceptional pieces, painted by a nonprofessional, were signed and dated. J D V D

1. De Loos-Haaxman 1956, pp. 102–8, figs. 1, 2.

2. Van Dam 1991, pp. 10–11.

3. F. Scholten 1990.

4. De Bray 1631, pls. XXXIX, XL.

EX COLL.: Acquired in 1954 by Museum Lambert van Meerten, Delft (2126A, 2126B).

## DELFT FACTORY

### 151, 152. *Two Plaques with Views inside a Gothic Church*

1662

Tin-glazed earthenware

H. 11¼ in. (28 cm), w. 11¼ in. (28 cm)

Both dated bottom right: 1662; inscribed (12400-6): Luc 18 II; (12400-7): Marc 12

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

This pair of plaques, for which two different studies of a Gothic church probably served as the models, are part of a long-standing Delft tradition of depicting the interiors of the city's churches. A Delft household inventory of 1640 lists "two octagonal ebony frames with porcelain [faience] paintings."<sup>1</sup> These octagonal plaques with a circular design must once have been framed in a similar fashion, since the white corners would have been hidden by an octagonal frame. The plaques show the white-washed interior of a Gothic church, which had been stripped of its decorations after the Reformation. They are painted from two different viewpoints — one looking from the side into the open space of the nave, the other surveying the length of an aisle. A biblical scene is shown in each: the parable of the Pharisee and the publican (Luke 18.10–14) and the parable of the widow's mite (Mark 12.42–44). In the seventeenth century this kind of biblical story was illustrated in a setting that the viewer could recognize, with the figures depicted in contemporary dress. The firing process has given the decoration a painterly look. An effect of depth is achieved through the use of perspective. The two plaques are an exceptional pair of "porcelain paintings" and were certainly made to order. This would also have been the reason for dating them.

JDVD

1. Van Dam 1991, pp. 26–27.

REFERENCES: Havard 1877, p. 14; Hudig 1929, p. 173.

EX COLL.: John F. Loudon; his heirs; their bequest in 1916 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-12400-6, 7).



## DELFT FACTORY

### 153. *Plaque with a Landscape*

ca. 1660–75

Tin-glazed earthenware

H. 10¼ in. (26 cm), w. 9½ in. (24.2 cm)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

*New York only*

Many of the extant seventeenth-century Delftware plaques with Western-style decoration date from the 1650s and 1660s. Some must have been framed; others have holes for hanging. In inventories of household effects these plaques are referred to as “porcelain paintings.” Indeed, once framed, they looked like paintings. This example had a wooden frame at one time, for the hole drilled through

the piece at top center is not original. The dark blue painted border must have made a superb transition between the clear white of the glaze and the black of the wood frame.

Featuring a ruin on a rocky promontory by a lake and hills in the background, the landscape certainly does not appear to be Dutch. The man and woman stolidly walking away from us on a sandy track and the man and his dog approaching are figures that would look at home anywhere in Europe. The painter may have used a print as his model, but it is much more likely that he drew inspiration from a painting by Pieter Anthonisz Groenewegen (ca. 1600–1658?), who worked in Rome before settling in Delft for several years.<sup>1</sup> Certainly there were paintings to be seen by him in Delft during the 1660s.

A fine effect of depth has been created by painting in the foreground much more strongly than the hills in the background. The shade of blue used here is very close to the blue in the

plaques with views of a church interior dated 1662 (cat. nos. 151, 152) but is rather more expressive and slightly harder — consequently, not the color most commonly used in the early 1660s.

Most Delftware plaques (for example, cat. nos. 149–52, 154, 156) were completely coated with glaze. This treatment prevented the glaze from dulling but increased the risk that the paint would run. An unusual feature of this plaque is that the back is unglazed, like a tile. The fine gloss of the glaze on the front represents a considerable technical achievement. The piece must have come from a Delftware pottery where the artisans fully understood their craft but where “porcelain paintings” were produced very rarely. J D V D

1. See Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 249, no. A3965.

EX COLL.: [Julius Boas Berg, Amsterdam, 1900]; acquired in 1900 by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-11493).







## DELFT FACTORY

### 154. *Plaque with The Prophet Elijah Fed by the Ravens*

1658

Tin-glazed earthenware

H. 9 1/4 in. (24.5 cm), w. 11 1/4 in. (30 cm)

Dated on front and back: 1658

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

As in the biblical story, the prophet Elijah looks up at the ravens that have come to feed him. Here, however, he is not in the desert but in a fertile, hilly landscape with three cows. The Delftware painter had no conception of what the desert described in the Scriptures actually looked like, nor, evidently, did he have a copy of a print depicting Elijah in the desert. He consequently fell back on a landscape print by Nicolaes Berchem in which three Dutch cows are the most prominent feature. The composition of Berchem's print was extended upward and pricked for pouncing. The tree was made more slender and given branches. For the figure of Elijah, the Delft painter and draftsman Leonaert Bramer (1596–1674) was obviously called upon to produce a design that would complement the print. Bramer delivered a drawing that dovetailed with the rest of the design.<sup>1</sup> The ravens, which look more like flying ducks, were also added. Technically, the result was remarkably successful. The glaze

shines splendidly and the painted decoration has not run anywhere. One can even see the difference in style between the two designs.

An octagon has been drawn in the glaze on the back, as if the painter wanted to gauge what would be left of the landscape if it were put in such a frame. He must have been pleased with the result because an octagonal plaque exists, also dated 1658, with the same design but without the prophet Elijah.<sup>2</sup> This is an unusual and expensive piece that must have taken a long time to paint; for this reason it was dated on both front and back.

JDVD

1. Plomp 1999, p. 199.

2. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Glaisher Collection; see Rackham 1935, vol. 1, p. 319, pl. 196A.

REFERENCES: Havard 1877, pp. 13–14; Hudig 1929, p. 173; Van Dam 1991, pp. 12–13.

EX COLL.: John F. Loudon; his heirs; their gift in 1916 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-12400-3).

## DELFT FACTORY

### 155. *Dish with a Winter Landscape*

1650

Tin-glazed earthenware

Diam. 14 1/4 in. (37 cm)

Dated on the back: 1650

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

The form of this dish, with its flat bottom, pronounced foot ring, rounded sides, and flared rim, is derived from the Chinese export porcelain shipped to the Netherlands beginning about 1600. Varying in profile from quite flat for shallow dishes to sharply curved for deeper ones, such wares are typical of the Delftware produced during the second half of the seventeenth century. The dish was pressed

over a mold on a turntable. Traces of the jollier's fingermarks can be seen on the reverse. The glaze is a fine white but a little dull because flux was used sparingly to ensure that the thin lines of the decoration did not run.

The decoration, which shows houses on either side of a frozen canal, leafless trees, and a boat half frozen in the ice, suggests winter calm. The grayish blue paint reinforces the wintry feel of this landscape, which is rendered in a sketchlike style. The lines laid down through the pricked drawing used for pouncing are vigorous, but when it came to filling in the rest, as if it were a wash drawing, the painter did not always show the same sureness of touch. The border, a continuous foliate scroll, would have been a routine job for an experienced painter. The foliage is well painted, if a little stiff. Perhaps the decoration of this dish was done by two people—one more experienced than the other. The quality of the

finishing and the technical characteristics, including the red spur marks on the back left by the pegs on which the dish rested during firing, reveal similarities to a highly varied group of pieces attributed to a Delftware potter in Haarlem. This dish differs slightly in size from the other examples in that group, however, and in the absence of any further evidence it must be assumed that it was made as a special piece at one of the thriving Delft potteries. The fact that it was exceptional may have been the reason for inscribing a date on it.

JDVD

REFERENCES: "Keuze uit de aanwinsten" 1975, p. 237, fig. 5; Van Dam 1982, p. 63; Van Dam 1991, pp. 8–9.

EX COLL.: [Kunsthandel A. Aardewerk, The Hague, 1975]; purchased from that gallery in 1975 by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-1975-12).





## DELFT FACTORY

### 156. *Plaque with a Portrait of Robertus Junius*

1660

Tin-glazed earthenware

H. 6 1/4 in. (17.4 cm), w. 5 1/2 in. (13.8 cm)

Dated on the back: 1660

Museum van Het Bock/Museum  
Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague

*New York only*

A series of plaques bearing portraits of local ministers of the Reformed Church was made at one of the Delftware potteries in 1660. The printed source was a series of engravings by Christijn van Queborn (1604–1652) dating from about 1645. One plaque, with the portrait

of the minister Robertus Junius, is included in this exhibition. Other plaques in the series — some with the identical portrait and some with different ones — are in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and other collections. Most are dated 1660, but one example is dated 1662; probably a single series was produced in 1660, and then new or repeat orders for the occasional portrait were filled later that year and until at least 1662. A plate with the same portrait of Robertus Junius and a continuous floral border is known. It is also dated 1660.<sup>1</sup>

For many years Robertus Junius was the Reformed minister on the island of Formosa, which was then a Dutch possession. From 1645 to 1653 he was a pastor in Delft. Dionysius Spranckhuysen, one of the other ministers portrayed, lived in Delft beginning in 1625 and was appointed guardian to Isaack Junius when his parents died in 1636. Later the same Isaack

Junius became a painter in Delft, and in 1657 he decorated two plaques in this exhibition (cat. nos. 149, 150). The Delftware portrait series under discussion here has been linked to him.<sup>2</sup>

The painter followed the engravings used for pouncing closely, and due to his skill and the properties of Delftware the portraits on these plaques are better drawn than the originals. A pleasing balance between the white of the glaze and the blue of the gown creates a contrast that gives a fine effect of depth. J D V D

1. London 1993, p. 21.

2. De Loos-Haaxman 1956.

REFERENCES: D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer 1975, p. 11;  
Van Dam 1991, pp. 20–21.

EX COLL.: Acquired by Willem Hendrik Jacob Westreenen van Tiellandt (1783–1848); his bequest to the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague (886/1054).



## DELFT FACTORY

### 157. *Dish with a Representation of the Sense of Hearing*

ca. 1650–65  
Tin-glazed earthenware  
Diam. 20 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (53 cm)

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

*New York only*

After 1647, when China stopped exporting porcelain to Europe, the Delftware industry experienced a period of phenomenal growth. For the next thirty-five years the potteries concentrated on producing Delftware with Chinese-style decoration, along with a wide range of other wares. Many of the pieces with Western decoration were intended purely for ornament. This one was designed as a wall decoration—it would probably have been displayed on a narrow shelf at the top of an expanse of paneling in the interior of a home.

Series of Delftware dishes depicting a couple accompanied by a cupid were evidently popular in the 1650s. Individual pieces from various series of this type survive in the Rijksmuseum and other collections. The *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels have a complete set of five; the dishes are slightly smaller than this example, however.<sup>1</sup> Although it is not immediately obvious, this dish is part of just such a set depicting the senses of smell, taste, sight, touch, and hearing. It has no inscription, but the image of a man playing the lute, a woman playing the clavichord, and a cupid holding a book of songs may be interpreted as an allegory of hearing. The border, a continuous foliate scroll with flowers, is more intricate than the one decorating the Delftware dish with a winter landscape dated 1650 (cat. no. 155), and there are examples with even more elaborate scroll borders dating from the 1660s.<sup>2</sup> The border decoration in its simplest form did not disappear entirely from the Delftware repertoire until about 1710.

In order to manufacture their wares in large quantities the Delft potteries standardized



processes. The saggars in which the pieces were fired came in graduated sizes, the largest of which was about twenty inches (fifty centimeters) in diameter; thus, dishes and plaques produced in Delft are seldom more than nineteen inches (forty-eight centimeters) across. This dish is an exception and was consequently not fired in a standard sagger. It was most probably packed into a kiln between other pieces for firing since there are no spur marks on the reverse left by the pegs on which it would normally have rested in a sagger.

In 1863 a very similar dish, exactly the same size but depicting the sense of taste, was one of the highlights of the Delft collection of C. E. Jedeloo.<sup>3</sup> J D V D

1. Diam. 15 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (39.7 cm); *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels, inv. no. Ev. 226-A-E. See Helbig n.d., p. 89.

2. Van Dam 1982, p. 64, fig. 92.

3. London 1993, pp. 20–21.

REFERENCE: Havard 1877, p. 44.

EX COLL.: John F. Loudon; his heirs; their gift in 1916 to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (BK-NM-12400-42).

Attributed to  
**THE GREEK A  
 FACTORY**

**158. *Tile with a Design by  
 Daniel Marot***

ca. 1690  
 Tin-glazed earthenware  
 H. 27¼ in. (69.2 cm), w. 27¼ in. (69.2 cm)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New  
 York, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964

*New York only*

When William III, stadholder of Holland and king of England, and Queen Mary decided to tile the walls of at least one room in the Thames-side buildings at Hampton Court, they were following a sound Dutch tradition of sealing damp walls with glazed tiles. Dutch tilemakers were accustomed to executing large designs on panels with standard five-inch-square tiles. The sizing was so accurate and the tiles were so flat that they could be set almost completely flush, with no joints

to speak of. In most cases the effect was of a pleasing whole.

The idea of having the king's Dutch art adviser Daniel Marot (1663–1752) design wall panels eight feet high and two feet wide to be painted, not on fields of twenty-by-five standard tiles, but on four two-foot-square plaques mounted one above the other would have made this commission technically almost impossible for any tile manufacturer. The Delftware industry seldom produced pieces larger than about nineteen inches (forty-eight centimeters) across (see the discussion under cat. no. 157).

Adriaan Kocks and his brother-in-law Samuel van Eenhoorn, the owners of the pottery known as "The Greek A," had supplied some splendid pieces for Het Loo Palace, near Apeldoorn, in the 1680s. Kocks would also supply the tulip vases specially designed for William and Mary's new buildings at Hampton Court, and it therefore seems likely that this factory accepted the difficult commission for these exceptional tiles. On the present example (the topmost tile of the right-hand column, of which there is a second example in the Rijksmuseum), angels sounding trumpets float

under drapery with a royal crown, above a bust in Roman style representing the king himself. On another tile we see the king mounted on his horse, and on a third the monogram WMR is painted on a pennon under a royal crown — all indications that these designs were also created specifically for the king.

The building work at Hampton Court was brought to a halt when the queen died in 1694. The Water Gallery, probably the room in which the tiles had been hung, was demolished as early as 1700. These unique pieces then vanished from sight until 1923, when an English art dealer suddenly put ten tiles — parts of at least four sets — on the market. Five of them are now in the Rijksmuseum; the Metropolitan Museum in New York has the present example, thanks to Irwin Untermyer's gift; and museums in Delft, Copenhagen, London, and Sèvres have one each.

JDDVD

REFERENCES: Hackenbroch 1956, no. 231; Lane 1959.

EXHIBITED: New York, Pittsburgh 1988–89, no. 164.

EX COLL.: Probably from the palace of Hampton Court; Irwin Untermyer; his gift in 1964 to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (acc. no. 64.101.389).





# GLASS

## DUTCH MAKER

### 159. *Wineglass with the Arms of Delft*

ca. 1685

Clear glass with diamond-point engraving  
H. 6½ in. (16.2 cm); diam. of foot 3½ in.  
(8.9 cm)

Engraved with the crest of Delft. Inscribed:  
Stadts Welvaren

Wunsch Foundation

*New York only*



This diamond-engraved goblet or wineglass is engraved with the crest of Delft, surmounted by a crown and flanked by rampant lions. The funnel-shaped bowl also bears the calligraphic inscription "Stadts Welvaren," which may be taken as a toast "to the city's prosperity." The same inscription is found on a smaller glass engraved with the arms of Leiden in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden.<sup>1</sup> On the present example, the conical folded foot is decorated with two stylized flowers. The stem, in the form of an inverted baluster, is hollow.

Glasses of this and related types were made in the Spanish Netherlands from the late sixteenth century onward, following Venetian examples. By about 1600 the industry was well established in Holland. The technique of diamond-point engraving is also Venetian; it became exceedingly popular in the Dutch Republic during the early seventeenth century and remained so throughout the Golden Age. Many examples, produced purely for show, bear family crests, often in pairs commemorating marriages. Beakers and *roemers* bearing the crest of Maurits and those of other Dutch princes are also well known.<sup>2</sup>

Delft itself was not a center of glass manufacture, as were Antwerp, Liège, Amsterdam, Middelburg, and other Netherlandish cities.<sup>3</sup> This wineglass, which became known only recently, is included in the present exhibition to illustrate one more aspect of taste in Delft, and as something of a final footnote to the subject of Vermeer and his world (see fig. 167 and cat. no. 70).

W L

1. Pelinck 1951, pl. 19.

2. See Amsterdam 1993–94, nos. 118–20, 123–25.

3. See the overview by Pieter C. Ritsema van Eck in *ibid.*, under no. 130, and the same author's publications cited in the bibliography of Amsterdam 1993–94.

EX COLL.: Acquired by the present owner from a London dealer in 2000.

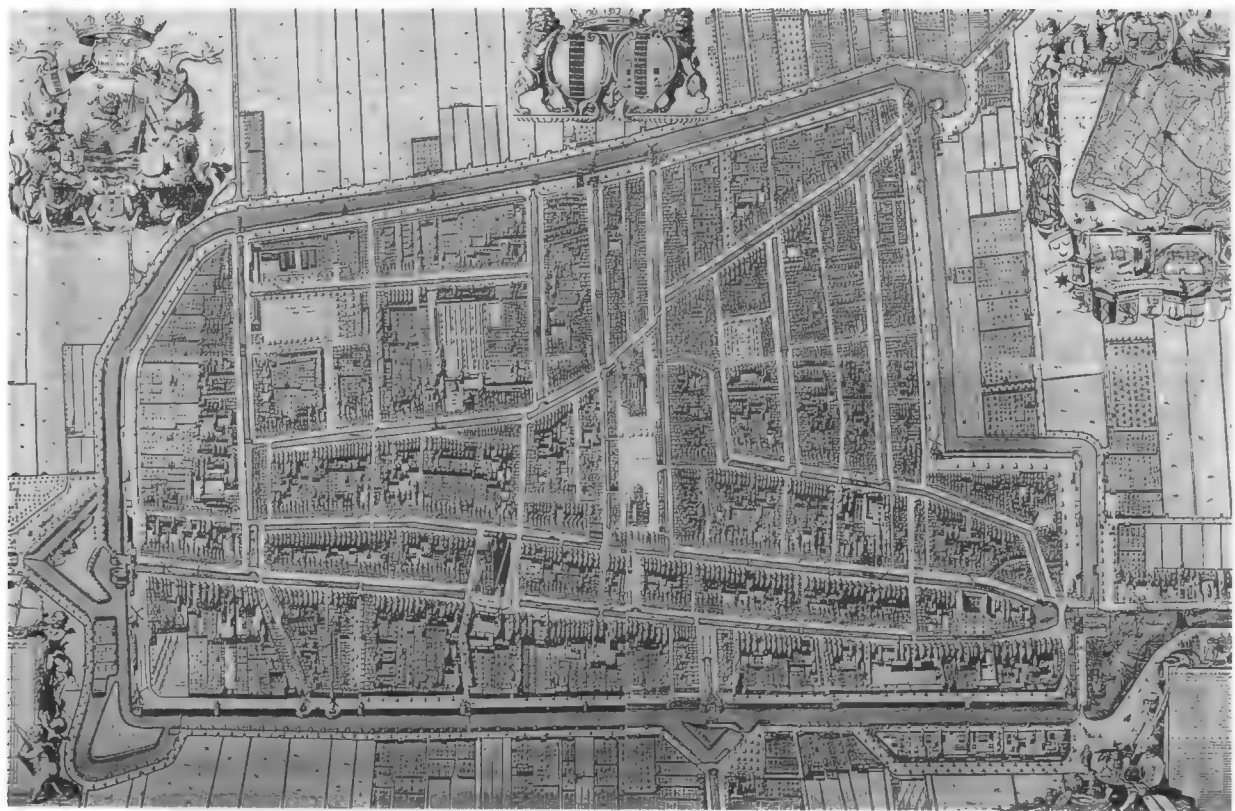


Fig. 329. Johannes de Ram and Coenraet Decker, *Map of Delft*, section of the *Kaart Figuratief*, 1703 or 1752 (original version 1678). Etching and engraving, 33¼ x 49¼ in. (85.3 x 126 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof



# Along the City Walls: An Imaginary Walk through Seventeenth-Century Delft

MICHIEL C. PLOMP

IT IS SURPRISING HOW FEW VIEWS of seventeenth-century Delft are known—considering the number of townscapes of Amsterdam, Haarlem, and Utrecht that survive.<sup>1</sup> Of course, Delft was a smaller city and art center, but it is still remarkable that painters did not record its picturesque features more frequently, especially its canals, squares, town halls, churches, and other important public spaces and buildings. Apart from Pieter van Asch, Daniel Vosmaer, and, of course, Johannes Vermeer, most local artists when depicting their hometown preferred to concentrate on private spaces such as domestic interiors and courtyards and particular corners within the churches, often those with a monument commemorating an individual. Struck by the visual charms of Delft, however, several visiting artists recorded the city's public monuments for posterity, often in quick sketches that sparkle with life.

As an introduction to some of the most beautiful and evocative views of Delft dating from the seventeenth century, we will take a walk along the walls surrounding the city. Such descriptive excursions have a long tradition in Dutch literature, beginning at least as early as the 1590s. What the following pages lack in literary merit will be somewhat compensated for by the illustrations. Beginning in the seventeenth century Dutch collectors assembled topographical

drawings and prints for the precise purpose of traveling around the country or the world from their armchairs as they pored over the leaves in their portfolios, which they called atlases.<sup>2</sup> Our stroll will be more restricted, for we will stay on or near the ramparts enclosing Delft, which in the seventeenth century were celebrated for their views of “beautiful trees and shrubbery.”<sup>3</sup>

Before setting out, we ought to consult a plan of the city, in this case one dating from the 1670s. Our splendid *Kaart Figuratief* (Illustrated Map) was one of the most ambitious projects of its kind produced in the seventeenth century (fig. 329; see the discussion under cat. nos. 134, 135). The spiritual father of this publishing enterprise was the former Delft burgomaster Dirck van Bleyswijck (1639–1681), who has often been mentioned in this volume in connection with his invaluable nine-hundred-page history of the city, *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* (1667–80).<sup>4</sup> Obviously, the monumental *Kaart Figuratief* was intended as much more than a guide: it also offers a profile (sky-line) view of the city (fig. 330), illustrations of some of its most important public buildings, and representations of a few interesting places in the immediate environs of Delft. The sweeping panorama etched by Coenraet Decker (1651–1685) shows Delft from the west (compare Hendrick Vroom's much earlier painting, cat. no. 89).



Fig. 330. Detail, Coenraet Decker after Johannes Verkolje, *Profile of Delft*, section of the *Kaart Figuratief*, 1678. Etching and engraving, 9% x 49% in. (24.5 x 126 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof



Fig. 331. Coenraet Decker after Johannes Verkolje, *Sint Jorispoort (Saint George's Gate) in Delft*. Etching and engraving, 6 7/8 x 10 1/4 in. (17.5 x 27 cm). From Dirck van Bleyswijk, *Beschryvinge der Stadt Delft*, Delft, 1667[–80]. Private collection

The print offers a good impression of how Delft looked in the second half of the century, with the majestic towers of the Oude Kerk (left) and Nieuwe Kerk (center) rising into view behind the massive city walls. As in most Dutch cities of the era, almost all of Delft's buildings and businesses were located within the medieval ramparts. With their turrets and surrounding moat, these walls had been crucial to the welfare of Delft during the Eighty Years' War with Spain. Only after 1648, when the Treaty of Münster was signed and

the United Provinces became an independent country, did the ramparts of Delft become a place where citizens and visitors could enjoy pleasant promenades.

When we enter the world of Decker's panorama we are inevitably drawn to the most distinctive feature of the western wall, the Sint Jorispoort (Saint George's Gate, also known as the Waterslootse Poort; fig. 331). This was one of the largest and most impressive city gates in the northern Netherlands. In the seventeenth century the



Fig. 332. Pieter van Asch, *The Delft City Wall with the Houttuinen*, possibly ca. 1650. Oil on canvas, 21 x 30 in. (53.3 x 76.2 cm). Location unknown (photo courtesy Christie's Images, Ltd.)



Fig. 333. Detail, *Kaart Figuratief* (fig. 329)

towers served as prison cells, supervised by the bailiff of Delfland. The late-sixteenth-century superstructure was built for this purpose.<sup>5</sup> Immediately behind the gate we come upon a canal, the Binnenwatersloot. Jannetje van der Burch lived along this canal, as did the man she married in 1654, the painter Pieter de Hooch. They must often have heard the buzzing and rasping of saws in the nearby Houttuinen. Decker included these “lumber gardens” in the right foreground of his panorama, but he underestimated their height for the sake of the view. The Houttuinen were divided into twelve lots, each of them fenced on all sides. Here Delft’s lumber merchants stored and cut up timber that had been imported through the Baltic Sea from the Scandinavian countries, Poland, and Russia. A painting by Pieter van Asch (1603–1678) of a previously unidentified subject in fact depicts this very site (fig. 332).<sup>6</sup> The city wall is seen on the left, and on the right are the large barns and fences within which Delft’s timber industry flourished. The activity in the foreground gives some idea of how wood was distributed to builders and other purchasers, who of course shipped their loads along the city’s canals.

If we continue south along the city wall (as it recedes toward the center of Van Asch’s canvas), we come to a tall windmill, the Groenmolen, named for the family who owned it for generations. The mill stood near the Bourgondische Toren (Burgundian Tower), one of several round bastions spaced along the ramparts. The tower is visible in Van Asch’s painting and in a detail of the *Kaart Figuratief*, where a drawbridge crosses the moat (fig. 333). At this point we might either descend to the Zuidwal (South Wall), which is the sunny quay recorded in a beautiful drawing by Jan de Bisschop (1628–1671), a lawyer and gifted amateur draftsman from The Hague (cat. no. 99). Or we might cross the drawbridge for a more distant view of the same quay and the city from the other side of the triangular harbor called the Kolk. Even if we time-travelers had never visited Delft before, we would probably recognize the prospect instantly, for it is recorded in one of the best-known paintings in the history of art (fig. 23), *A View of Delft* by Johannes Vermeer of about 1660–61.

Two city gates, mirrored in the water, vie for our attention: the Schiedam Gate on the left, with the small turret on top, and the Rotterdam Gate on the right, with its distinctive entrance that resembles a small castle extending southward. The two gates are connected by a stationary bridge that admits low boats into the city through an archway. In the right background, the tower of the Nieuwe Kerk glistens in the sunlight and seems to nearly touch the clouds. The spire would have been one of the first indications that the city lay ahead as one sailed up the river Schie (see fig. 24).

Vermeer’s restful depiction of the Kolk is somewhat misleading, for this was a very busy spot.<sup>7</sup> All kinds of tugboats, “damrunners,” and yachts came up the Schie from Rotterdam, Schiedam, and Delfshaven and in due course went back again. Here, too, one could catch a *trekschuit* (horse-drawn canal barge) to The Hague, Leiden,



Fig. 334. Josua de Grave, *City Facades of the Rotterdam and Schiedam Gates*, 1695. Pen and brown ink and gray wash,  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 6$  in. (9 x 15.2 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft



Fig. 335. Josua de Grave, *The Armamentarium on De Geer Canal*, 1695. Pen and brown ink and gray wash,  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. (9 x 15 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft

or points north (see fig. 5); on an average day there was a constant flurry of arrivals and departures and a bustle as goods were loaded and unloaded along this stretch of the city walls. It is not surprising that several drawings of the site and the immediately adjacent areas survive from the seventeenth century. Artists waiting for the next scheduled ferry must have seized the opportunity to sketch such an attractive place (see cat. nos. 99, 113, 117).

To continue our excursion, let us go back across the drawbridge and enter the city through the Schiedam Gate, beyond which we will come upon the bridge in the center of Vermeer’s painting. A charming drawing made by Josua de Grave (1640/45–1712), dated June 7, 1695 (fig. 334), gives an idea of how the Schiedam and Rotterdam gates—which, alas, were destroyed in the nineteenth century—looked from the other side, with the Rotterdam Gate now on the left and the Schiedam Gate on the right.<sup>8</sup> De Grave, who lived in The Hague from 1678 onward, appears to have stayed in Delft for a few weeks in 1695, since he made other drawings of the city’s sights later

Fig. 336. Josua de Grave, *The Rotterdam Gate from Afar*, 1695. Pen and brown ink and gray wash,  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$  in. (9 x 14.7 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft



in the month. Another drawing made on June 7 shows the view into town from the bridge between these two famous gates (fig. 335). Visible on the left is part of the Armamentarium, one of the most important armories in the Dutch Republic.<sup>9</sup> Access to the area around the massive building was restricted to some extent—hence the fence. Down the canal we can see the spire of the Gasthuiskerk, a chapel belonging to one of the city hospitals (see fig. 3). If we walked in that direction along the western quay of the canal called Oude Delft, we would come upon the vista painted by Jan Steen (1626–1679) in *A Burgher of Delft and His Daughter* (cat. no. 58). A little farther along, we would recognize the closer view of the Oude Kerk and its surroundings as recorded by Jan van der Heyden (1637–1712) in 1675 (fig. 1), with the Prinsenhof in the left background (compare fig. 27).

We will not enter the city yet, however, but instead turn and exit through the Rotterdam Gate. The exceptional length of the passageway in this main entrance to the city is evident from a drawing by Jan van Kessel (cat. no. 117), and perhaps even more so in another drawing by Josua de Grave, whom we could have accompanied on June 28, 1695, through the darkness of that tunnel and out again, moving along the southern moat toward the east. Turning around, our group would have enjoyed an unfamiliar view to the west along the city wall, with the Rotterdam Gate in the distance (fig. 336). It was probably from about the same vantage point that Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674) drew one of his most attractive townscapes: *The City Walls of Delft with the Mill Called "The Rose"* (cat. no. 113). He must have lingered by the water here, since he made another drawing of the massive Oosterijkse Toren (Austrian Tower) located at a tranquil turn in the city wall.

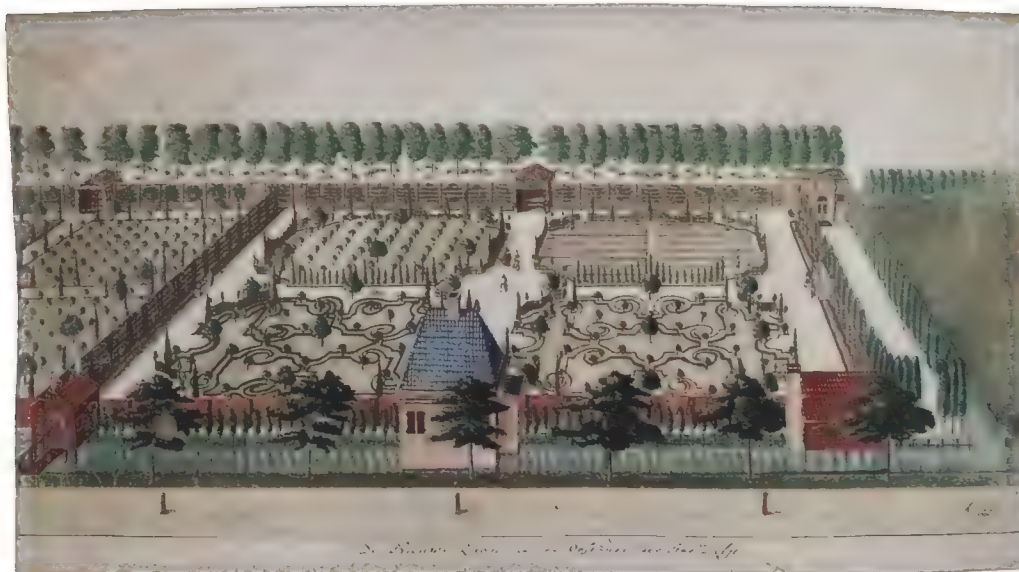
Around the corner we would come upon a view painted by Daniel Vosmaer (cat. no. 86). It probably dates from about the same period as Van den Eeckhout's drawings. The tower of the Oude Kerk appears on the left, the Nieuwe Kerk's on the right; the top of the town hall is visible just to the left of the mill. Vosmaer altered reality a bit, bringing the Nieuwe Kerk's tower forward in order to strengthen his composition with a vertical accent. The moat in the foreground, with boats and other signs of water traffic, suggests how the areas just outside the city wall revived in the seventeenth century, when life resumed a peaceful tenor after the bitter war with Spain.

If we continue walking to the east, the so-called Nieuwe Laan (New Lane) will eventually come into view on the right. In the seventeenth century this area consisted of carefully tended plots—kitchen gardens and nurseries—where florists grew their stock and where well-to-do citizens of Delft might escape the heat, noise, and smells of the city streets. Pleasure gardens, with arbors, bowers, and summer houses, made country life agreeable to the urban elite. For ordinary men and women there were taverns and cafés in this transitional zone between the city wall and open land. Similar gardens must also have flourished on the west side of the city, as is evident from the *Kaart Figuratief*. Artists rarely recorded everyday gardens of this kind; thus, the colored drawing signed and dated "Kruikius 1701" is a valuable document (fig. 337). It is probably the work of a surveyor named Nicolaes Samuel Crucquius (1678–1754), whose somewhat untrained abilities contribute to its charm.<sup>10</sup>

Continuing along the walls, we soon encounter the Oostpoort (East Gate), the only city gate of Delft that survives today. Like the Kolk on the southwest side of town, the picturesque area around the



Fig. 337. Attributed to Nicolaes Samuel Cruicquius (signed Kruikius), *Gardens on the Nieuwe Laan*, 1701. Watercolor on parchment, 9  $\frac{1}{4}$  x 16  $\frac{1}{4}$  in. (23.8 x 41.4 cm). Gemeentearchief, Delft



Oostpoort attracted the attention of several seventeenth-century draftsmen. At one time or another Jan van de Velde the Younger (1593–1641), Jan van Goyen (1596–1656), Van den Eeckhout (see fig. 338), and De Bisschop (see cat. no. 100) all sat in the shadow of the Oostpoort with sketchbooks on their laps. We might pause to wonder whether they were drawn to the place by its beauty or by the well-known inn “De Prins” (The Prince) nearby (see the discussion under cat. no. 100). Near the Oostpoort stood the Oostmolen (East Mill), which is seen in a drawing by Van de Velde (cat. no. 125). The Oostmolen was one of nine grain mills on the walls of Delft during the sixteenth century; by the end of the seventeenth there were only four. The loss is due to a drastic decline in the beer industry, once one of Delft’s main sources of wealth. A mill that was also undoubtedly connected with the production of beer is the Langendijkse Molen (fig. 339); as the name implies, it stood on the city wall at the east end of the (Oude) Langendijk canal. Breweries required an abundance of fresh water, and mills like this one painted by Pieter van Asch kept the natural resource flowing through the canals. In the late sixteenth century Delft’s councilmen made a successful effort to increase the Langendijk Mill’s capacity, but the Eighty Years’ War and the consequent collapse of markets in the Spanish Netherlands spelled doom for most of Delft’s breweries.<sup>11</sup>

On the left in Van Asch’s painting the Langendijk begins its course straight across the center of the city and nearly to the west side. This would be a convenient place to descend from the city wall and make our way to the heart of Delft, the Markt (Market Square). The Markt will come into view as we arrive at Carel Fabritius’s vantage point when he recorded his panoramic *View in Delft* (cat. no. 18).

A little farther along, past “The Swan” (the fictitious tavern in Fabritius’s townscape) and about halfway along the south side of the Markt, we will reach the house of Maria Thins, Vermeer’s mother-in-law (see fig. 346). During most of his career, the artist lived in Maria Thins’s house with his wife and their ever-growing brood of children. It would be a wonderful experience to drop in and visit the master’s studio, perhaps commenting on the progress of an uncompleted canvas while sipping wine. Some hours later, stepping out of Maria Thins’s front door, we see the imposing Stadhuis (Town Hall) on our left (fig. 2), and the front of the Nieuwe Kerk on the right (fig. 33), proudly framing one of the finest market squares in all the Netherlands. In the seventeenth century the Markt was a thriving center of trade, especially for the textile industry (from Delft’s looms came many fabrics, from fine silk and velvet to utilitarian linen and woolens). The names of several other marketplaces around the city—for example, the Beestenmarkt (Animal Market, where cattle were sold); the Brabantse Turfmarkt (Brabant Peat Market), the Boter Brug (Butter Bridge), the Koornmarkt (Grain Market), and the Paardenmarkt (Horse Market)—suggest how much of Delft’s commercial life took place in the open air.

An outstanding example of Dutch Classicist architecture, the Stadhuis was designed by the country’s leading architect and sculptor, Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621), and built between 1618 and 1621. The building was constructed around a medieval tower, the upper part of which was preserved and can be seen in an engraving by Coenraet Decker (fig. 2). The construction of the Nieuwe Kerk commenced in 1384, and the tower was completed 112 years later. Originally this Catholic church was dedicated to the Virgin and Saint





Fig. 338. Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, *View near the Oostpoort of Delft*, ca. 1660s. Watercolor and pen and brown ink over pencil,  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  in. (14.3 x 19 cm). Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin

Ursula, but after the Reformation the interior was stripped of its religious embellishments, leaving the choir available for the most important national monument in the Dutch Republic, the tomb of William the Silent (see fig. 7; cat nos. 37–39, 93). This elaborate ensemble of black and white Italian marble, Dinant stone, six life-size bronze figures, and a marble effigy was also designed by De Keyser (in 1614) and brought to completion as the town hall was being built.

Upon leaving the church, we might stop in at the “Mechelen” tavern. Located on the north side of the Markt, it was left by Vermeer’s father, Reynier, to his wife and children. The family lived in the “Mechelen” from 1641, when Vermeer was nine years old, until sometime after 1652, when he moved across the Markt to his mother-in-law’s house.

Returning down the Langendijk to the city wall and turning left, we see the scene change rapidly, for the northeast corner of Delft was an area of devastation and slow reconstruction in the 1650s and 1660s. Having come through the Eighty Years’ War unscathed, the city suffered catastrophic damage on October 12, 1654, when one of the eight large arms and powder magazines that the States of Holland had established in Delft exploded with no warning (see fig. 340). According to contemporary accounts the sound was heard more than thirty miles away. The number of people killed in the blast has never been determined but was surely in the hundreds, and thousands more were injured. On that Monday morning at half past eleven Carel Fabritius was painting a portrait. The house on the Doelenstraat into which he had moved the year before was destroyed, the sitter instantly killed, and the painter himself mortally wounded (he died of his injuries a few hours later).<sup>12</sup>

Two artists managed to benefit from the calamity, although one of them, Egbert van der Poel (1621–1664), may have lost a daughter on that fateful day. He and Daniel Vosmaer, the townscape painter mentioned above, turned out numerous paintings of the explosion and its immediate aftermath (see figs. 299, 340; cat. no. 51). At least twenty examples by Van der Poel are known today,<sup>13</sup> and all of them bear the date of the disaster. They must have served as souvenirs for some and as commemorations for others of an event most citizens of Delft would have preferred to forget. In most cases the ruined section of the city is seen from the same vantage point on the city wall, near the Sint Hubrechtstoren, which was the second round bastion north of the Langendijk Mill. The Nieuwe Kerk, the Stadhuis, and the Oude Kerk are usually clustered in the left background. These public buildings escaped relatively unharmed, although the beautiful stained-glass windows in both churches were shattered beyond repair. Very different from the standardized pictures of the ruins by Vosmaer and Van der Poel is the panoramic drawing made by Herman Saftleven (cat. no. 124). This is probably the most accurate depiction of the north end of the city as it appeared in 1654.

Jan van Goyen’s landscape painting of 1654 with Delft in the distance (fig. 341) takes us far from the scene of destruction and indeed is based upon a drawing made before or in 1653 (see the discussion under cat. no. 116). To enjoy this view we leave the city through the Haagse Poort (Hague Gate) and walk through the meadows toward



Fig. 339. Pieter van Asch, *Langendijk Mill*, ca. 1650. Oil on canvas,  $33\frac{1}{2} \times 30\frac{1}{8}$  in. (85 x 77 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy



Fig. 340. Egbert van der Poel, *The Explosion of the Powder Magazine at Delft on Monday, October 12, 1654*, ca. 1654. Oil on wood, 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. (32 x 31 cm). Instituut Collectie Nederland, The Hague (on loan to the Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof)



Fig. 341. Jan van Goyen, *View of Delft from the North*, 1654. Oil on wood, 26 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 39 in. (68 x 99 cm). Gemeente Musea Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof



Fig. 342. Daniel Vosmaer, *View of Delft through an Imaginary Loggia*, 1663. Oil on canvas, 35½ x 44½ in. (90.5 x 113 cm). Instituut Collectie Nederland, The Hague (on loan to the Gemeente Musca Delft; Collection Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof)

the river Vliet. This waterway, the direct connection between Delft and The Hague, appears in the foreground of Van Goyen's picture, although, being an artist, he has changed its course somewhat.

This act of imagination passes almost unnoticed compared with one revealed at our last stop. In the middle of the meadows to the west of the city, near the place where our tour began, stands an Italianate loggia with Tuscan columns and a black-and-white marble floor (see fig. 342). This extraordinary invention by Daniel Vosmaer is typical of the art of Delft in its preoccupation with architecture and perspective and with spaces both distant and near at hand (compare

Fabritius's *View in Delft*; cat. no. 18). Having walked around the walls of Delft, we immediately recognize the Nieuwe Kerk, Oude Kerk, and Stadhuis in Vosmaer's painting and understand where they are located in the city. However, like most visitors to Delft—above all, the artists—what most attracts our eye is the ever-shifting relationship among towers, windmills, gates, and walls as we walk around and through Delft (compare Vosmaer's view in cat. no. 86). These monuments hold their long-established places as we move about. Perhaps one of the pleasures of visiting Delft, especially in prints, drawings, and paintings, is the illusion that it is always the same.

# *Plans of Seventeenth-Century Delft with Locations of Major Monuments and Addresses of Artists and Patrons*

KEES KALDENBACH

**T**he plan of 1678 by Johannes de Ram and Coenraet Decker reproduced on pages 558–59 shows the location of important monuments in Delft.

The colored plans on pages 560–63 are based on city maps dating from between 1678 and the early nineteenth century. For the sake of clarity, individual buildings have not been indicated; for those, the reader may refer to the author's website—[www.xs4all.nl/~kalden](http://www.xs4all.nl/~kalden)—which also provides extensive documentation for the addresses and other information given next to and on the pages following the

plans. The plan posted on the website is a redrafting of the *Kadastrale Minuut* (Detailed Cadastre) of 1832, which was used to record ownership of properties. It is similar to but more legible and—with regard to ground plans—more accurate than Ram and Decker's plan. Artists' names are printed in roman type and correspond to blue numbered circles on the plans. Patrons' names are printed in *italics* and correspond to brown numbered circles on the plans. Dates of residence and other details for each person named are given on pages 564–65.



Fig. 343. Aerial view of the Markt (Market Square), Delft, 1923 (courtesy KLM Aerocarto, Arnhem)

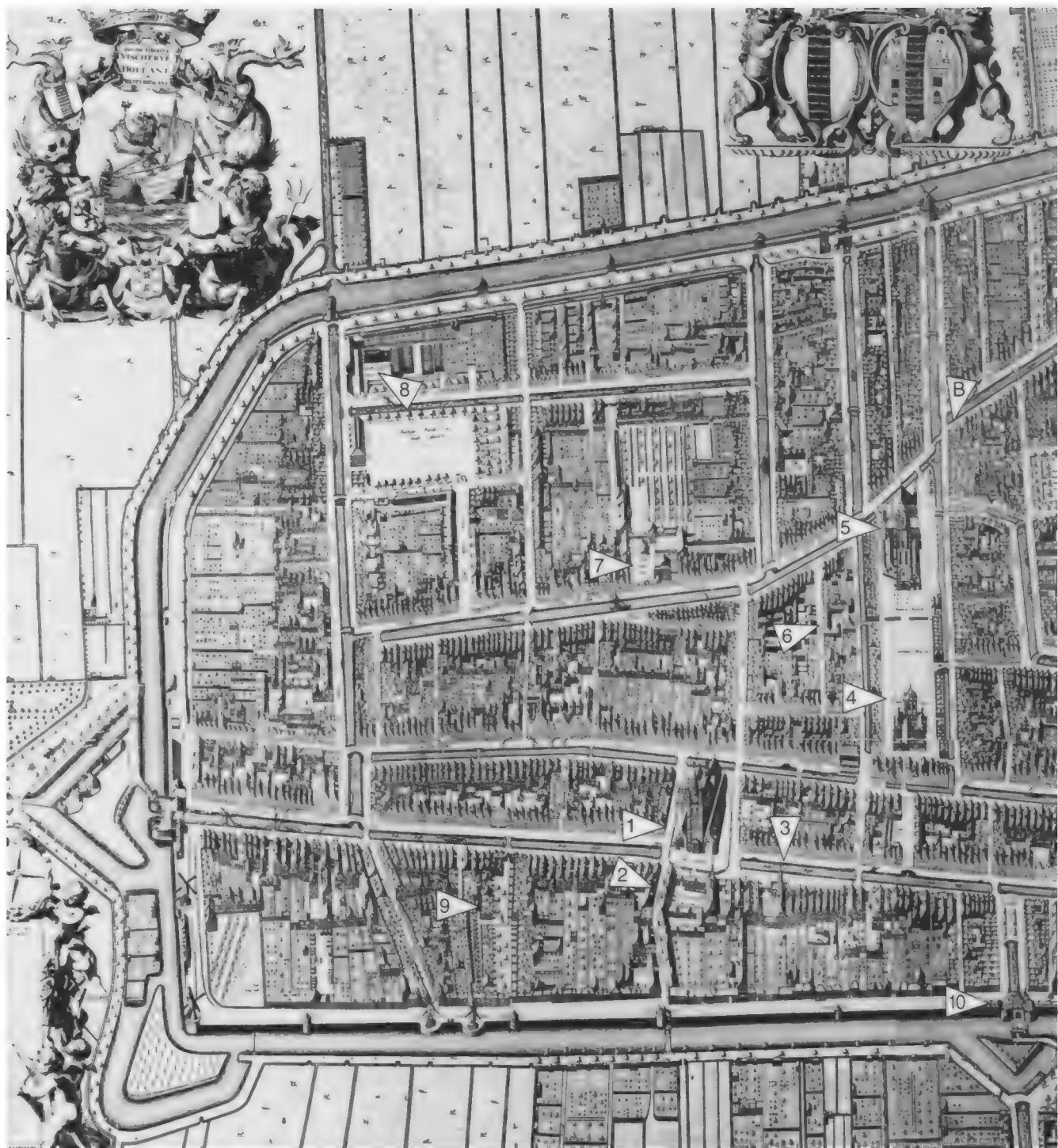


Fig. 344. Plan of Delft showing the principal monuments. Based on Johannes de Ram and Coenraet Decker's *Kaart Figuratief* of 1678 (see cat. no. 134)





## MONUMENTS AND VIEWS

The numbers and letters on the plan indicate the following:

- A. Location from which Vermeer recorded *A View of Delft* (fig. 23)
- B. Location from which Fabritius recorded *A View in Delft* (cat. no. 18)

- 1. Oude Kerk (see also fig. 32)
- 2. Prinsenhof (former Convent of Saint Agatha; see fig. 27)
- 3. Gemeenlandhuis (Communal Land House; see fig. 22)
- 4. Stadhuis (Town Hall; see fig. 2)
- 5. Nieuwe Kerk (see fig. 33)
- 6. Guild of Saint Luke (from 1661; see fig. 229)
- 7. Civic-Guard House and Anatomy Theater (see fig. 266)
- 8. "Secret of Holland," a municipal gunpowder magazine (until October 12, 1654)
- 9. Bagijnhof (Beguinage)
- 10. Sint Jorispoort (Saint George's Gate; see cat. no. 90)
- 11. Schiedam Gate (see fig. 23)
- 12. Rotterdam Gate (see fig. 23 and cat. no. 117)
- 13. East India House (VOC headquarters; see fig. 221)
- 14. Armamentarium (see fig. 335)
- 15. Oostpoort (East Gate; see cat. no. 125)
- 16. Spiering Cloister (former Convent of Saint Agnes)

## Section I

- 1 Hendrik d'Acquet (1632–1706)
- 25 Michiel van der Dussen (1600–1683)
- 28 Carel Fabritius (1622–1654)
- 30 Simon Graswinckel (ca. 1611–1683)
- 38 Abraham Apersz van der Houve (1576–1621)
- 48 Palamedes Palamedesz (1607–1638)
- 50 Egbert van der Poel (1621–1664)
- 54 Pieter Claesz van Ruijven (1624–1674)
- 67 Hendrick van Vliet (1611/12–1675)
- 69 Willem van Vliet (ca. 1584–1642)
- 74 Melchior Wuytjens (d. after 1626)

Fig. 345. Addresses of artists and patrons in 17th-century Delft (for central Delft, see fig. 346)



### LEGEND

- 69 Artist
- 74 Patron or collector
- 48 Persons whose precise address is unknown
- 25



## Section 2

- 7 Gillis de Bergh (ca. 1600–1669)
- 15 Pieter van Bronckhorst (1588–1661)
- 16 Willem van den Bundel (1577–1655)
- 33 Maximiliaan van der Gucht (1603–1689)
- 36 Gerard Houckgeest (ca. 1600–1661)
- 40 Lambert Kruyck (before 1590–1644)
- 51 Jacob Pynas (ca. 1585–1656)
- 53 Arent van Renoy (ca. 1580–1624)
- 55 Aert Spiering (1593–1650)
- 56 François Spiering (1549/51–1631)
- 72 Anthony van der Wiel (1620–1693)
- 73 Emanuel de Witte (ca. 1616–1691/92)

For more information, consult the index on pages 564–65.

## Section 3

- 2 Willem van Aelst (1627–1683 or later)
- 3 Pieter van Asch (1603–1678)
- 4 Balthasar van der Ast (1593/94–1657)
- 9 Abraham van Beyeren (1620/21–1690)
- 11 Everhard Dirck van Bleyswijck (d. after 1639)
- 12 Arnold Bon (before 1634–1691)
- 20 Abraham de Cooge (before 1606–after 1680)
- 24 Jacob Dissius (1653–1695)
- 26 Louys Elsevier (1618–1675)
- 29 Jacob van Geel (1584/85–ca. 1637 or later)
- 32 Pieter Groenewegen (ca. 1600–1658?)
- 35 Pieter de Hooch (1629–1684)
- 39 Hans Jordaens the Elder (1595/60–1630)
- 41 Willem de Langhe (1599–1656)
- 42 Anthony van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723)
- 44 Willem van der Meer (d. 1624)
- 46 Willem van Odekercken (ca. 1631–ca. 1678)
- 49 Adam Pick (ca. 1621–before 1666)
- 59 Pieter Teding van Berkhout (1643–1713)
- 62 Jacob van Velsen (ca. 1597–1656)
- 63 Johannes Verkolje (1650–1693)
- 64 Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675)
- 66 Simon de Vlieger (1601–1653)
- 68 Judith Willems van Vliet (d. 1650)
- 73 Emanuel de Witte (ca. 1616–1691/92)

### LEGEND

- 69 Artist
- 74 Patron or collector
- 48 Persons whose precise address is unknown
- 25

Fig. 346. Addresses of artists and patrons in central Delft (detail, fig. 345)





## Section 4

- 5 Abraham van Baersenburgh (d. 1663/64)
- 6 Bartholomeus van Bassen (ca. 1590–1652)
- 8 Machteld van Best (before 1614–1687)
- 10 Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijk (1639–1681)
- 13 Leonaert Bramer (1596–1674)
- 14 Anthonie van Bruckhorst (ca. 1610–after 1666)
- 17 Hendrick van der Burch (1627–after 1669)
- 18 Hendrick van Buyten (1632–1701)
- 19 Herman van der Ceel (active 1618–1662)
- 21 Christiaan van Couwenbergh (1604–1667)
- 22 Jacob Willemsz Delft the Younger (1619–1661)
- 23 Willem Jacobsz Delft (1580–1638)
- 27 Carel Fabritius (1622–1654)
- 31 Hubert Jacobsz Grimani (1562/63–1631)
- 34 Cornelis de Helt (d. 1661)
- 37 Jan Cornelisz van Houten (d. 1672)
- 43 Cornelis de Man (1621–1706)
- 45 Michiel van Miereveld (1567–1641)
- 47 Anthonie Palamedesz (1601–1673)
- 52 Johannes de Renialme (ca. 1600–1657)
- 57 Jan Steen (1626–1679)
- 58 Harmen Steenwyck (1612–1656)
- 60 Vallensis (Jacob van Dalen) (1571–1644)
- 61 Theodorus Vallensis (1612–1673)
- 65 Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675)
- 69 Willem van Vliet (ca. 1584–1642)
- 70 Hendrick Vockestaert (d. 1624)
- 71 Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer (ca. 1584–1641)

For more information, consult the index on pages 564–65.



# Index of Names on the Plans

In Figures 345 and 346

No.	Name	Dates	Address(es)	Occupation	Section/Location
1	<i>Hendrik d'Acquet</i>	1632–1706	202 Oude Delft; also Voorstraat	surgeon, burgomaster, and collector	1/B4
2	Willem van Aelst	1627–1683 or later	169 Oude Delft (“Savoy Arms,” now City Archives) in 1656–57		3/B5
3	Pieter van Asch	1603–1678	Choorstraat in 1655		3/B2
4	Balthasar van der Axt	1593/94–1657	144–46 Oude Delft after 1640 to 1657		3/A5
5	<i>Abraham van Baersburggh</i>	1663/64	Oude Delft (“in the gatehouse”)	solicitor and collector	4/F6
6	Bartholomeus van Bassen	ca. 1590–1652	Kromstraat after 1613 to 1622		4/E3
7	Gillis de Bergh	ca. 1600–1669	Oude Delft after 1638		2/G5
8	<i>Machteld van Best</i>	before 1614–1687	Oude Langendijk (near Vermeer)	owned an important collection of Haarlem pictures	4/E2
9	Abraham van Beyeren	1620/21–1690	Choorstraat in 1648; also in Delft 1657–63		3/B2
10	<i>Dirck Evertsz van Bleyswijk</i>	1639–1681	93 Oude Delft	burgomaster and author	4/F6
11	<i>Everhard Dirx van Bleyswijk</i>	d. after 1639	4 Voorstraat (“Three Crowns”) in 1611, 1630	burgomaster, merchant, and patron of Bramer	3/B4
12	<i>Arnold Bon</i>	before 1634–1691	38 Markt	publisher, printer, and poet	3/D3
13	Leonaert Bramer	1596–1674	48 Koornmarkt (“Danzig Arms”) 1643–?; owned property on Pieterstraat 1648–68		4/F5
14	<i>Anthony van Bronckhorst</i>	ca. 1610–after 1666	50 Koornmarkt in 1653 (next to Bramer)	collector and painter	4/F5
15	Pieter van Bronckhorst	1588–1661	Vlamingsstraat in 1620s		2/D1
16	Willem van den Bundel	1577–1655	Vlamingsstraat 1620–55		2/D1
17	Hendrick van der Burch	1627–after 1669	Oude Delft by 1649? to 1655		4/F6
18	<i>Hendrick van Buyten</i>	1632–1701	Koornmarkt and other addresses	master baker, acquired three Vermeers	4/G5
19	<i>Herman van der Ceel</i>	active 1618–1662	Oude Langendijk (also Oude Delft)	owned works by Rembrandt, Lastman, etc.	4/D2
20	<i>Abraham de Cooge</i>	before 1606–after 1680	6 Verversdijk (“Gilded Office”) in 1646, 1658	wealthy art dealer and artist	3/B2
21	Christiaan van Couwenbergh <i>Jacob van Dalen (see Vallensis)</i>	1604–1667	Oude Delft 1630–47		4/F6
22	Jacob Willemsz Delft the Younger	1619–1661	71 Oude Delft (“Arms of Spain,” Van Miereveld’s house) 1638–?		4/G6
23	Willem Jacobsz Delft	1580–1638	81 Koornmarkt (“The Longbow”) 1632–38		4/F5
24	<i>Jacob Dissius</i>	1653–1695	Markt at number 32 (“The Gilded ABC”)	printer and bookseller	3/D3
25	<i>Michiel van der Dussen</i>	1600–1683	West side of Voorstraat opposite “The Posthorn”	occupation unknown	1/B4
26	Louys Elsevier	1618–1675	(“The Blue Dog”) 1 Voorstraat 1648–?		3/A4
27	Carel Fabritius	1622–1654	Oude Delft 1650–53; (then Doelenstraat)		4/F6
28	Carel Fabritius	1622–1654	Doelenstraat 1653–54		1/B2
29	Jacob van Geel	1584/85–ca. 1637 or later	Choorstraat by 1627; then Vlamingsstraat in 1630		3/B3
30	<i>Simon Grasswinckel</i>	ca. 1611–1683	Houses on Noordeinde	collector (works recorded by Bramer)	1/A4
31	Hubert Jacobsz Grimani	1562/63–1631	Oude Langendijk after 1613 to 1631		4/D3
32	Pieter Groenewegen	ca. 1600–1658?	1 Voldersgracht (“The Golden Head”; replaced by Vleeshal) by 1633 to ca. 1650		3/C4
33	Maximiliaan van der Gucht	1603–1689	Oosteinde (Agnietenklooster) from the late 1630s		2/G1
34	<i>Cornelis de Helt</i>	d. 1661	Oude Delft (and other addresses)	cooper and innkeeper; owned one Vermeer	4/F6
35	Pieter de Hooch	1629–1684	behind 145–47 Oude Delft ca. 1655–60		3/C6
36	Gerard Houckgeest	ca. 1600–1661	8 Koornmarkt (“The Claw”) in 1640s; owned property on Korte Achterom 1644–49, and on Voorstraat in 1647		2/G4
37	<i>Jan Cornelisz van Houten</i>	d. 1672	Residence on Burgwal	patron and collector	4/F2
38	Abraham Apersz van der Houve	1576–1621	Annastraat after 1600 and Voorstraat in 1621		1/A4

No.	Name	Dates	Address(es)	Occupation	Section/Location.....
39	Hans Jordaens the Elder	1555/60–1630	Choorstraat in 1630		3/B3
40	Lambert Kneyck	before 1590–1644	Molslaan at Oosteinde	Delftware manufacturer and collector of religious pictures (Catholic) by Bramer and others	2/F2
41	Willem de Langue	1599–1656	North side of Markt	notary, collector, and (?) dealer	3/D3
42	Anthony van Leeuwenhoek	1632–1723	7 Hippolytusbuurt (purchased ca. 1653)	linen merchant and amateur of science	3/C4
43	Cornelis de Man	1621–1706	Oude Delft after 1654, in 1694		4/F6
44	Willem van der Meer	d. 1624	Oude Kerkstraat	surgeon	3/A4
45	Michiel van Miereveld	1567–1641	71 Oude Delft (“Arms of Spain”) 1638–41 (earlier on Markt)		4/D4, 4/G6
46	Willem van Odekercken	ca. 1631–ca. 1678	Choorstraat (“The Gilded Crowbar”) in 1641; later on Wijnhaven and Voorstraat		3/B3
47	Anthonie Palamedesz	1601–1673	Koornmarkt in 1643; also Turfmarkt in 1646 and Broerhuyslaan in 1653 (later Burgwal)		4/E2
48	Palamedes Palamedesz	1607–1638	Voorstraat in 1628		1/B4
49	Adam Pick	ca. 1621–before 1666	Markt in 1645 (Oude Langendijk before 1652)		3/D3
50	Egbert van der Poel	1621–1664	Doelenstraat 1652–54 (near Fabritius)		1/B2
51	Jacob Pynas	ca. 1585–1656	Gasthuyslaan in 1635		2/G2
52	Johannes de Renialme	ca. 1600–1657	Oude Delft (earlier on Dircklangesteeg)	wealthy art dealer based in Amsterdam	4/F6
53	Arent van Renoy	ca. 1580–1624	Nieuwe Langendijk	wealthy amateur	2/E1
54	Pieter Claesz van Ruijven	1624–1674	Oude Delft (1660s) and Voorstraat	Vermeer’s principal patron	1/C4
55	Aert Spiering	1593–1650	Oosteinde (Agnietenklooster)		2/G1
56	François Spiering	1549/51–1631	Oosteinde (Agnietenklooster) from 1593		2/G1
57	Jan Steen	1626–1679	74 Oude Delft 1654–57; leased “The Snake” brewery 1654 to July 1657?		4/E5
58	Harmen Steenwyck	1612–1656	Oude Delft and other addresses		4/F6
59	Pieter Teding van Berkhout	1643–1713	123 Oude Delft (“Three Kings”) in 1674	owned real estate and art collection	3/D6
60	Vallensis (Jacob van Dalen)	1571–1644	Oude Delft	prominent surgeon	4/F6
61	Theodorus Vallensis	1612–1673	Oude Delft	surgeon for whom Fabritius painted an illusionistic mural in his house	4/F6
62	Jacob van Velsen	ca. 1597–1656	18 Verwersdijk in 1638; owned property on Oude Delft		3/B2
63	Johannes Verkolje	1650–1693	8–9 Wijnhaven (“The Swan”) in 1690s		3/C4
64	Johannes Vermeer	1632–1675	Markt (at the “Mechelen”) 1641 to 1653 or later		3/D2
65	Johannes Vermeer	1632–1675	Oude Langendijk (house of mother-in-law, Maria Thins) after 1653 to 1675		4/D2
66	Simon de Vlieger	1601–1653	De Vlouw 1634–37		3/C3
67	Hendrick van Vliet	1611/12–1675	Oude Delft (opposite Bagijnhof) by 1653 to 1675		1/B4
68	Judith Willems van Vliet	d. 1650	Hippolytusbuurt (“The Blue Clock”)	collection included works by Rembrandt and Houckgeest	3/B4
69	Willem van Vliet	ca. 1584–1642	Choorstraat 1615–18, 1639; 202 Oude Delft; Brabantse Turfmarkt in 1642		1/B4, 4/G3
70	Hendrick Vockestaert	d. 1624	Oude Langendijk	dealer in art and rarities	4/D4
71	Jacob Woutersz Vosmaer	ca. 1584–1641	Oude Delft in 1629 (Choorstraat 1608)		4/F6
72	Anthony van der Wiel	1620–1693	Vlamingstraat (“The Three Falcons”)	ebony merchant, framemaker, art dealer, and Vermeer’s brother-in-law	2/D1
73	Emanuel de Witte	ca. 1616–1691/92	Choorstraat 1642–ca. 1650 (and Nieuwe Langendijk after 1650)		2/E1, 3/B3
74	Melchior Wymgis	d. after 1626	Voorstraat (“In the Stark”) in the 1590s	mintmaster and prominent collector	1/B4



Fig. 347. John Hayls, *Samuel Pepys*, 1666. Oil on canvas, 29¼ x 24¼ in. (75.6 x 62.9 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London



Fig. 348. Robert Walker, *John Evelyn*, 1648. Oil on canvas, 34¼ x 25¼ in. (87.9 x 64.1 cm). National Portrait Gallery, London

# Notes

## Chapter 1

### DELFT AND THE DELFT SCHOOL: AN INTRODUCTION

1. All the above quotes are from Pepys 1985, pp. 46–47 (entry for May 18, 1660), except the remark about being “with child,” which was written on shipboard with The Hague in view (p. 43; entry for May 14–15). On Pepys as a connoisseur, see Liedtke 1991b. Pepys’s career and figures in his circle, such as Montagu, are admirably presented in Ollard 1984. The Oude Gasthuis is discussed by W. Annema in Delft 1981, pp. 58–60. On Adriaen van de Venne’s colored drawing of the canal barge approaching The Hague from the direction of Delft (fig. 4 here), see Royalton-Kisch 1988, no. 65.
2. For routes and statistics, see J. De Vries 1974, pp. 208–9, and map 5.1 (internal waterways in the Netherlands about 1660). The twice-hourly canal-boat service between Delft and The Hague was evidently the most frequent intercity run in Holland.  
A vivid example of the ease of travel in seventeenth-century Holland is found in Schellinks 1993, p. 31. On July 14, 1661, the painter Willem Schellinks (1623–1678) left Amsterdam for Haarlem in the morning, visited acquaintances, and then boarded a pleasure yacht, “with silken flags flying from mast and stern, and well provided with all kinds of special delicacies and drinks, fruit and other things in plenty.” A draft horse pulled the boat through Leiden and on to a country house at Zoeterwoude; there, the party paused for more refreshments, returned to the canal by wagon, and took the yacht to The Hague, where they arrived at ten in the evening. Thus Schellinks had been in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, Zoeterwoude, and The Hague in the course of a leisurely day, progressing at the speed of a single draft horse pulling a loaded yacht. The same craft took Schellinks and the rest of the company to Delft the next day, which they simply passed on their way south to the Maas River. At four in the afternoon Schellinks took a boat to Den Briel, while the yacht went home to Haarlem. He sailed for England the next day.
3. See Veldhuijzen’s introduction to D. Beck 1993, pp. 7–24, on Beck’s life and writings.
4. Ibid., pp. 37–38 (entry for January 24, 1624). Hendrick Beck paid a similar visit to David at The Hague on January 16. He arrived during lunch, spent an hour and a half talking about the improvement of his school and other subjects, and then went back to Delft at three. On January 21 Beck sent his brother Abraham to Delft with his French Bible; Abraham was back with a letter from Hendrick before noon (D. Beck 1993, pp. 33, 36). On Herman Breckerveld (1595/96–1673), see E.W. Moes in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 4 (1910), p. 561, and The Hague 1998–99a, p. 290.
5. D. Beck 1993, pp. 67 (entry for March 28), 71, 75–76.
6. See Neuman’s essay “‘Aller Steden Pronkjuweel’: Den Haag in de 17de eeuw,” in The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 13–24. Beck himself was part of the “support community” at The Hague, since he not only taught school but also tutored adults in foreign languages and did his best to publish poetry.
7. D. Beck 1993, pp. 82, 85.
8. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 16.
9. Montias 1982, p. 62, citing Briels 1974, p. 241. Montias kindly brought Larson’s brother to my attention in a letter of January 4, 2000.
10. Evelyn 1952, pp. 18–19, 22–23. See Royalton-Kisch 1988, no. 69, for Van de Venne’s drawing of a wagon making its way between towns. David Beck (1993, p. 41) took a wagon rather than the canal boat to Delft after receiving a letter saying that his brother was sick. Wagons were faster and could depart on demand.
11. See Liedtke 1991b, pp. 234–37.
12. Evelyn 1952, pp. 21–22. By “drolleries,” the diarist meant amusing genre scenes. His information that “it is an ordinary thing to find a common farmer lay out two or three thousand pounds” for paintings and that “their houses are full of them” is rejected in Montias 1990, pp. 361–62. See also Montias 1996, pp. 17, 21, and North 1997, pp. 46–47.
13. Evelyn 1952, pp. 33–35 (entries for October 4 and 5, 1641).
14. On Duarte’s inventory of 1682, see Dogaer 1971 and Samuel 1976. Duarte died a bachelor and left most of his property to his niece Constanca Duarte and her husband, Manuel Levy, an Amsterdam jeweler. Most of the collection was sold off during the 1690s.
15. See Blankert 1978, pp. 61, 153 (doc. no. 60); Montias 1989, p. 257; and Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 51, 54, 198, 202. The painting by Vermeer was no longer in Duarte’s possession at his death, nine years later. In addition to collecting art, Duarte may have been a dealer. A contemporary’s remark to the contrary is taken at face value in Broos 1993, p. 296, n. 5, but it is a common claim of *marchands amateurs*.
16. Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 51. See also Broos 1993, pp. 293–94.
17. For brief biographies of and literature on both Huygenses, see the entries by Marieke W. Bouman and by J. F. Heijbroek in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 15, pp. 40–42. On Constantijn Huygens the Younger as draftsman and diarist, see Amsterdam, Ghent 1982–83.
18. On De Cooge (or De Coge), see Montias 1989, pp. 82, 131, and Montias 1996, pp. 165–66. The dealer appears to have been active in protecting Catholic interests against Protestant hostility.
19. Evelyn 1952, p. 19. The house belonged previously to the Remonstrant statesman Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (executed in 1619). It is seen on the left in a view of the tree-lined Voorhout (a short but grand avenue in the center of The Hague) by Adriaen van de Venne, which was engraved to illustrate the title page of Constantijn Huygens’s *Batava tempe. Dat is ’t Voorhout van ’s Graven-Hage*, Middelburg, 1622 (the print is reproduced in The Hague 1998–99a, p. 20, fig. 9).
20. The couple are also known as the “Winter King” and “Winter Queen,” because of the short duration of the Elector’s reign as king of Bohemia in Prague (1619–20). He was a cousin of the Dutch stadholders Maurits and Frederick Hendrick. Their uncle, Frederick IV of the Palatinate, had maintained a great court at Heidelberg. On the Bohemia court in exile at The Hague, see Keblusek’s essay in The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 47–57, and the sources cited there (notes on pp. 220–21).
21. Evelyn 1952, p. 20. The general appearance of the long-lost Koningshuis (King’s Palace) at Rhenen, designed by Bartholomeus van Bassen, is known from two drawings by Pieter Saenredam: see Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 192–95, figs. 203, 205, and p. 271, nos. 104, 105.
22. Evelyn 1952, p. 19 (entry for July 29, 1641). The diarist apparently refers to the distance from Leiden to Utrecht, which is about the same as that from Delft to Utrecht.
23. Ibid., pp. 29–30 (entry for September 1, 1641). In The Hague 1997–98a, p. 42, Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren mention Evelyn’s visit but give the wrong date (1640) and overlook the attribution to Van Couwenbergh. On Honselaarsdijk, see also Morren, Meischke, and Van der Wyck 1990 and The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 111–16.

24. Snoep 1969, p. 287, quoting from the inventory compiled by the painter Mattheus Verheyden in 1758 (published in Slothouwer 1945, pp. 278–88). As Snoep demonstrates by referring to an inventory of 1707 and original account books, Verheyden's attributions were not always on the mark.
25. Boston, Toledo 1993–94, no. 14, and The Hague 1997–98a, no. 25. White (1987, p. 282), noting Frederick Hendrick's interest in Rubens, cites a letter from Huygens to the artist asking for a chimney piece. The prince "would only ask for three or four figures at most and that the beauty of the women should be realised *con amore, studio e diligenza*" (Rubens 1887–1909, vol. 6, p. 239, letter of July 2, 1639). White guesses that a painting entitled *Sylvia* in Rubens's estate might be the work in question, but is it not *The Crowning of Diana* in Potsdam-Sanssouci?
26. Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 164–65, 175, nos. C9, C25 (included among works known only from literary sources).
27. As noted in Snoep 1969, p. 291, citing Evelyn (wrongly as in 1639). Catalogued in Maier-Preusker 1991 as nos. A29 (fig. 51), A61. On the Oranjezaal, see also Van Gelder 1948–49.
28. On the illusionistic frieze of figures formerly at Honselaarsdijk, which was apparently painted by Pieter de Grebber and Paulus Bor, see Snoep 1969, pp. 289–91, figs. 6, 6a, 6b, 9–12; Morren, Meischke, and Van der Wyck 1990, pp. 206–8; Amsterdam 1995, pp. 125–28; and The Hague 1997–98a, pp. 43–44, fig. 12.
29. These works are lost, and the building was pulled down in 1783. See Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 165–66; the chronological list on pp. 174–76; and nos. C10, C13, C16.
30. As noted in Van Gruting 1995–96, pp. 67–70 (kindly brought to my attention by Marten Jan Bok). On the theme of Diana and her companions in decorations at the Dutch palaces, see Snoep 1969, p. 289, citing earlier literature. For other examples by Van Couwenbergh, see Maier-Preusker 1991, nos. A16–A19. For Van Honthorst's portrait of Frederick Hendrick's wife, Amalia van Solms, as Diana (1632) and other Dutch portraits "en Diane," see Tiethoff-Splithoff's essay in The Hague 1997–98b, p. 171, fig. 159.
31. Broos 1993, p. 313. The question is discussed further in Liedtke 2000, pp. 191–99.
32. As discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 199–202. On Van Bronchorst, see Döring 1993.
33. Ebelte Hartkamp-Jonxis in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 420, under no. 78; see also her biography of Spiering on pp. 316–17.
34. See M. I. E. van Zijl's essay on Delft tapestries in Delft 1981, pp. 202–9.
35. The relationship is explained in Montias 1989, p. 247. In addition, Pieter Claesz van Ruijven's sister Pieternella was Spiering's godchild. In the seventeenth century this usually indicates a strong bond between families.
36. As emphasized by Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 49. See especially Montias 1989, pp. 180–81, on Monconys's visit to Vermeer, and Naumann 1981, vol. 1, p. 26, on his visit to Van Mieris.
37. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 23 (see also Broos on p. 49). An obvious answer would be that the baker, Hendrick van Buyten, was a possible seller and Van Ruijven was not. But see my text following.
38. Broos in *ibid.*, p. 49; on p. 48 Broos makes the surprising claim that Monconys went to Delft a second time "with but a single purpose, to meet Vermeer." A likely alternative had already been suggested in Montias 1989, pp. 180–81.
39. The story is told in Montias 1989, pp. 180–81, where "Gentile" is not identified.
40. As suggested in Montias 1997, p. 198, and kindly brought to my attention by the author in the summer of 1999. The artist is also known as Luigi Primo.
41. Heinz 1967, p. 154.
42. See Montias 1989, pp. 176–80 (p. 176, n. 20, on Van Peer 1968).
43. Michael Montias noted this connection in conversation in 1999. On Vermeer and Sweets, see Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 168, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 241, 243. In the latter part of 1661 Sweets left Amsterdam to go to Persia with a group of French missionaries. His close association with Gentile in Rome is described in Kultzen 1996, pp. 3–7. Between 1656 (when Gentile went from Rome to Brussels) and about 1659, Sweets ran a drawing academy in Brussels; Gentile himself was an advocate of academic training and art theory.
44. See most recently Blom, Bruin, and Ottenheim 1999.
45. See De Maere and Wabbes 1994, vol. 1, p. 177. Gentile's pupil was Christoffel Huygens, not Constantijn Huygens's son Christiaan (1629–1695), the famous astronomer and portrait draftsman.
46. See Sellers in The Hague 1997–98b, p. 138. On Huygens's interest in the natural sciences, see Matthey 1973.
47. For an introduction to the subject of Huygens as artistic adviser to Frederick Hendrick, see The Hague 1997–98a, pp. 31–32, and the essay by Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren, pp. 34–60; and Ottenheim's essay on architecture in The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 105–25. See Huygens 1911–17 for his correspondence.
48. As is evident, for example, in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 50. Broos relates that when Pieter Teding van Berkhout was on his way to visit Vermeer on May 14, 1669, he encountered Huygens and two other gentlemen, an ambassador and a member of the Dutch parliament: "Although it does not say explicitly that all four men visited Vermeer, we may assume that Huygens and his friends did not linger at the city gate." But would Huygens, then seventy-three years old, and his political colleagues drop their plans in order to tag along with young Teding van Berkhout? And if they did, would the diarist have failed to record the fact?
49. Montias 1989, chap. 13.
50. See Liedtke 1995–96, pp. 9–11, for Huygens's account of Rembrandt and Lievens in Leiden.
51. See Van de Wetering in Melbourne, Canberra 1997–98, pp. 58–62, on art lovers visiting studios in the seventeenth century.
52. On Van de Venne, see Royalton-Kisch 1988 and Bol 1989; on De Gheyn, see Van Regteren Altena 1983; on Hanneman, see Ter Kuile 1976; on De Bisschop, see Amsterdam 1992a; on Van Campen, see Amsterdam 1995; and on Post, see Terwen and Ottenheim 1993.
53. Huygens had close relationships with many Catholics; Van Campen became a convert in later life. Frederick Hendrick protected the Remonstrants from abuse by orthodox Calvinists (see Israel 1995, pp. 491–96, 512–25, 534–36).
54. On Huygens's enthusiasm for the camera obscura, see Wheelock 1977b.
55. A good introduction to the subject is Sluiter's essay in Leiden 1988, especially pp. 36–45 on "Liefhebbers vande Konste."
56. This account of Teding van Berkhout's visits to artists is taken from Montias 1993, p. 48, in which Schmidt 1986, p. 211, n. 41, is cited. See also Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 219, n. 3, and Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 50. Montias gives the original French and an English translation (used here). According to his transcription, the next line after the one ending "consists in the perspective" concerns a walk to the marketplace, speaking with a few friends, and then calling on a cousin, C. Bogart, "to see his paintings." But the next line after "perspective" in the diary itself, to judge from the photograph of the page in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 50, fig. 4, is "Je vis ensuite ma Tante Lodensteyn, avec laquelle je retournois à La Haye." See also Plomp 1996a for a tour of Delft in the company of Teding van Berkhout.
57. This paragraph is based upon Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 219.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 215, no. 43.
59. See Worcester 1979, no. 34, for an undated painting by Van Vliet that includes the monument, and a photograph of the monument itself. As Welu (in Worcester 1979, no. 34) notes, the monument is also seen in Van Vliet's view of the Oude Kerk dated 1654 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (see fig. 122 here). De Witte's panel of about 1651–52 formerly in the Van Duyn collection, Rotterdam (Liedtke 1982a, fig. 77), shows the Van Lodensteyn monument as the main focus of attention, whereas in the early painting exhibited here (cat. no. 91) it merely adds two picturesque putti to the scene.
60. For the whole story, see Montias 1989, pp. 207–9, 333–34 (doc. no. 341). Montias wisely cautions that their criticism may have been exaggerated by the Fromantion faction and that there were few Italian pictures in the Netherlands by which connoisseurs might judge controversial works. On the Reynst collection, see A.-M. S. Logan 1979 (pp. 90–95 on The Hague debate).
61. In Montias 1982, pp. 222–26 (table 8.2), are found numerous unattributed pictures in Delft inventories, and many of them were presumably by artists working in Delft.
62. As noted by Vermeeren in The Hague 1998–99a, p. 57, and by Edwin Buijsen in lectures related to that exhibition: "Hoe 'Haags' waren de Haagse schilders in de Gouden Eeuw?" and "The Market for Paintings in 17th-Century The Hague."
63. Slive 1995, p. 139.
64. On the "discovery" of Vermeer by the French art critic Théophile Thoré (who used the pseudonym William Bürger and is generally known as Thoré-Bürger), see Blankert 1978, pp. 67–69, and Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 59–61. On Fabritius's reputation in the nineteenth century, see C. Brown 1981, pp. 64, 81–83.
65. See Montias 1989, p. 212.
66. C. Brown 1981, p. 152 (doc. no. 23).



67. On the question of a commission, see most recently Liedtke 2000, p. 82.
68. On Potter's painting, see *The Hague* 1994–95, no. 15.
69. Montias 1989, chap. 13.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
71. For the engraving and inscription, see Delft 1994, pp. 19–21, fig. 5.
72. See Liedtke 2000, pp. 153–54, 163–69, 176–77.
73. See Sluijter in Leiden 1988, p. 38 (also mentioned in Israel 1995, p. 750). For the source quoted in full, see A.-M. S. Logan 1979, pp. 83–84, n. 96.
74. For Van Mieris and Cosimo (who visited the artist in June 1669), see Naumann 1981, vol. 1, p. 27. For Netscher and Cosimo (1668), see Wieseman 1991, pp. 14–15. The grand duke also visited Gerard Dou in 1669 (see Hoogewerff 1919, p. 251). On June 16, 1669, Cosimo stopped in Delft on his way from Rotterdam to The Hague (see Hoogewerff 1919, pp. 233–35). After visiting a fair on the Markt and a Beguinage with “many Catholic women,” he went “to see some pictures in the house of a painter,” and was then conducted to the houses of two prominent citizens of Delft to see “other fairly good [paintings] and a variety of other curiosities.” In one of the houses he encountered the wife and daughters of Cornelis Tromp. Finally, he went to a Catholic church in a “Beguinage rather larger than the one already mentioned.” Although Cosimo may have visited a different artist, Vermeer is a strong candidate, given the grand duke's association with other celebrated genre painters and with courtiers at The Hague (for example, Gentile's patron, Johan Maurits). The visit to Catholic institutions recalls Monconys's trip to Delft in August 1663 (discussed above). The most intriguing passage of the journal reads: “andò a vedere alcuni quadri in casa di un pittore, dal quale fu poi condotta in due case de' principali della città a vederne alcuni assai buoni con diverse altre curiosità. Andata dopoi in una chiesa di cattolici, che si ritrova dentro un beghinaggio assai maggiore del già nominato” (Hoogewerff 1919, p. 235).
75. Montias 1977, pp. 280–81, no. 46a, and Montias 1989, p. 308 (doc. no. 251, dated April 22, 1633).

## Chapter 2

### DELFT AND THE ARTS BEFORE 1600

1. See J. J. Raue's essay in Delft 1979–80, pp. 6–7.
2. For a brief history of the Binnenhof complex, see Dumas 1991, pp. 700–703.
3. A brief sketch of Dutch history between about 1200 and the late 1400s is found in Israel 1995, pp. 11–29 (p. 14 on the struggle for Zeeland).
4. The following discussion is based primarily upon J. J. Raue's essay “Ontstaan en plattegrond van de stad Delft” in Delft 1979–80, pp. 2–9. For the record, the cities of Holland received their charters from the counts of Holland in the following order: Dordrecht (1220); Haarlem (1245); Delft (1246); Leiden (1266); Gouda (1272); Amsterdam (about 1300); Rotterdam (1340); The Hague (for purely political reasons, not until 1811).
5. The Kolk (meaning a pool, pit, or chamber between locks in a canal) was dug in 1614, removing a triangular bastion. The Schiedam Gate originally had a bridge extending to the bastion, so that two nearly parallel bridges provided access to the city from either bank of the Schie. See Delft 1979–80, p. 82, fig. 168, and Delft 1981, p. 64, figs. 74, 75. On the boats in Vermeer's picture, see Kaldenbach 2000b.
6. See the first section of chap. 1 for John Evelyn's and Samuel Pepys's descriptions of their visits to Delft. The source of the quote is cited in chap. 1, n. 19.
7. See chap. 1, n. 1.
8. As discussed by L. L. M. Eekhout, “De Delftse kamer van de V.O.C.,” in Delft 1981, pp. 90–94.
9. This paragraph is based mostly upon Israel 1995, pp. 14–16.
10. Short accounts of this period and references are found in *ibid.*, pp. 21–29, and in Delft 1979–80, pp. 18–19.
11. On the Burgundian and Habsburg regents of the Netherlands, with particular attention to their roles as patrons, see the entries by various authors under “Burgundy” and “Habsburg” in *Dictionary of Art* 1996. A more extensive treatment of the circumstances leading to the rise of the Dutch Republic is provided in Israel 1995.
12. See *The Hague* 1997–98a, pp. 14–15, fig. 3.
13. Haak 1984, pp. 14–16, 21–25, offers an outline of the Dutch revolt, which is treated in detail in Israel 1995.
14. The story is told in Wedgwood 1967, chap. 10.
15. Most of this paragraph is based upon the essay “Het St. Agathaklooster” by B. Kruijnk and K. Schuur in Delft 1979–80, pp. 40–51. On Bramer's murals, see chap. 4 in this catalogue, pp. 122–23, and Delft 1994, pp. 28–29, 63–67, 176–80.
16. As noted in Delft 1979–80, p. 58, the date 1614 on the tablet speaks against the assumption (MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 200) that “the stone tablet seen above the archway [in De Hooch's courtyard view of 1658; cat. no. 30 here] was originally over the entrance to the Hieronymusdale [sic] Cloister in Delft.”
17. On the Convent of Mary Magdalene and its use in the seventeenth century, see Delft 1979–80, pp. 55–56, and Delft 1981, pp. 38–39, 125–26 (p. 126 on the location of Van Miereveld's canvas, mentioned below).
18. On the fortunes of these various cloisters, see H. C. Brouwer's essay “De verdwenen kloosters uit de Delftse binnenstad” in Delft 1979–80, pp. 54–59, and the same author's review of the architectural consequences in Delft 1981, pp. 37–40. See also H. Janse's essay on surviving chapels in Delft, “Middeleeuwse kapellen,” in Meischke et al. 1967, pp. 32–51. There were also large monasteries just outside of Delft: those of Sion, the Carthusians, and others; see Delft 1979–80, pp. 59–67.
19. On sixteenth-century houses in Delft, see Temminck Groll 1967 and W. F. Weve, “Woonhuizen,” in Delft 1979–80, pp. 74–80. The Vleeshal is discussed briefly in Meischke 1967, pp. 181–82.
20. This paragraph is based mainly upon two essays in Delft 1979–80, pp. 92–100: “Delft omstreeks 1400” by D. E. H. de Boer and especially “De sociaal-economische situatie in de zestiende eeuw” by M. A. Kok.
21. The quote is from Fuchs 1978, p. 43, where Vermeer is grouped with Hals, Rembrandt, Steen, and others who “painted basically for a local [monolithic?] public.” On the same page Fuchs observes, “This middle-class culture, of people who did not speak French or Latin and who were not educated with the humanist reverence for classical antiquity, consisted of simple religion and popular lore—expressed in farce, proverbs, jokes, popular theatre—which, as far as can be judged from literary remains, usually had a rather crude, realistic quality.” For a more nuanced overview, see Westermann 1996, chap. 1, especially pp. 33–45.
22. See Keblusek 1997, p. 17, citing earlier sources (this reference was kindly brought to my attention by Edwin Buijsen). It is true that The Hague suffered from Spanish onslaughts in the period 1572–76, and the various branches of government moved temporarily to Delft, Amsterdam, and Utrecht.
23. On the guilds as patrons, see Montias 1982, pp. 13–14.
24. As noted in Bangs 1997, p. 10, much was saved in the Nieuwe Kerk through the intervention of city magistrates, but the Oude Kerk lost its high altar and other ornaments in 1566.
25. See especially the essay “Delftse handschriften en boekverluchting” by J. G. C. Venner and C. A. Chavannes-Mazel, in Delft 1979–80, pp. 134–38, figs. 240–51, and two chapters in Utrecht, New York 1980–81: chap. 7 (“Delft Masters, ca. 1430–1480”) by W. C. M. Wüsfeld, and chap. 11 (“Delft Masters, ca. 1475–1500”) by H. L. M. Defoer. Whether the local style represents a “Delft School” or a more regional “South Holland tradition,” one of the key issues for the seventeenth century, is also debated with regard to manuscript painting in the fifteenth century (as noted by Chavannes-Mazel, p. 137).
26. On these printers, see the essay “Drukkers en uitgevers te Delft: De eerste eeuw,” by P. Valkema Blouw, in Delft 1979–80, pp. 138–43, figs. 252–58. The Master of the Virgin among Virgins (or Virgo inter Virgines) is discussed along with the Master of Delft and the Master of the Spes Nostra in the following essay in Delft 1979–80, “Schilderkunst in Delft tot 1572,” pp. 143–47, by G. Th. M. Lemmens. See Cuttler 1968, pp. 165–67, for a useful characterization of the Master of the Virgin among Virgins.
27. G. Th. M. Lemmens in Delft 1979–80, pp. 144–45, places particular emphasis on the artist's “southern” characteristics, such as his architectonic settings and handling of landscapes. A similar arrangement of symmetrical figures and a cloister exterior is found in the Master of the Spes Nostra's altarpiece *Four Augustinian Canons Meditating beside an Open Grave* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), which was painted about 1500 for the Convent of Holy Mary, Mother of God in Sion, near Delft; see Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 637, and Delft 1979–80, pp. 146–47, fig. 111, and pp. 64–67, on “Het klooster Sion.”
28. See Bangs 1997, p. 118, where the author makes an ill-considered swipe at Friedländer. The portrait, which is only attributed to the Master of the Virgin among Virgins, is in the Ackland Art Museum, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; it is reproduced in Delft 1979–80, fig. 261 (mentioned on p. 144), and in Montias 1982, fig. 1.
29. Davies 1968, pp. 105–7, and G. Th. M. Lemmens in Delft 1979–80, p. 146, fig. 267.

30. The miniature is in a Book of Hours, ms. 1857 (fol. 14v), in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; see Cuttler 1968, pp. 187–88, fig. 235. Another example of the Master of Delft's handling of an architectural interior is *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother* (on loan from the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague, to the Prinsenhof, Delft); see Delft 1979–80, p. 146, fig. 268.
31. As noted in Delft 1962, under no. 4, four Augustinian monks appear in the background. One is tempted to compare the naturalism of such a partial view in a church interior to Delft examples of the 1650s, but the approach is found in the work of various Northern European artists before Italian Renaissance conventions were adopted (see Liedtke 1982a, p. 37, n. 11, on Altdorfer). For a comparable view with similar architecture (except for the triforium), see the photograph of the choir of Utrecht Cathedral in Vermeulen 1928–41, vol. 1, fig. 125.
32. Montias 1982, p. 14, with other examples.
33. Cuttler (1968, p. 166) refers to the Master of the Virgin among Virgins's expressive figural groups as "a curious success, curious because it was achieved despite some occasionally shocking displays of drawing."
34. The question of a tradition of figure painting in Delft was raised by Marten Jan Bok in conversation (1999), and I am grateful for the insight. Some readers may miss here a reference to Anthonie Blocklandt, who is briefly considered below.
35. Quoted by Eisler (1923, p. 29), making the most of it.
36. On the building and rebuilding of these Delft churches, see the essays by G. Berends and R. Meischke (Oude Kerk) and by G. Berends (Nieuwe Kerk) in Delft 1979–80, pp. 32–38, 38–40. Also useful is *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland* 1969, pp. 392–95, and Wijbenga 1990.
37. See Montias 1982, pp. 17–20.
38. On the rise of Protestantism in Delft, see M. A. Kok in Delft 1979–80, pp. 108–13 (p. 111 on this incident). On the strict discipline exercised by the Protestant Church in Delft from 1572 onward, see Abels and Wouters 1994, vol. 2, which has a summary in something like English on pp. 406–12.
39. Montias 1982, p. 19, on both pulpits.
40. As noted in Bangs 1997, p. 35, figs. 21, 22, citing earlier literature.
41. Montias 1982, pp. 9–10. On the glass in Gouda, see Van Eck and Coebergh-Surie 1997.
42. Scheller 1972, p. 42. Miedema in Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 71, also notes that Lucasz was paid in 1539 for painting and repairing a statue of the Virgin for the tower in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.
43. As noted in J. Wijdeveld's brief essay on Musius, in Delft 1979–80, p. 166.
44. See Veldman 1977, pp. 62–69.
45. Translated into Dutch by J. Wijdeveld in Oosterbaan 1973, p. 142.
46. See J. Wijdeveld in Delft 1979–80, p. 166.
47. Grosshans 1980, no. 25, fig. 28.
48. The original is dated about 1540 in *ibid.*, no. V18, fig. 138 (the copy in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne).
49. This reference to Braun is borrowed from Veldman 1977, p. 97, where Braun and Hogenberg 1572–1618, vol. 3, fol. 29r, is cited.
50. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 242 (fol. 246r).
51. Grosshans 1980, no. 76, fig. 109. See also Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, pp. 84–85.
52. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 1, pp. 124–26.
53. Grosshans 1980, no. 64, fig. 94.
54. *Ibid.*, no. 89, figs. 122, 123, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, figs. 51–55. Daniel and Ezekiel stand on the exterior.
55. Grosshans 1980, no. 95, figs. 130, 131, and Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 264.
56. Grosshans 1980, no. 99, fig. 135. See also Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 84, fig. 56.
57. See Amsterdam 1860 and Beydals 1937.
58. As noted in Grosshans 1980, pp. 15, 223, n. 6.
59. Miedema 1985, p. 93.
60. Montias 1982, p. 25, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 84.
61. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 1, p. 248. See also G. Th. M. Lemmens in Delft 1979–80, p. 147, and Montias 1982, p. 27. Van Scorel himself was the painter of the high altarpiece (destroyed) in the cathedral of Utrecht.
62. Montias 1982, p. 27.
63. This paragraph is mainly based on G. Th. M. Lemmens's account in Delft 1979–80, p. 147, fig. 270. On the *Wezelaar Triptych* (named for a Haarlem collector of the 1890s), see De Jonge 1953 and London 1970, no. 8. Molly Faries, who studied the triptych's underdrawings, assigns it to an unidentified follower of Van Scorel (oral communication with Jeremy Bangs, reported in Bangs 1997, p. 119).
64. Grosshans (1980, pp. 14, 70, n. 39) cites the 1625 Cologne edition of Van Opmeer's *Opus Chronographicum Urbis Universi* (1611), p. 76. See also Veldman 1977, p. 98.
65. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 234 (fol. 244r).
66. Delft 1979–80, p. 148, fig. 278; see also Amsterdam 1986, vol. 1, p. 121, fig. 201, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 60, fig. 30.
67. See Kloek's entries in Amsterdam 1986, vol. 2, nos. 230, 231; a summary account of Aertsen's work in Delft is given in Amsterdam 1986, vol. 1, pp. 121–22, where the Amsterdam fragments are reproduced in color and diagrammed. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 60, figs. 31–33, supports the reconstruction and notes that Van Mander's reference to the "high" altar is incorrect since Van Scorel had been assigned that location.
68. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 1, pp. 249–50; noted in Montias 1982, p. 28.
69. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 274 (fol. 254r), offering a slightly different translation.
70. Montias (1982, pp. 252, 257 [table 8.5]) counts fourteen originals and seventeen copies after Blocklandt in Delft inventories of 1610 to 1679. In 1653 the Delft dealer Abraham de Cooge struck a deal with his colleague Matthijs Musson in Antwerp to sell a triptych by Blocklandt for whatever they could get above the sum of 800 guilders (Montias 1982, pp. 210–11, 214).
71. The Gouda panel is overestimated in Amsterdam 1986, vol. 1, p. 153 (fig. 254), where analogies with Floris, Parmigianino, Schiavone, and Bartholomäus Spranger are drawn. Wouter Th. Kloek in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 4, p. 149, throws in Federico Zuccaro and Jacopo Berioia but concedes that the Rijksmuseum painting (reproduced in Van Thiel et al. 1992, p. 43) is "somewhat parochial in conception."
72. However, Blocklandt was probably the "Mr. Anthony" whose property was assessed for tax purposes in 1568 (the distressing "tenth penny" tax) at 1,200 guilders; see Montias 1982, pp. 32–33.
73. Amsterdam 1986, vol. 1, pp. 150, 152, fig. 252, vol. 2, no. 322. The stylistic comparison with Blocklandt was already made by Van Mander, who cited a *Judith* by Van Miereveld; see Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 382 (fol. 281r).
74. Compare, for example, the copy of a Spranger drawing catalogued in Kaufmann 1988, no. 20.10; Goltzius's engraving *Eloquence* dated 1584 (Strauss 1977, vol. 1, no. 205); and Goltzius's drawing *Minerva and Mercury*, 1588, which was engraved in that year, probably by Jacob Matham (Reznicek 1961, no. K134, pls. 80, 81). In the last, Minerva seems a model for Van Miereveld's Pallas, on the right in his *Judgment of Paris*. On the related painting in Stockholm ascribed to Van Miereveld, see Cavalli-Björkman 1986, no. 40.
75. See Radcliffe 1985, pp. 102–3, figs. 5–7, and Strauss 1977, vol. 2, no. 283, for *The Large Hercules*.
76. This is convincingly argued in Radcliffe 1985.
77. See Veldman 1977, p. 104.
78. This was one of Goltzius's later subjects. On Van Tetrode in Italy, see the entry and bibliography by Wilhelmina Halsema-Kubes in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 30, pp. 530–31.
79. The quotes are taken from Montias 1982, p. 32. See also D. P. Oosterbaan's pages (1973) reprinted in Delft 1979–80, p. 150, on the contract and the role of Pieter van Opmeer.
80. See Boon 1965 and Veldman 1993.
81. Montias 1982, p. 228, note h, citing the inventory as published in Bredius 1915–22, vol. 4, pp. 1456–58.
82. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 229 (fol. 242v).
83. *Ibid.*, p. 357 (fol. 274v); see also vol. 4, pp. 45 (Francen), 46 ("Apert Francken"). Although Ketel studied in Delft with Blocklandt about 1565, he is not part of our story. Being from nearby Gouda, however, he provides an interesting parallel with Delft artists at the time. He was back in Gouda in 1567–73, then worked in London as a portraitist, was influenced by Federico Zuccaro (in London during 1575), and then spent the rest of his life in Amsterdam (1581–1616). His painting done in 1588 of a civic-guard company in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, is interesting to compare with any group portrait of the next twenty years, but its style could be considered more typical of the northern area of Holland than of the southern. See Amsterdam 1993–94, pp. 32–33, and index; Rudolf E. O. Ekkart in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 17, pp. 923–24; and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 5, pp. 116–60, figs. 73–82.
84. Dumas 1991, p. 317, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 46, with further references.
85. Van Thiel 1999, pp. 86, 167, 199, no. 302, suggests that the original was probably painted by the Haarlem master about 1588–92. See also Plomp in Delft

- 1996, p. 21, fig. 8, on Van der Houwe's copy, which is in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick.
86. See Montias 1982, p. 55, for this quote and some of the information in this paragraph. On Van Buchell, see also Pollmann 1999.
  87. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 178; the author adds that as a result Griman's later portraits were less highly regarded than his earlier works. See also Montias 1982, p. 234, on an occasion in 1621 when Van Miereveld ("assisted by Willem Willemsz. van Vliet") criticized a copy by Griman, which the latter had boasted and bet would be better than the original.
  88. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 450 (fol. 298r), vol. 6, p. 104. See also Bredius 1885, p. 3, and Montias 1982, p. 287.
  89. See Montias 1982, pp. 138, 198, and especially 258.
  90. Van Thiel 1999, p. 114, nos. 76, 77, 295, pls. 112, 113. The series looks forward to Bramer's thirteen-panel series depicting *The Passion*: see Delft 1994, pp. 112–14, no. 21.
  91. Van Thiel 1999, no. 2, pl. 150.
  92. *Ibid.*, no. 17, pls. 162, XXI.
  93. On Wyntgis (or Wyntjens), see Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 2, p. 75 (correcting Montias 1982, p. 55), and Van Thiel 1999, pp. 297–98. Van Mander's book of 1603, *Den grondt der edel vry schilderconst*, is dedicated to Wyntgis.
  94. Montias 1982, pp. 55–56.
  95. See Osaka, Tokyo, Sydney 1990, p. 49, fig. 27, no. 19a, for an attribution. See also Briels 1987, pp. 237–38, fig. 302.
  96. Montias 1982, p. 56, citing Bredius 1885, p. 2.
  97. Montias (1982, p. 56) makes the point but gives the date of death as 1604. Van Mander died in Amsterdam on September 11, 1606 (as noted, for example, by Pieter J. J. van Thiel in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 310).
  98. The quotes are from Montias 1982, pp. 55, 58, 60.
  99. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
  100. The two quotes are parts of a single sentence in *ibid.*, p. 43.
  101. In this passage, Montias (*ibid.*, p. 56) mistakenly refers to Rochus Jacobsz Delff (1572/79–1617) rather than to his father, Jacob Willemsz Delff (ca. 1550–1601). For illustrations of several group portraits by J. W. Delff, including his fascinating *portrait historié* of 1584, *The Reconciliation of Jacob and Esau* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), see Ekkart 1989.
  102. For example, the *Company of Corporal Jonge Jan Adriaensz van Veen* (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem), of which Van Mander wrote: "that was in the year 1583 when I first came to live in Haarlem and I was very surprised to find such painters here. This is very effectively designed and all the sitters communicate their habits or inclinations by their gestures" (as quoted in Van Thiel 1999, p. 386, under no. 242).
  103. The remark made by Ineke Spaander under "Delft" in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 8, p. 667, to the effect that "the southern Netherlands had a relatively minor influence on local painting" (in contrast to the decorative arts) is flatly wrong, and evidently a misunderstanding of something another writer wrote.
  104. On Potter's supposed role, see Eisler 1923, pp. 178–87, and Plomp in Delft 1996, p. 39. C. Brown 1981, chap. 3, discusses "Fabritius and the 'Delft School.'" The names of Saenredam and Maes have been invoked in specialized studies of architectural painting and genre painting in Delft, respectively; the literature on and the parts played by these artists are discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 87–92, 145–48, 162–63.

## Chapter 3

### PAINTING IN DELFT FROM ABOUT 1600 TO 1650

1. See Israel 1995, pp. 220–30, on the politics of this period; the quote is from p. 224, citing Van Deursen 1979, p. 88.
2. As noted by Ebelkje Hartkamp-Jonxis in Amsterdam 1993–94, pp. 317, 420.
3. D. Beck 1993, pp. 68, 89.
4. On the role and image of the court in the Dutch Republic, see Mörke 1992, pp. 40–43 (on *pracht en praal*), 44 (on the title *Vader der vaderlands*).
5. This account is borrowed from Mörke (1992, p. 45), who cites more specialized sources.
6. See Havard 1894, to which Bredius 1908 makes additions and corrections.

7. See Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 5, p. 167. Rudolf E. O. Ekkart in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 310, lists Van Miereveld's father as a goldsmith who lived until 1612.
8. See Montias 1982, pp. 38, 370.
9. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 381–85 (fols. 280v–281v); see the commentary in vol. 5, pp. 166–73. No kitchen scenes by Van Miereveld survive but the claim is plausible, since the Delft painters Pieter Cornelisz van Rijck (see cat. no. 123 here) and Cornelis Delff pursued the specialty; for Van Rijck, see Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 450–53 (fol. 298r–298v), vol. 6, pp. 102–6, fig. 68, the *Kitchen Scene* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick. The emphasis upon "histories, figures and nudes" in Van Mander's biography of Van Miereveld is part of his lament that "in our Netherlands there is this deficiency . . . [of] work to be had that requires composition," so that many clever talents must take up the "side road or byway" of portraiture (see Reznicek 1963).
10. For a brief discussion of Van der Mast and Delff, see Eric Jan Sluiter's essay in Delft 1981, p. 176, figs. 148–51, 177, 180, 181; see also Van Thiel et al. 1976, pp. 191, 370. On Delff, see also Ekkart 1989.
11. The portrait by Mor in Washington is discussed by Paul Huvenne in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, pp. 144–45.
12. On the sitter, see MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 475. The artist's biography provided there wrongly cites Dirck van Bleyswijck (1667–[80]), who refers to Hendrick, not Willem, van Vliet and gives the misleading impression that only a few works by the painter are known.
13. Slive 1995, p. 248.
14. See, for example, Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 636, no. A970 (Friesland, ca. 1600).
15. Huygens 1971, p. 76. For a more recent translation from the Latin to Dutch, see Huygens 1987.
16. As noted by Van der Ploeg in The Hague 1997–98a, p. 121, n. 7, in a discussion of Van Dyck's autograph replicas of his portraits of the prince and princess, in the Prado, Madrid. For the canvas at Windsor Castle, see Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 306, pls. XXXI, 193.
17. See Ekkart in Judson and Ekkart 1999, pp. 28–29, pls. 177, 178, 214–17. Van Miereveld's recently rediscovered full-length portrait of Amalia van Solms was published in The Hague 1997–98b, pp. 166, 186, fig. 173.
18. See Bredius 1908, p. 11. Portraits of Paulus Teding van Berkhout (1609–1672; mentioned in chap. 1 here) and his wife, Jacomina van der Vorst (1611–1665), are reproduced in Schmidt 1986, pp. 54–55, figs. 17, 18 (kindly brought to my attention by Marten Jan Bok). The couple married in 1637.
19. Chapman 1990, p. 5. Wheelock (1995b, p. 170) cites Neo-Stoicism in connection with Van Miereveld. One of the best introductions to the subject is Morford 1991.
20. See Broos's discussion in The Hague 1997–98a, under no. 9.
21. On Van Miereveld's estate, see Montias 1982, p. 129; pp. 121, 126, for similar information; p. 134, on his will.
22. See Millar 1963, pp. 84–88, for this picture (no. 121, pl. 49) and other important works by Mijtens. Rudolf E. O. Ekkart offers a useful biography of Mijtens in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 21, pp. 508–9.
23. This paragraph is based on Rudolf E. O. Ekkart's biography of Delff in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 14, pp. 664–65, and Gerdien Wuestman's entry on Delff's print after Van de Venne, *Portrait of Frederick Hendrick*, in Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 263.
24. Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1994, nos. 53, 54.
25. Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague, on loan to the Prinsenhof, Delft. See Delft 1981, p. 176, figs. 178, 179, and Delft 1996, p. 29, fig. 20, for *Sara Boschaert* alone. An updated (that is, aged) bust-length version of the Van der Graeff portrait, dated 1630, is in the Cincinnati Art Museum (Scott 1987, no. 34).
26. Amsterdam 1993–94, no. 266 (the pair). On the Deutz family, see Bikker 1998.
27. As is noted in Wheelock 1995b, p. 169, with regard to the *Portrait of a Lady* dated 1638 (on indefinite loan to the American Embassy, London).
28. Tideman 1903, pp. 125–26.
29. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 121. Bok in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, p. 345, rightly observes that there is no documentary evidence for the claim (which is based upon a remark made by Van Bleyswijck) that Van Vliet studied with Van Miereveld. But the latter is the most likely candidate, to judge from a considerable amount of circumstantial evidence.
30. Van Vliet's portrait dated 1624 was sold at Sotheby's, New York, June 1, 1989, no. 35.
31. On Willem de Langue, see Montias 1982, pp. 236–37, and chap. 7 in this catalogue. Another painting reminiscent of Van Miereveld is the full-length

- Portrait of a Girl* dated 1628 in the Castle Museum Sypsteyn, Loosdrecht (Delft 1981, fig. 183). Compare Van Vliet's work of a decade later, for example, the *Portrait of a Boy* (1638) in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
32. A similar work by Willem van Vliet, in the present writer's opinion, is the half-length *Portrait of a Surgeon* dated 1635 in the Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts (Trapp 1989, p. 36, ill.), where the panel is attributed to Hendrick van Vliet. The Louvre picture (fig. 48 here) is marred by the *pentimento* revealing that the artist considerably reduced the size of the hat. For comparable poses in Hals's portrait oeuvre, see Slive 1970–74, vol. 2, pls. 52 (*Laughing Cavalier*, 1624; Wallace Collection, London), 130, 156, among others. As Slive notes in vol. 1, pp. 86–88, Hals developed the pose and low view in response to Utrecht genre scenes.
  33. "Begun by M. Miereveld, finished by J. Delff." A very similar portrait of a woman, signed and dated "AO. 1644 J Delff," is in the Národní Galerie, Prague, inv. no. O 2560.
  34. See Haak 1984, pp. 332–35, and The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 155–61, 174–79, 207–17.
  35. On the *Officers of the White Banner* by Delff, see Salomonson 1988 and Plomp's entry in Osaka 2000, no. 19. A number of portraits by Delff are illustrated in Salomonson 1988. See also Ekkart 1995, no. 16, on a male portrait of 1642 in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. A portrait of 1643 by Delff is in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and one of 1649 is in the Stanford University Museum of Art, Stanford, California. An attractive pair of half-length portraits were at the Van Haeften gallery, London, in 1988. Emanuel de Witte's pair of oval portraits, also in Rotterdam (1648; Ekkart 1995, nos. 78, 79), obviously depend upon Delff's example.
  36. See Sutton 1990, pp. 337–40.
  37. See Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 582, no. A2531, and Christie's, New York, January 29, 1999, no. 86.
  38. The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, has two good genre paintings by Palamedesz, dating from 1633 and 1647, and five of his dullest portraits, one of 1641 and the others from the early 1650s; see Van Thiel et al. 1976, pp. 434–35.
  39. This is true despite contemporary uses of tiled floors in a few pictures by Molenaer and other artists active in Haarlem and Amsterdam. Dirck van Delen's collaboration with Dirck Hals is part of the story, as discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 153–55, 163–66.
  40. See Fock 1998, p. 204, on tiled floors installed at Rijswijk in the mid-1630s.
  41. Palamedesz's portrait dated 1657 (fig. 52) and its pendant were at the Richard Green Gallery, London, in 1993; I am grateful to Mr. Green for a number of photographs of works by Palamedesz. The one illustrated here recalls another, Palamedesz's *Portrait of a Man* (once called "Johan de Witt") dated 1655, which was acquired by the Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster, in 1973, and both pictures resemble Hanneman's *Portrait of Johan de Witt* of 1652 in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Ekkart 1995, no. 22, and The Hague 1998–99a, p. 159, fig. 4).
  42. For the Palamedesz portrait of 1665, see Delft 1981, fig. 185, or Ekkart 1995, no. 53. Compare Mijtens's *Willem van den Kerkhoven and His Family* of 1652 in the Haags Historisch Museum (The Hague 1998–99a, p. 209, fig. 3).
  43. See chap. 1, n. 29. On Van Couwenbergh's family portraits, see Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 206–8, figs. 52–54, and nos. A37–A42.
  44. Montias 1982, p. 194.
  45. See Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, pp. 176–77, on this point.
  46. Ekkart (1995, no. 68) discusses Johannes Verkolje's *Portrait of a Huntsman*, 1672, in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and refers to other works. See also Verkolje's family portrait with musical instruments of 1671 in the Ruzicka Foundation, Kunsthau, Zurich. However, Verkolje, from Amsterdam, settled in Delft only about 1673. Haak (1984, p. 453, fig. 995) represents Delft portraiture with a canvas painted by Michiel Nouts in 1656 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), but almost nothing is known about the artist, including his whereabouts at the time.
  47. Compare Bailly's *Portrait of a Man, Possibly a Botanist* of 1641 (Metropolitan Museum) with portraits by Van Miereveld and Willem van Vliet (for example, fig. 47). See my discussion of the Bailly portrait in Metropolitan Museum 1984, no. 29.
  48. See Montias 1982, p. 121. Delff's house was valued at 3,200 guilders in 1631, and Palamedesz's at 3,400 guilders in 1638, when the median price of houses owned by painters registered in the Delft guild was 1,383 guilders.
  49. Both quotes are from *ibid.*, p. 181.
  50. C. Brown 1981, p. 43.
  51. The reference here is to Jantzen 1910 and Eisler 1923; both scholars had written about Delft in earlier essays.
  52. Montias 1982, p. 139 (see also pp. 101–2).
  53. Eric Jan Sluiter, pp. 172–77, and J. Michael Montias, p. 197, both in Delft 1981. Montias's essay is a translation of Montias 1978–79.
  54. Montias 1982, p. 177 (see also pp. 256–57), and in conversation (November 1999).
  55. Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 186, figs. 25, 26. The engraving, *Allegory of the Well-Being of the United Provinces*, was reprinted in 1608 and in 1619 to reflect upon political events.
  56. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 102 (fol. 211r). Miedema in Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 2, p. 331, observes that, according to Van Mander, large canvases were made as cheap substitutes for tapestries. This suggests that Jordaens's copies were full-scale. The document is also interesting for Rubens's first large hunting pictures, which were probably made as surrogate tapestries (see my discussion of *A Wolf and Fox Hunt* in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, p. 196).
  57. See Fock 1969 and Liedtke 1989, p. 294, pl. 173, for the *Nassau Genealogy*, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 2, p. 324, on the sources of Van Mander's information.
  58. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 290 (fol. 258r); vol. 3, p. 217, n. 51, on the question of journeymanhood with Van Cleve; vol. 4, pp. 173–74, on documents concerning Jordaens's life. He was enrolled in the Antwerp guild as an apprentice in 1572, joined as a master in 1581, took on a pupil in 1585, and is recorded in the accounts for 1585–86. Jordaens then moved to Delft, where he is documented, for example, in 1597, 1605 (appraising with Grimani), and 1612 (living on the Choorstraat). See also the biography in Briels 1997, p. 344.
  59. Briels 1997, p. 344 (n. 6 for the source). The landscape by Jordaens is reproduced in Briels 1987, fig. 318. The genre scene reproduced here (fig. 54; see also Briels 1997, p. 105, fig. 149) may be compared with paintings by Marten van Cleve (1527–1581) such as *A Village Carnival* of 1579 in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Nikulin 1987, pls. 193, 194). For another genre painting by Jordaens, a *Group at Table* in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, see Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 174, n. 90, fig. 104.
  60. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, p. 174, n. 90, noting that a smaller version of the same (?) picture, signed and dated 1598, is in the Museum of Western and Oriental Art, Kiev.
  61. Montias 1982, pp. 198–99 (see also p. 201 on the Bloemaert). The "conflagration" by Jordaens may or may not look ahead to Van der Poel's burning barns and villages, but it would probably have resembled scenes of Troy burning and the like by Gillis van Valckenborch and other Antwerp artists. Esaias van de Velde is credited with the figures in the three landscapes by Groenewegen and in the five architectural paintings by Van Bassen.
  62. *Ibid.*, p. 148, note k (estate of Jacob Jansz Helm, 1626).
  63. On the question of art dealing, compare the interpretation of Montias (1982, p. 130).
  64. See Briels 1997, figs. 56 (very much like Van Mander), 60, 65, 68, 149, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 4, fig. 103, for a *John the Baptist Preaching* (location unknown).
  65. Montias 1982, p. 204; on p. 195 Montias lists Jordaens among prominent Delft painters who appear to have "worked primarily for the market."
  66. Bramer in particular has been inserted into "een zeer eigen plaats" (a place all his own) where his style supposedly sets him apart from all other history painters in Holland (Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 174).
  67. See the essay by Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren and nos. 19, 29, in The Hague 1997–98a. On Van der Lisse, see also The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 194–99, 325.
  68. Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 177.
  69. The essential article is Wansink 1987.
  70. Nicolson 1979, p. 108, pl. 174. See below, n. 71.
  71. Volmarijn did business with a number of Delft artists: see Montias 1982, pp. 190–91, 207. I do not mean to suggest that news of the art world came to Volmarijn primarily through Delft, even if Van Vliet influenced him. Volmarijn's father, Hendrick Crijnse Volmarijn (d. 1637), was born in Utrecht but settled in Rotterdam (perhaps about 1600) and preceded his sons Crijn and Leendert in working both as a painter and as an art dealer. D'Hulst (1970, pp. 20–22) reviews the family members and describes the known oeuvre of Crijn Volmarijn's son Pieter (ca. 1629–1679), who was strongly influenced by Rubens, Jacob Jordaens, and (according to Jan Sysmus in the 1670s) by Leonaert Bramer; see also the biographies of Crijn and Pieter Volmarijn in Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 306–7. D'Hulst (1970, p. 20) cites three known works by Crijn Volmarijn, all in the same style: the two paintings of The Supper at Emmaus

- mentioned in the text here (with some inaccurate information) and a *Christ with Nicodemus* of 1631 in the Ten Cate collection, Hilversum. Meyerman, who catalogued the Rotterdam *Supper at Emmaus* in Rotterdam 1994–95, no. 68 (colorplate on p. 316), found “an explanation for [Volmarin’s Caravaggesque style] not so easy to give” and no wonder, since the family’s ongoing ties with Utrecht, their involvement in the art trade, and Crijn Volmarin’s apparent debt to Willem van Vliet are not taken into account.
72. As Blankert notes in Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, p. 348, n. 1, a *Calling of Matthew* by Van Vliet was sold in Amsterdam in 1724.
  73. See Wansink 1987, pp. 3–4, figs. 2, 3. On Peter Wtewael, see Lowenthal 1986, pp. 175–81, pls. 161–83.
  74. Wansink 1987, pp. 4–5, figs. 5, 6 (the panel of 1629 before and after cleaning).
  75. Van Honthorst is mentioned here in the relevant catalogue entries (nos. 14, 15, 66). For Bloemaert, see Roethlisberger 1993, nos. 280, 387, pls. 413, 545. See also Moreelse’s *Allegory of Vanity* of 1627 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Jan van Bijlert’s *Mary Magdalene Turning from the World to Christ* of the 1630s (Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, Greenville, South Carolina), both of which were exhibited in San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, nos. 19, 21. Parallels may also be found in approximately contemporary works by Jan Lievens (see the *Samson and Delilah* of about 1630 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Pieter de Grebber, and others. That analogous designs—meaning the general arrangement of the figures in the picture field—had also been painted by Rubens (for example, the *Artemisia* from Louise de Coligny’s apartment in The Hague; see The Hague 1997–98a, no. 24) and by other Flemings simply illustrates the fact that Van Vliet was adopting an international language which spread from Rome.
  76. See Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000.
  77. For these works by De Gheyn, see Van Regteren Altena 1983, cat. II, nos. 3–6, 13, pls. 4–7, II.
  78. The attribution of *A Teacher Instructing His Pupils* (fig. 60) to Van Vliet and its relationship to the works by De Gheyn were first considered in Wansink 1987, pp. 8–9, figs. 10–12. A date of about 1626–28 seems plausible. The De Gheyns are catalogued in Van Regteren Altena 1983, cat. II, nos. 18, 19, pls. 17, 19.
  79. Possibly of circumstantial interest is the *Lot and His Daughters* by Van Couwenbergh that was owned by Judith Willemsdr van Vliet when she died, in 1650 (Maier-Preusker 1991, p. 167)—of interest, that is, if she was Van Vliet’s daughter.
  80. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
  81. See *ibid.*, pp. 176–86, figs. 13–18.
  82. Compare *ibid.*, figs. 1, 2, 10; the woman in figs. 6, 7, 9; the man in figs. 15, 18–20. There are many other examples not illustrated in the article.
  83. See *ibid.*, pp. 173, 183–84, figs. 15, 16.
  84. *Ibid.*, p. 165, for this remark and the basic biographical details.
  85. As is suggested by Jacob Vosmaer’s early trip to Italy and his service as captain major in a civic guard (Montias 1982, pp. 46, 150–60, in the notes). Concrete information about the family is lacking, and this is reflected in Montias’s uncharacteristic confusion of Wouter with Jacob Vosmaer on several pages (including pp. 46, 195).
  86. Maier-Preusker (1991, no. A8) correctly records the canvas as dated 1630, while in Amsterdam, Jerusalem 1991–92, no. 23, the painting is said to be signed in monogram but not dated.
  87. The subject of the lost painting is identified in Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 189–90, figs. 27, 28 (print after Rubens), and no. A6, as “Semiramis having her husband Onnes put to death.” See also Plomp 1986, pp. 110–11, no. 14. Maier-Preusker’s comparison of the *Cimon and Pero* with a work by Rubens (Rubens 1991, pp. 196–97, figs. 38, 39, no. A26) is less convincing; there are more plausible prototypes in Utrecht, by Van Baburen, Moreelse, and others, and the known evidence can hardly be considered complete (see the composition by a so-called follower of Abraham Janssens, in the Sotheby’s, London, sale of December 16, 1999, no. 350).
  88. Plomp 1986, pp. 111–12, no. 16, and Maier-Preusker 1991, p. 189, figs. 30, 31, and no. A24.
  89. Blankert 1978, p. 11, referring specifically to Van Couwenbergh and Palamedesz. Wheelock (1981, p. 16) mentions Van Couwenbergh in connection with illusionistic murals and observes that “the House of Orange . . . amplifies our understanding of the artistic climate in Delft.” However, the same author, in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 17, groups Van Couwenbergh and Bramer with Palamedesz, the “aged” Van der Aast (he was fifty-six in 1650), and the eclectic landscapist Pieter van Asch as the major artists in Delft and concludes that “it seems unlikely that any of these painters inspired the young Vermeer.”
  90. See, for example, Montias 1989, pp. 106–7.
  91. Wheelock in Milwaukee 1992–93, p. 21.
  92. On “craftsmen” see above, p. 60. For Van Couwenbergh’s works at the princely palaces, see chap. 1 and especially nn. 26, 29. I assume that Maier-Preusker 1991, under no. C13, the *Venus and Adonis* of 1642, is correct in stating that Van Couwenbergh received 600 guilders for the painting, but this is not what the account book says according to Slothouwer 1945, p. 302, under 736 fol. 141v (700 guilders to Van Couwenbergh, namely, 400 guilders for the *Offer to Venus* and 300 guilders for the *Venus and Adonis*).
  93. As noted by Maier-Preusker 1991, under no. C16, citing this engraving in Slothouwer 1945, fig. 42, where the connection with Van Couwenbergh was missed. The subject, if not the composition, recalls Rubens’s free copy after Titian (Nationalmuseum, Stockholm).
  94. Maier-Preusker 1991, no. C54. See also C55, recording a painting done for the cloth hall (Lakenhal) in 1645, at the city of Delft’s expense. At the time, the cloth hall had just been moved to part of the Prinsenhof.
  95. Slothouwer 1945, pp. 151, 308, under 737 fol. 12v, and Maier-Preusker 1991, no. C56.
  96. See chap. 1, p. 10, and especially n. 26. In the same passage of the Oude Hof there were two paintings, views of Honselaarsdijk and Huis ter Nieuburch, for which Reynier Claessen was paid 160 guilders apiece in 1647 (Slothouwer 1945, p. 309, under 737 fol. 92). Perhaps this artist is related to the Jacob Classon who painted a landscape with a view of Huis ten Bosch: see The Hague 1998–99a, p. 294, ill.
  97. Van Gelder 1948–49, p. 158, no. 17, fig. 23, and p. 164, no. 109, figs. 22, 24, and Maier-Preusker 1991, nos. A29, A61. The doors and especially the trophies of arms and armor recall two of Rubens’s tapestry designs in the Decius Mus cycle: see New York 1985–86, nos. 216, 217. Could the octagonal cupola have been painted by Van Couwenbergh rather than by an unknown “pupil of Van Campen” (Brennikmeyer-de Rooij 1982, pp. 150–51, fig. 27)? The foreshortened putti dangling among the clouds recall the staircase ceiling “painted with the ‘Rape of Ganymede,’ and other pendant figures” by Van Couwenbergh in Honselaarsdijk palace and described by Evelyn in 1641 (see chap. 1, p. 10, and, on Evelyn, n. 23).
  98. See chap. 1, n. 28.
  99. See Delft 1994, p. 21.
  100. As noted in Maier-Preusker 1991, p. 172.
  101. On the Cologne period, see *ibid.*, pp. 172–74, 210, figs. 20, 21, 55, 56.
  102. For example, Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 174.
  103. Slatkes 1992–93, p. 16. On Volmarin, see above, n. 71. Despite the adjustment suggested here, Slatkes’s essay is highly illuminating on the subject of Bramer’s relationships with such Caravaggesque painters as Louis Finson, Wouter Crabeth the Younger from Gouda (Bramer’s housemate in Rome about 1619–22), and Van Couwenbergh.
  104. See, for example, Van Couwenbergh’s *Cimon and Pero* of 1639 in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, and the sexy Diana scene (resembling a coed bathhouse with dead game) dated 1653 in a private collection, Vienna (Maier-Preusker 1991, nos. A16, A27, figs. 41, 48).
  105. The painting by Hendrick van Vliet was previously published in Liedtke 1992–93a, p. 28, fig. 23. The subject and style recall Crijn Volmarin’s *Christ with Nicodemus* of 1631 in the Ten Cate collection, Hilversum (see above, n. 71).
  106. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 852.
  107. See Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 175, fig. 173, making too much of Verschoor. De Witte’s early history paintings are discussed in Manke 1963 and in Liedtke 2000, p. 122. On the De Hooch, see Sutton 1980a, no. 3. Vermeer’s lost but recorded history pictures are cited below, p. 150 and n. 87.
  108. On Bramer as a possible teacher of Vermeer, see Wheelock in Milwaukee 1992–93, pp. 19–22. One might wonder whether Bramer’s teacher was his father, Hendrick, whom Huys Janssen describes as possibly “the same as the painter of equestrian pieces” (Delft 1994, p. 13). However, what little evidence is known contradicts this, as is noted in Plomp 1986, p. 104, n. 4.
  109. For Van de Venne’s biography, see Royaltan-Kisch 1988, p. 38. C. Brown (1995a, p. 46) considers Wichmann’s suggestion that Bramer studied with Van de Venne “very attractive,” but the hypothesis is rejected by J. W. Noldus in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 4, pp. 656–57.
  110. Baldinucci 1845–47, vol. 4, p. 527.
  111. For the engraving and inscription, see Delft 1994, p. 20, fig. 5, and p. 68. Meysens also states that the works Bramer made for Farnese were both large and small.



112. See Delft 1994, p. 53, and C. Brown 1995a on Farnese and Scaglia. On Wals, see Repp 1985.
113. Huys Janssen in Delft 1994, pp. 14–16, and C. Brown 1995a, p. 47.
114. See MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 190–91.
115. On this point, see Slatkes 1992–93, p. 14.
116. The document is listed by Huys Janssen in Delft 1994, p. 16. The preceding lines on Tassi depend upon Plomp and Ten Brink Goldsmith's essay in the same catalogue, pp. 52–53, figs. 6, 7 (shipwreck scenes by Tassi and Bramer), and pp. 98–99, no. 14.
117. C. Brown 1995a.
118. For Bramer's painting on slate in the Museum Bredius, see Delft 1994, pp. 90–91, no. 9, where Wichmann's reference to Fetti is supported.
119. Hoffrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 4.
120. Montias 1982, pp. 79, 207.
121. Montias in Delft 1994, p. 43.
122. See the translation of the passage from Huygens's diary in Liedtke 1995–96, p. 9.
123. Hoffrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, pp. 9–10, makes this comparison and also relates Bramer's cavernous temples to those depicted by Rembrandt at about the same time. A clear example of Bramer's response to Rembrandt in the 1630s is *The Raising of Lazarus* in the Národní Galerie, Prague (Delft 1994, pp. 122–24, no. 25, where Rembrandt's large etching is compared). Rembrandt's *Judas Returning the Pieces of Silver* (private collection, England) is also supposed to have influenced Benjamin Cuyp and Paulus Lesire about 1630 in Dordrecht (see Chong and Wieseman's essay in Dordrecht 1992–93, p. 18, fig. 11). In any event, their dramatic biblical scenes of the 1630s form an obvious parallel with Bramer's work and make De Vlieger's response to Rembrandt in *Christ on the Sea of Galilee* (fig. 72 here), which was painted in Delft in 1637, less surprising than it otherwise might be. Two similar treatments of the subject by De Vlieger are known (see Kuretsky in Washington, Detroit, Amsterdam 1980–81, no. 74).
124. As noted by Montias in Delft 1994, p. 43, citing Bredius's *Kunstler-Inventure* (without further specifics). Montias (1982, p. 207) and Slatkes (1992–93, p. 16) claim that Bramer and other Delft artists bought their colors from Volmarin in the late 1640s, which is a rare instance of posthumous sales (he died in 1645).
125. Delft 1994, p. 43.
126. De Bie 1661, p. 252, quoted and partially translated in Delft 1994, pp. 27–28.
127. As maintained in C. Brown 1981, p. 53; see also Appendix C, pp. 162–63, on decorative murals in Holland. On Van Honthorst's ceiling painting in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, see Judson and Ekkart 1999, pp. 21–22, and no. 286, fig. 171.
128. See also Bramer's *Ceiling Design with the Seven Virtues* (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), in Delft 1994, p. 200, fig. 26 (also pp. 63–67 on the decorative commissions).
129. Terwen and Ottenheym 1993, pp. 163–72, figs. 189b (colorplate of the center of the ceiling), 198a (general view of the room today). See also Ottenheym's essay in Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 46–48.
130. See The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 311, 360, on these artists.
131. This appears to have been Post's usual approach. He was the architect of the Huis ten Bosch, but the decoration of the Oranjezaal was left to Huygens and a team of painters working under the supervision of Jacob van Campen. Post himself was clearly not the painter of the circular balustrade with cupids in the main room of the Huis aan de Boschkant in The Hague or the illusionistic ceilings of other houses he built in the 1640s; on the latter, see Terwen and Ottenheym 1993, pp. 122–23, figs. 141a, 141b (photographs of about 1900).
132. Delft 1994, pp. 200, 262–65.
133. By Plomp in *ibid.*, p. 200, fig. 25 (the same drawing is discussed on p. 245 with no reference to the illustration).
134. *Ibid.*, p. 63, fig. 21, and p. 207, n. 61. See also Milwaukee 1992–93, nos. 54, 55, for drawings depicting musicians and other figures at foreshortened balconies.
135. As noted by Plomp in Delft 1994, p. 184.
136. Evelyn 1952, pp. 29–30 (entry for September 1, 1641).
137. See Delft 1994, pp. 21–25, on three fresco projects by Bramer (1653, 1657, 1660).
138. The last comparison is made in *ibid.*, p. 55, fig. 10 (C. Saftleven's *Trials of Job* of 1631 in the Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe).
139. See Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, pp. 87–89, vol. 2, cat. II, nos. 510–31.
140. Delft 1994, pp. 134–36, no. 30.
141. The subject deserves further study; Elsheimer's work in Rome and Hendrick Goudt's engravings after several of his paintings were central to the development. On nocturnes of various kinds, see Munich 1998–99.
142. Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 183–84, 311–19 (complete list of known material).
143. Ten Brink Goldsmith 1984, p. 32.
144. Delft 1994, p. 317, no. 30; see also Ten Brink Goldsmith 1984, p. 23.
145. Delft 1994, p. 314, nos. 22, 23. Ten Brink Goldsmith (1984, p. 23) refers to the *Aeneid* and *The Life of Alexander the Great* as “listed in the 1691 catalogue of the book collection of Dr W. Snellonius, who was apparently a famous scholar.” According to Van der Aa 1852–78, vol. “S,” pp. 251–52, the short-lived Willebrord Snell van Royen (1591–1626) was an authority on optics and triangulation who had several major publications to his credit. But this Snellonius cannot be the scholar in question. Perhaps another member of the family was the owner.
146. See Van den Brink 1993 on the series of drawings by Bramer, and The Hague 1997–98a, nos. 5, 29, on Van Dyck's canvas for the Stadholder's Quarters (the *Amaryllis and Mirtillo* at Schloss Pommersfelden) and on the *Pastor Fido* series of paintings made about 1635 for one of Amalia van Solms's rooms at Honselaarsdijk. On G. B. Guarini's play as translated into Dutch by Hendrick Bloemaert (1650), see Roethlisberger 1993, no. H111, and pp. 594–95.
147. Bramer's *Straatwerken* are discussed and catalogued in Hempstead 1991.
148. See above, pp. 56–57 and nn. 71, 72.
149. Compare Gerard Dou's canvas *Prince Rupert of the Palatinate and His Tutor in Historical Dress* of about 1631 and the pendant by Jan Lievens, *Prince Charles Louis of the Palatinate with His Tutor Wolrad von Plessen in Historical Dress*, of 1631, both in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles. Although one would never guess it from the title, these two pictures are the sole subject of C. Brown 1983. The tutor in Dou's painting may be, like Plessen, a member of the Palatinate suite. Wansink (1987, p. 9) doubts that Van Vliet's tutor and children are also portraits, but the possibility deserves further consideration.
150. See Westermann 1997, pp. 193–200, on “Pier the Droll: Sources of Farical Jan.”
151. See above, p. 44 and n. 9.
152. For example, Weiher 1937, Württenberger 1937, Bouchery 1957–58, and Plietzsch 1956 (see also Plietzsch 1960, p. 34), which are reviewed in Liedtke 1984b. On Pot's frightful allegory of the death of William the Silent, see Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 1, p. 127, and Eisler 1923, pp. 90, 148.
153. For all of these artists, see Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984. Codde-like interiors by Duck and by Jan de Heem in Leiden date from as early as 1628 (Salomon 1998a, fig. 1, and Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. 175, fig. 1). Van de Venne is of interest mostly as an illustrator, but see his *Musical Company* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (no. A1769), which is dated 163[?] (Bol 1989, fig. 88). On Van de Velde, see Keyes 1984.
154. See Montias 1982, pp. 51, 121, 134.
155. See Delft 1998, pp. 198–201, figs. 256–60, and nos. 137, 138.
156. As discussed in Liedtke 1984b; Liedtke 1988; and Liedtke 2000, chap. 4, where the term “South Holland” (meaning the region that later became the province of South Holland) is borrowed from studies of seventeenth-century portraiture. On the influence of Hans Vredeman de Vries, see Schneede 1967; Liedtke 1970; and Rotterdam 1991, pp. 52–65.
157. See, most recently, the discussion in Liedtke 2000, pp. 152–54. Several collaborations between Dirck van Delen (who painted the elaborate domestic interiors) and Dirck Hals (the numerous figures) are known, for example, in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (1629); in the Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem (1628); and in the Gemäldegalerie der Akademie, Vienna (1628). See Potterton 1986, pp. 32–33, fig. 42, and Trnek 1992, pp. 166–70.
158. Keyes 1984, p. 169–79.
159. The figures are clearly by Palamedesz in a number of paintings by Van Delen, and in one church interior of 1644 the artists jointly signed: see Blade 1976, pp. 59–61, 140–41, 239, no. 72, fig. 64. Dumas (1991, p. 31, figs. 28, 29) plausibly considers the *Interior of the Ridderzaal* of 1651 (on loan from the Mauritshuis, The Hague, to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) to be by Van Bassen and Palamedesz; however, in Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 190, it is ascribed to Van Delen.
160. Cavalry fights, which might be considered a kind of genre scene (they are closely related to guardroom pictures), were strongly represented in Delft as a specialty of Palamedesz's brother, Palamedes Palamedesz (see cat. no. 49). But dozens of artists painted them in other cities (see Delft 1998), Esaias van de Velde being one of the most influential (see Keyes 1984, pp. 103–15). Pictures of this type were often purchased in Delft, but they are not distinctive of the local school and are therefore not surveyed in this essay.
161. See Montias 1982, p. 198, citing pictures by Van Bassen and Van de Velde valued in a Delft lottery of 1626 at 108, 150, and 162 guilders.
162. See the present writer's entry in New York 1992–93, no. 13.
163. See, for example, Salomon 1998a, fig. 1 (1628), pls. II–V. Another work by Van Velsen that reveals the influence of Duck is a panel said to be signed and dated 1632 depicting mercenary soldiers taking over an old couple's farmhouse

- (sold at Lempertz, Cologne, November 10, 1931, no. 193; and again on November 13, 1960, no. 216). Compare also Duyster's *Soldiers beside a Fireplace* of about 1630 in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 42, pl. 37).
164. Assuming that the seven-figure *Merry Company* in the Khanenko collection, Kiev (*Collection Khanenko* 1912, no. 101) is actually by or after Palamedesz, not by Van Velsen in about 1631. The figure style, the conventional lighting and poses (three figures are seen from the rear), the small heads, the silly smiles, and the amount of furniture all indicate that this is a work by the older artist.
  165. Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 178, also finds Van Velsen of interest for Vermeer.
  166. The document is described in Montias 1982, p. 198. See Keyes 1984, p. 175, no. XVII, pl. 358 (location unknown). On the value assigned to the pictures by Van Bassen and Van de Velde, see above, n. 161.
  167. See Liedtke 1985 and Liedtke 1996.
  168. Montias 1982, pp. 198–99, also citing two other “temples” by Van Bassen, one with Saint John healing the cripple and another with the story of Zacharias (John's birth foretold in the temple by the angel Gabriel).
  169. See Wagner 1971 on Van der Heyden, and the catalogue in Manke 1963 for De Witte's various invented and actual views. Jantzen 1910 (or Jantzen 1979) is still useful as a survey of Dutch and Flemish architectural painting.
  170. The Rotterdam specialists Anthonie de Lorme and Jan van Vucht are discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 99–100, 102, 108. See also Rotterdam 1991, no. 48, for one of Van Vucht's more elaborate efforts. In a contract of 1635 Van Vucht agreed to deliver annually a picture with twelve columns, and in the fifth year a painting with forty-eight columns.
  171. See Kuypers 1980, chap. 7, and Ottenheym's essay “‘Possessed by Such a Passion for Building’: Frederik Hendrik and Architecture,” in *The Hague* 1997–98b, pp. 105–25.
  172. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 28–29, fig. 6, pl. III, and MacLaren/Brown 1991, p. 11; also discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 95, 97.
  173. Dumas 1991, p. 98, fig. 5 (with earlier literature), and Liedtke 2000, fig. 126.
  174. This view goes back to Jantzen 1910. See L. de Vries 1984, pp. 138–39, rejecting his own hypothesis that Saenredam intervened, in favor of the argument presented in Liedtke 1982a, p. 38. The question is addressed again in Liedtke 2000, pp. 92–101.
  175. See Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 149–51. Huygens's support of Saenredam appears to have been directly related to his interest in the Romanesque Mariakerk in Utrecht.
  176. For biographies of the Vredeman de Vrieses, see most recently Briels 1997, pp. 403–4. See Rotterdam 1991, nos. 1, 2, for paintings designed by Hans and executed by Paul in 1596 (both in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). Paul was born in Antwerp but his father was Dutch, having been born and raised in Leeuwarden. On the triumphal entry into Amsterdam in 1613, see Snoep 1975, pp. 34–36.
  177. Orenstein 1994, pp. 197–209 (pp. 188–91 for Hondius's own treatise of 1622).
  178. Orenstein 1996, p. 33.
  179. De Bie 1661, p. 488. He also records that Hondius stayed in London and Paris, where he visited the “art and treasure cabinets of various princes and gentlemen.”
  180. Orenstein 1990; Dumas 1991, p. 649; and Orenstein 1996, p. 32. Dumas suggests that the print was made in connection with the rebuilding of the Stadholder's Quarters (the wing on the right, with the archway) in 1621.
  181. See Rotterdam 1991, p. 81, and the articles by Abraham Bredius cited there.
  182. Sluiter-Seijffert 1984, pp. 30, 163, nn. 30, 32, and p. 250.
  183. See Liedtke 1991a, p. 41, n. 41, for references, and also Schwartz and Bok 1990, pp. 192–95; *The Hague* 1997–98a; and *The Hague* 1997–98b.
  184. See Dumas 1991, no. 42.
  185. See (with caution) Kuypers 1994, p. 299; see also pp. 268–74 (on Honselaarsdijk), 295–301 (on the palaces of Rhenen and Rijswijk). Compare Dumas 1991, no. 42, on Rijswijk.
  186. Bernard Vermet in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 3, p. 353.
  187. Thus it fell to Van Bassen to finish the work on the Saint Sebastiaansdoelen (the civic-guard headquarters) on the Korte Vijverberg, which had been begun by Van 's-Gravesande in 1636–37 (Dumas 1991, p. 703, fig. 3). The building now houses the Haags Historisch Museum (and is the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie of fond memory).
  188. As discussed in Rotterdam 1991, no. 10.
  189. Montias 1982, p. 153, without citing a source.
  190. See L. de Vries 1975, p. 25 and n. 6, and Liedtke 1982a, p. 29.
  191. See the biography and sources cited in Rotterdam 1991, p. 163, and also *The Hague* 1998–99a, p. 317.
  192. Wheelock 1975–76, p. 169.
  193. On the Court Style of architectural painting, see Liedtke 1991a. For a more extensive discussion of the points made in this paragraph, see Liedtke 2000, pp. 94–97. Of particular interest, perhaps, is the Florentine architect Costantino de' Servi (1554–1622), who worked under Inigo Jones's supervision (about 1610–12) for Henry, Prince of Wales (d. 1612) and in 1615 designed a palace for Prince Maurits to be built at the Binnenhof (on the site of the Stadholder's Quarters, fig. 6). De' Servi made designs and wood *modelli* for the project, a practice Van Bassen adopted later on.
  194. See chap. 1, n. 21.
  195. See Liedtke 1991a, pp. 33–35, fig. 1.
  196. Dumas 1991, pp. 166–67, figs. 2–5, and Blom, Bruin, and Ottenheym 1994. Huygens's house was being completed just as Van Bassen took over the construction of the Saint Sebastiaansdoelen down the street (see above, n. 187).
  197. See White 1982, pp. 17–18, 63. See Liedtke 1982a, fig. 7, or Liedtke 2000, fig. 120, for the Van Bassen in a private collection.
  198. See White 1982, pp. 17–18, 63. Houckgeest's version is also illustrated in Liedtke 1982a, fig. 8.
  199. In Liedtke 1991a, p. 41, caption to fig. 9, the last figure was reported to be Prince Maurits, following the identification in Staring 1965.
  200. Montias in Rotterdam 1991, pp. 23–25. The Van Bassen in Dordrecht was owned by a counselor of the court.
  201. In 1650 Van Bassen painted the crossing of Saint Peter's with invented vaults and decorations, and with the tomb of Pope Paul III in the niche it occupied until 1628 (Briels 1987, p. 278, fig. 349). Houckgeest's painting of a similar church, dated 1642 (Prinsenhof, Delft), may derive from an earlier work by Van Bassen. On the Houckgeest, see L. de Vries 1975, pp. 32–33, fig. 7; p. 52, no. 7; p. 54, n. 33 (on the inscription and the likelihood of a Catholic commission). See also Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 47–48, fig. 35. The doubts about authorship, date, and even period of the work expressed by Giltaij in Rotterdam 1991, p. 165, n. 5, appear unfounded to the present writer.
  202. Montias in Rotterdam 1991, p. 25. He does find a few Catholic collectors. Of course, they were not the best customers for views of churches that were restricted to Protestant use.
  203. See Lokin's essay in Delft 1996, p. 44, fig. 31. Van Bronckhorst had agreed to paint the panel for 120 guilders, but the treasurer, Van der Graeff, threw in an extra 30 guilders “as a gift, since he complained and since the gentlemen were of the opinion that he had asked too little.” Firsthand examination suggests that he had asked too much.
  204. Neurdenburg 1948, p. 56, fig. 29.
  205. On the Haarlem history painters, see Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000.
  206. See chap. 1, n. 56. The “art of describing” is, of course, a reference to Alpers 1983 and the reductive view of Dutch art it propagates.
  207. See Ottawa 1977 and, for a review of this exhibition catalogue, Roethlisberger 1979, p. 144.
  208. On the “realistic imaginary church” in the work of Van Bassen and Houckgeest, see Liedtke 1982a, chap. 2, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 97–101 (fig. 127 for the painting in Prague).
  209. See Van Ackere 1972 for numerous examples.
  210. For example, in Gombrich 1972 and Gombrich 1975.
  211. See Liedtke 2000, pp. 94–104, where the same argument is presented in greater detail.
  212. The quote and these details are taken from Montias 1982, p. 252. One would like to know if Mesch acquired some of Tristram's *De Mompers*.
  213. See the essay by Van der Ploeg and Vermeeren in *The Hague* 1997–98a, p. 59.
  214. See my discussion of Van Coninxloo's role in New York 1985–86, pp. 282–83 (borrowed by Sutton in Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia 1987–88, p. 21).
  215. See Jansen on landscape painting in Middelburg in Amsterdam 1984, pp. 100–101 (including the work of Christoffel van den Bergh, Maatheus Molanus, Jacob van Geel, who was active in Middelburg about 1615–26, and Johannes Goedaert). On landscape painting in Rotterdam, see De Jager's essay in Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 95–104 (on Abraham van de Rande, Jacob de Villeers, Willem Buytewech, Hercules Seghers, Herman Saftleven, and others). Moses van Uytrenbroeck and his apparent pupil Dirck Dalens, Adriaen van de Venne, Mathieu Dubus, Karel Dujardin (between 1656 and 1658 only), and Melchior d'Hondecoeter (about 1659–62) stand among the landscapists of The Hague, who also included, of course, Esaias van de Velde and Jan van Goyen after their Haarlem years (see their biographies in *The Hague* 1998–99a).

216. Briels 1997, pp. 53, 58, fig. 65. The painting sold at auction in Cologne (no date given).
217. Briels 1987, p. 316, fig. 400 (panel on the art market in 1983).
218. On Simon Jordaens and his painter sons Simon the Younger and Hans IV, see Briels 1997, pp. 345 (biographies and sources), 217, fig. 346. Montias (1982, p. 64) cites a document that says Jordaens was twenty-eight in 1613, which would suggest he was born about 1585, not 1589 as suggested by Briels. However, Montias has Jordaens dead after 1644 (p. 64) and before 1640 (p. 335).
219. The best biographies of Van Geel are those in Dordrecht 1992–93, p. 159, and Briels 1997, p. 329.
220. See Bol 1982, pp. 105–6, where the picture in Detroit is compared with a painting by Van Alsloot dated 1610.
221. See *ibid.*, pp. 106–7. The author convincingly overrules Wolfgang Stechow's idea that Van Geel's trees owe something to Alexander Keirincx. On Rembrandt's landscape in the Rijksmuseum, see Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia 1987–88, no. 76. In 1644 a Rembrandt landscape sold from the estate of Boudewijn de Man in Delft (Schneider 1990, p. 60).
222. The exoticism of Van Geel's landscapes must have been part of their appeal, as in the case of Frans Post (whose Brazilian landscapes, however, look less bizarre). Van Geel's work is liberally illustrated in Amsterdam 1984, Bol 1982, Briels 1987, and Briels 1997. See also the pair of round panels dated to about 1636 in Dordrecht 1992–93, no. 33.
223. Van den Bundel's dates have been given as "ca. 1575–1656," but Briels (1997, p. 307) gives documentary evidence for his birth in 1577, his burial on January 12, 1655, and much else.
224. *Ibid.*, pp. 307, 315 (on the sale).
225. See *ibid.*, pp. 307, 364–65.
226. Montias 1982, p. 179. Evidence of young painters who flunked out of the profession is interesting for problems of connoisseurship.
227. On this panel by d'Hondecoeter, see Amsterdam, Boston, Philadelphia 1987–88, no. 48 (with a different title).
228. Briels (1987, pp. 312–17) offers excellent reproductions of works by Van den Bundel and Gillis d'Hondecoeter. On pp. 131–32, in paintings illustrated as figs. 150 (fig. 97 here), 151, Briels has Van den Bundel collaborating with Hans Jordaens, but this is not convincing.
229. For other works by Van den Bundel, see Briels 1987, pp. 321, 325, fig. 406 (strongly recalling Van de Venne), pp. 348–50, figs. 446, 447 (the latter dated 1641), and Briels 1997, figs. 340, 348, 353.
230. Montias 1982, pp. 125–26.
231. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
232. *Ibid.*, pp. 208–9 (on Reynier Vermeer), 257 (Delft inventories).
233. The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 309–10, also recording a Pieter Groenewegen the Younger at The Hague. Briels (1997, p. 321) describes Groenewegen as having a pupil in Haarlem; I have not been able to check the record.
234. Another artist who painted this type of picture in Utrecht was Carel de Hooch (active ca. 1627–38), who was not (as claimed by Walther Bernt and others) Pieter de Hooch's father. My thanks to Marijke de Kinkelder of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, for bringing Van Vliet's landscape to my attention, and to Richard Verdi for the photograph.
235. Montias 1982, pp. 80–81.
236. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
237. See *ibid.*, p. 252, on works by Van Goyen in Delft. His *View of Delft* dated 1654 (H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 2, no. 420) is now in the Prinsenhof, Delft. On Van Asch as an occasional follower of Van Goyen, see H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 4, pp. 22–24, where the illustrations actually point to Salomon Van Ruysdael and (pl. 1) Philips Koninck.
238. Similarly, a *River Landscape* in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, of about 1655 is divided into greens, yellows, and blues like a Haarlem work of the 1620s.
239. See, for example, the two works sold at Christie's, Amsterdam, May 4, 1999, nos. 31, 33.
240. See, for example, the work illustrated by Eric Jan Sluijter in Delft 1981, fig. 205 (said by Sluijter, p. 181, to have a certain naive charm); the *Hawking Party* in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum; and the *Travelers on a Country Road* sold at Phillips, London, December 7, 1993, no. 64.
241. As maintained in Weber 1994, following the suggestion of J. Nieuwstraten. Compare Weber's fig. 4 (location unknown) and the late panel in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (no. C88). Van Asch's *Self-Portrait* is in the same collection.
242. See Goodman-Socliner 1989, pp. 76–88.
243. Not Rijswijk, however, as is often stated: see The Hague 1994–95, no. 9, the superb picture in the duke of Westminster's collection.
244. See Walsh's biography in *ibid.*, pp. 10–19.
245. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, p. 127. See Walsh in The Hague 1994–95, p. 13, and no. 15 by Buijsen.
246. Quoted by Buijsen in The Hague 1994–95, p. 99 (see n. 4).
247. See Sluijter 1993, chap. 4, especially p. 58 (where Huygens is also mentioned, but in regard to Johannes Torrentius's "lifeless" manner). The quote from Huygens is taken from the translation in Keyes 1984, pp. 12–13.
248. See A.-M. S. Logan 1979, pp. 83–84, n. 96.
249. In C. Brown 1995b, p. 267, we are warned that "the *hoflichten*, however, are products of a mannered literary convention, riddled with classical allusions and viewing the countryside from the warmth of the *salon*." True enough, but its classical learning is not what makes Huygens's *Hofwijck*, which is cited by Brown, remarkable in the history of Dutch literature. In Ten Brink 1897, p. 455, the poem is cited among three examples of Huygens's "topographisch-humoristische dichtpen"; see also Schenkeveld 1991, pp. 98–99, 102–4, where the poem is considered one instance of "a new type of thinking," emphasizing empirical observation and personal experience (p. 99).
250. Buijsen in The Hague 1994–95, p. 96, fig. 4.
251. See Kuyper 1980, pp. 153–54, fig. 314, and Terwen and Ottenheym 1993, pp. 23–25. Hofwijck survives and may be visited.
252. This translation modifies the one given in Schenkeveld 1991, p. 102, where the Dutch is also given.
253. C. Brown 1995b, p. 266, speaking of Potter, not Vermeer.
254. The quotes are from Plomp's essay in Delft 1996, p. 39. In a recent conversation Plomp conceded that this passage reflects the fact that he was brought into the "Delft Masters" project at the last minute. See Eisler 1923, pp. 178–89, on Potter's "Malerbesuch."
255. See Montias 1982, pp. 81–82, on Pynacker, and pp. 209–10, note aa, on the question of Pick's dealing in pictures. Pick is simply stated to have been an art dealer in Harwood 1988, p. 16, where the documents recording Pynacker's presence in Delft are transcribed (pp. 184–85, doc. nos. 18–22). A still life by Pick is in the Prinsenhof, Delft (Delft 1981, fig. 216), and a drawing by Bramer records another picture (Plomp 1986, no. 44).
256. Harwood 1988, p. 17.
257. Keyes 1984, p. 13.
258. *Inventarissen* 1974–76, vol. 1, p. 191, cited in Montias 1982, p. 184. Wheelock (1995b, pp. 5–8) plausibly suggests that the pair may be the pendants now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.
259. See Wheelock's essay in Washington 1999, which cites most of the earlier literature in the selected bibliography.
260. Montias 1982, pp. 58–60.
261. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
262. Van Regteren Altena 1983, cat. 11P, nos. 31 (an example of about 1600), 11 (the 1603 *vanitas*), 39–41 (flower pieces of 1612, 1613, and 1615, the first two on copper, the last on panel).
263. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 848.
264. *Ibid.*, and Montias 1982, p. 148, note k (collection of Jacob Jansz Helm, who died in 1626).
265. As noted in Montias 1982, pp. 158–60, note v.
266. *Ibid.*, p. 257. The author (p. 199) mentions a raffle of "a few pieces of painting," which Vosmaer received permission to hold in 1614. It is not known if any of the pictures were by him.
267. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
268. See Segal 1982; Müllenmeister 1988, nos. 269–92; and my entry in New York 1985–86, no. 184.
269. See Bol 1982, fig. 34, and *A Butterfly, Two Beetles, and a Caterpillar*, oil on wood, 4¼ x 4½ in. (10.5 x 11.4 cm), signed and dated "J.W.V.f 1639," sold at Christie's, London, December 3, 1997, no. 4.
270. See, for example, Van Regteren Altena 1983, figs. 332–35, 340, 341, 417, 420, 447, 448. The similar small paintings by the Antwerp artist Jan van Kessel (1626–79) are later than Vosmaer's.
271. Montias 1982, p. 141; see p. 336 for his dates of birth (he was forty-six in January 1631) and death.
272. See the tale told in *ibid.*, pp. 161–62.
273. *Ibid.*, p. 194. On p. 203 Montias cites an auction of 1628 in which seventeen paintings consigned by Van Bolgersteyn were sold. He conjectures that the works, "chiefly still-lives and landscapes that brought prices from six to sixteen guilden, were very probably by Van Bolgersteyn himself." The logic of this escapes me: all the pictures were unattributed, apart from a "Venus" by Frans Floris (which brought 36 guilders), and the artist is not recorded as a landscapist.

274. The still life is published in Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 3, pp. 1043–44, ill., where misguided comparisons with other artists are made. For the mythological painting, see Delft 1981, p. 175, fig. 173.
275. See the biographies in Bol 1960, pt. 2. Bosschaert moved to Breda in 1619 but the boys may have been sent to their uncle in Utrecht. Van der Ast's sister returned to Utrecht in 1628.
276. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 103, n. 89. See Montias 1982, pp. 236–37, on De Langue.
277. Bol 1960, pp. 40, 103, n. 93.
278. See *ibid.*, pp. 38 (speculating on this subject), 40 (on the document).
279. This point is emphasized in Huys Janssen 1999, p. 102.
280. Exhibited in Amsterdam 1971, no. 17, and Amsterdam 2000, no. 41.
281. See, for example, Bergström 1956, p. 73, and Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 179. A nice exception is Quint Gregory's commentary in San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 363, under no. 76.
282. Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 178. See also Montias 1982, pp. 240–41.
283. Montias 1982, p. 142.
284. See James's essay "Van 'boerenhuysen' en 'stilstaende dinghen'" in Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 133–41 (p. 133, on the inventories).
285. As noted by Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 179, citing Van Bleyswijk. On Van Miereveld, see above, n. 9. Montias (1982, pp. 38, 56) notes that Van Bieselingen (cited in the Delft guild register between 1582 and 1592) was mainly a portrait and history painter, "remembered chiefly for a *David and Abigail* in the Town Hall of Delft."
286. Montias 1982, p. 46, note b; Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 178; and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 6, p. 102.
287. Montias 1982, pp. 72, 163.
288. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
289. *Ibid.*, p. 257, lists seven works recorded in the 1620s, only four in the 1630s, fifteen in the 1640s, and ten in the 1650s.
290. *Ibid.*, p. 260, records three works valued at an average of 12.9 guilders.
291. *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 344.
292. See The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 44, 349.
293. Montias 1982, p. 257; on p. 208 Montias notes that Vermeer's father, Reynier, sold pictures by Pieter Steenwyck as well as works by Van der Ast, Van der Poel, and the still-life painter of The Hague Jan Baptist van Fornenburgh (1585/95?–1648/49).
294. See, most recently, Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, nos. 15–22, 29, 34–38.
295. Bol (1982, p. 81, fig. 68) compares Van Odekercken's still lifes with a work by Gerrit Willemsz Heda of 1642 in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (no. A1549). See also Van Odekercken's *Kitchen Still Life with a Maidervant* (private collection), published in Delft 1981, fig. 145; in Ghent 1986–87, no. 34; and in The Hague 1998–99a, p. 334. The canvas strongly recalls kitchen still lifes by Frans Snyders: see Koslow 1995, chap. 3. Compare the provincial Dutch response to the same tradition in a panel painted in Goes (Zeeland) by Cornelis Eversdyck about 1640–43 (Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague; see Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, p. 337, ill.).
296. Montias 1989, p. 71.
297. On Assteyn, see Dordrecht 1992–93, nos. 1, 2.
298. Vroom 1980, vol. 1, p. 122.
299. These biographical details are all drawn from Montias 1982; see especially pp. 50, 151, 178, 184, 257 (inventories).
300. See Sullivan 1984, pp. 14–15, 29, 97, figs. 23, 24 (and fig. 59 for a later work).
301. Vroom 1980, vol. 1, p. 124, fig. 164, and Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, p. 81, ill.
302. See Vroom 1980, vol. 1, pp. 122–24, figs. 162–64, vol. 2, pp. 9–10; and Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 1, p. 116 (for a colorplate of the Claesz-like still life with a guild cup, tazza, and Wan-li bowl in the collection of the Prince of Salm-Salm), vol. 2, pp. 80–82.
303. Montias 1982, pp. 130 (the quotation), 257. The assumption that only "two or three" of the attributions to "Van Aelst" referred to pictures by Willem appears hazardous.
304. Bredius 1888, p. 291, cited in Montias 1982, pp. 176, 195. Montias (1982, p. 197) records that works by Van Aelst sold for 20 to 35 guilders.
305. Montias 1982, p. 209.
306. See *ibid.*, pp. 130, 176.
307. See Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, pp. 10–11, and the fruit and flower still life signed and dated 1642 sold at Christie's, Amsterdam, November 9, 1998, no. 119.
308. Evert van Aelst's *Still Life* of 1639 was on the art market in 1976: see Plomp in Delft 1996, pp. 31–33, fig. 23.

309. See Montias 1982, p. 167. In 1638 Van Aelst claimed 72 guilders from the wealthy brewer Thomas Pick for teaching his son and supplying him with colors. J. Breunese, in Delft 1981, p. 182, says that Evert van Aelst was also the teacher of the Delft still-life painter Isaac Denies, who was ten years old in 1657, when the master died. Denies was probably a pupil of Willem van Aelst: see Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, pp. 284–85. A more likely pupil of Evert is Abraham Vosmaer (1618–after 1660), who joined the guild in 1639. See Delft 1981, p. 182, fig. 211.
310. What is known of Van Aelst's Italian years is often misstated. See Chiarini 1989, p. 1.
311. See Eric Jan Sluiter in Delft 1981, p. 183, figs. 214, 217, on Denies and Vroomans; also Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 2, pp. 284–85, vol. 3, pp. 1069–70.
312. Montias 1982, p. 218.
313. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, pp. 215–16. On the supposed visit of Cosimo III de' Medici to Van Oosterwijck's studio, see Chiarini 1989, p. 398.
314. Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 253, under no. 65.
315. It was exhibited with a supposed pendant in Rotterdam 1935, no. 29, fig. 33. Sold at Christie's, New York, May 18, 1994, no. 78.
316. See The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 37, 96–103, 123–27, and the biographies on pp. 286, 302.
317. See Montias 1982, pp. 87, 92.
318. See *ibid.*, p. 257, for works by Van Beyeren cited in Delft inventories, especially in the 1660s.
319. The Cleveland Museum canvas (fig. 109 here) is catalogued in Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, no. 59.

## Chapter 4

### DELFT PAINTING "IN PERSPECTIVE": CAREL FABRITIUS, LEONAERT BRAMER, AND THE ARCHITECTURAL AND TOWN- SCAPE PAINTERS FROM ABOUT 1650 ONWARD

1. Gary Schwartz in Vancouver 1986, pp. 139–41, quoting Liedtke 1982a, p. 11.
2. Haak 1984 is helpful here, since it includes a survey of Dutch art firstly by quarter-century and secondly by place. See also exhibition catalogues devoted to local schools, for example, Dordrecht 1992–93, The Hague 1998–99a, Leiden 1988, Rotterdam 1994–95, and (on Utrecht) San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98.
3. See Haak 1984, pt. 4.
4. See Montias 1982, pp. 214–15, on De Renialme.
5. As reviewed in *ibid.*, pp. 177–78.
6. One could add Bramer and quibble about others, but the point is that Delft cannot be compared with Antwerp, Utrecht, Haarlem, Amsterdam, or even Leiden as an exporter of artistic forms. Michael Montias stressed this point in a letter to the present writer dated January 4, 2000. He was defending his description of the Delft school as "provincial" before 1650 ("I may have overstressed the point"). "But surely innovation and 'rayonnement' have something to do with the notion of centrality in a culture." Montias is right, in my view, but the term "provincial" has other implications, as noted in the next paragraph.
7. Liedtke 1982a, p. 11.
8. Slive 1995, p. 138, repeating lines first published in 1966.
9. Haak 1984, p. 179 (section head in pt. 2, on Dutch painting about 1600–1625).
10. Blankert 1978, p. 30.
11. See Montias 1982, pp. 210–15, on De Cooge and Johannes de Renialme.
12. Both quotes are from one sentence in Wheelock 1977a, p. 233; also given in Wheelock 1975–76, p. 178.
13. See Wheelock 1975–76, pp. 170–78, 182–84, on Houckgeest, De Witte, and the possibility of Saenredam's influence. As discussed in Liedtke 2000, chap. 3, the engraving reproduced by Wheelock as fig. 3 is not after De Witte but after Cornelis de Man. Wheelock rightly sees Houckgeest's influence in this work (p. 182).
14. On this subject, see also Liedtke 2000, pp. 81–83, and the sources cited there. Montias (1982, p. 246) concludes on the basis of inventories that "a large

- percentage of all the households in Delft, rich and poor, seem to have hung portraits of the reigning *stadhouder* and his family on their walls.”
15. Van Vliet's canvas (on which see Liedtke 1982a, p. 110, no. 132, fig. 62) is in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine.
  16. See *ibid.*, pp. 105–14, for an oeuvre list of church interiors by Van Vliet.
  17. See Brunswick 1978, no. 40, which exhausts this approach to the picture.
  18. On the general meaning of Dutch paintings of church interiors, see Liedtke 1976b. Some relevant remarks are also found in Liedtke 1979a, on townscapes as expressions of civic pride. On the various subjects of “architectural painting,” see also Liedtke 1985.
  19. Principally in Liedtke 1982a and in Liedtke 2000, chap. 3.
  20. On Van Delen's painting, see Liedtke 2000, p. 86.
  21. As noted in Wheelock 1975–76, p. 180, followed by Slive 1995, p. 269.
  22. Jantzen 1910, pp. 113–18.
  23. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 852.
  24. Houckgeest's *Imaginary Catholic Church* of 1640, owned by the Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague; see Liedtke 1982a, p. 32 and fig. 12, and Liedtke 2000, chap. 3, fig. 129.
  25. See Liedtke 1982a, pp. 52–54, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 108–9, on Houckgeest's probable use of the perspective or “drawing” frame (the term “glass frame” is a misnomer). My Ph.D. dissertation (Liedtke 1974) and L. de Vries 1975, pp. 39–40, made the same suggestion independently. Houckgeest could not have used a camera obscura. His angles of view are too wide and the church interior was too dark for this drawing device to be practical (quite apart from the question of whether portable camera obscuras were available in 1650, which is debatable: see Hammond 1986 and Delsaute 1998).
  26. Jantzen 1910, pp. 97, 163, no. 184, fig. 45; Wheelock 1975–76, pp. 181–82, fig. 12; Liedtke 1982a, pp. 35, 40–41; and Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 53–54. Not considered in L. de Vries 1975. It is catalogued in Van Thiel et al. 1976, p. 582, no. A1971, as attributed to Van Vliet. The present writer examined this painting and the other Rijksmuseum Houckgeest (no. 40 in this catalogue) in the conservation studio with curator Wouter Th. Kloek and conservator Martin Bijl in December 1997. They agreed that the canvas appeared to be by Houckgeest. It is rather worn and there are retouches in some areas, for example, in the base of the nearest column (where the picture may have been signed in monogram). My earlier reading of an “h G” signature at the lower left (see Liedtke 1982a, p. 99, under no. 1) now strikes me as implausible.
  27. Pieter Steenwyck's *Vanitas Still Life (Allegory of Admiral Tromp's Death)*, probably painted about 1656, is in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden; see Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal 1983, pp. 320–21, no. 409, and Delft 1996, p. 33, fig. 24.
  28. See Rotterdam 1991, pp. 163, 315 (where the document of May 27, 1651, is reproduced).
  29. For a review of Houckgeest's work from 1650 onward, see Liedtke 2000, pp. 106–21.
  30. C. Brown 1981, pp. 152–53 (doc. no. 24), and Montias 1982, pp. 164–65. Obreen (1877–90, vol. 1, p. 37) and Manke (1963, p. 63) note that De Witte paid the outsider's fee of 12 guilders when he joined the painters' guild.
  31. For these documents and their sources, see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 5, pp. 1831–32, and Manke 1963, p. 64.
  32. Manke 1963, pp. 1–2, 65.
  33. Compare Bredius 1915–22, vol. 5, p. 1832, and Liedtke 2000, pp. 121–22.
  34. See the documents listed in Manke 1963, p. 65. On Manke's reading of Amsterdam poems dating from 1650 and 1654 as references to De Witte (her “documents” of 1650 and 1654), see Liedtke 1982a, p. 84, n. 24.
  35. See Manke 1963, pp. 65–66, and Liedtke 2000, p. 122.
  36. Liedtke 1982a, pp. 84–96, discusses De Witte in Amsterdam. See also Rotterdam 1991, pp. 183–209.
  37. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, pp. 282–87.
  38. See Liedtke 1982a, figs. 28, 28a, 73, 73a.
  39. A fuller account of De Witte's work in Delft is found in Liedtke 1982a, pp. 76–84, and in Liedtke 2000, pp. 121–27.
  40. On Van Vliet's influence outside of Delft, see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 68–75.
  41. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 1, p. 238, cited in Rotterdam 1991, p. 211, n. 5. For Van Vliet's estate, see Obreen 1877–90, vol. 5, pp. 284–87.
  42. The Pieterskerk has two aisles to either side of the nave, which turn into a third bay in each of the transept arms, in effect creating an aisle along the western side of the transept. See *Kunstreisboek voor Nederland* 1969, pp. 438–39, for a history and plan.
  43. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 852. When I described Van Vliet as the only living artist discussed in Van Bleyswijck's *Beschryvinge der stadt Delft* (Liedtke 1982a, p. 57), I had not known that it was substantially expanded in 1680. The book bears only the date usually given, 1667, although it refers to later events and dates in vol. 2.
  44. See Amsterdam, Toronto 1977 for an old-fashioned survey of Dutch cityscapes (no. 7 is Van de Venne's print, which illustrates a poem in Jacob Cats's *Sinne-beelden* of 1618).
  45. See Amsterdam, Toronto 1977, p. 67, fig. 1, no. 8, and Dumas 1991, p. 15, fig. 4, no. 57.
  46. Stechow 1966, pp. 124, 125; see also Amsterdam, Toronto 1977, pp. 19, 20, where the same lines are quoted approvingly.
  47. Friedländer 1949, p. 188, as quoted by Wattenmaker in Amsterdam, Toronto 1977, p. 20.
  48. John Walsh not only repeated Stechow's comparison between this composition and that of Esaias van de Velde's *View of Zierikzee* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) but also considered its design to be “rivaled in power only by contemporary landscape panoramas of Koninck” (see J. Walsh 1973, caption to fig. 30, and compare Stechow 1966, p. 53). Thoré-Bürger, in 1866, compared Koninck and Rembrandt; see Wheelock 1995a, p. 73. See also Liedtke 2000, pp. 223–24.
  49. On the meanings of townscape painting, see Liedtke 1979a.
  50. On Van der Heyden's view of the Oude Delft of 1675, see Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 124–26, fig. 114, and, for the much later version in the Detroit Institute of Arts, fig. 115. In the same essay (“Views in and of Delft, 1650–1675”) Lokin discusses De Hooch, Steen, and Vrel, conceding that Vrel's street scenes “do not really fit in the seventeenth-century tradition of the townscape” (p. 103).
  51. Published in Plomp 1996a, p. 55, fig. 11. To judge from the small reproduction, there is room for doubt. The type of composition, strong contrasts of light and shadow, and sharp articulation of the architecture are more reminiscent of Gerrit Berckheyde than of Daniel Vosmaer: compare Lawrence 1991, figs. 22–27. Compare also works by Van der Heyden, for example, Wagner 1971, nos. 145, 146.
  52. See Bakker 1995a on the changing concept of what was *schildevrachtig*.
  53. On the cityscape by Vermeer and the church interiors by De Witte in the Dissius sale, see Montias 1989, pp. 250–51, 254–55. It is not likely that the De Wittes were paintings done in Amsterdam of non-Delft subjects. On Van Ruijven and Vermeer, see also Liedtke 2000, chap. 5, n. 10.
  54. Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 11.
  55. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 854. In some copies of the book the first line is altered to read, “Thus died this Phoenix when he was thirty years old”; and the last line is altered to read, “Vermeer, who masterfully was able to emulate him.” See Blankert 1978, pp. 147–48; C. Brown 1981, pp. 159–60 (which gives the entire biography of Fabritius by Van Bleyswijck and the poem by Bon in Dutch and English); Montias 1989, p. 326 (doc. no. 315); Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 28, n. 30; and Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 51–52, who enthusiastically favors “Blankert's somewhat hesitantly expressed opinion, that it was Vermeer who prevailed upon Bon to make this adjustment.”
  56. My translation, based on the Dutch and English in C. Brown 1981, pp. 159–60 (see also his chap. 4 for a sensible analysis of this and other records of Fabritius's reputation).
  57. See C. Brown 1981, chap. 1, for a biography of Carel Fabritius, and pp. 16–17 and notes on the significance of “Timmerman” and “Fabritius.” Carel's father was the first to take the name, evidently as a reference to scholars who had adopted it. See Miedema 1980, vol. 2, p. 117, for men named Fabritius or Fabritius in various professions, most of them in positions of authority.
  58. See Liedtke 1995–96, pp. 26–27, on Fabritius's work in the 1640s. C. Brown 1981, no. 1, pls. 1, 13–18, for the Warsaw picture; C. Brown 1986 on the *Mercury and Argus*; and Duparc 1986 on the *Hermes and Aglauros*. Van Hoogstraten's praise of the composition and spatial effect of *The Night Watch* was accompanied by criticism of its darkness, an opinion typical of the 1670s; see Haverkamp-Begemann 1982, pp. 66–67.
  59. C. Brown (1981, no. R1) rejects the canvas in the Rijksmuseum, which may be the “Saint John's Beheading by Fabritius” sold in Amsterdam in 1687 and 1696 (see Brown's entry under “Provenance”). On the attribution, see Liedtke 1982c and Liedtke 1995–96, p. 26.
  60. See C. Brown 1981, under no. 2, and p. 150 (under doc. no. 17).
  61. The information on the Deutz brothers comes from a valuable article: Bikker 1998; see especially pp. 291–93.
  62. C. Brown 1981, pp. 148–49 (doc. nos. 11, 12).



63. Ibid., p. 154 (doc. no. 32) and p. 152 (doc. no. 23) for Agatha van Pruysen's testimony.
64. Montias 1982, p. 87, note hh. De Hooch seems to have postponed this obligation for about fifteen months, De Witte and others for less than a year.
65. See C. Brown 1981, pp. 149–52 (doc. nos. 14–17, 20, 23).
66. See J. Brown 1986, pp. 202–4, on Velázquez and Titian, and Van de Wetering in Berlin, Amsterdam, London 1991–92, vol. 1, pp. 16–22, on Rembrandt and Titian.
67. Meaning *The Beheading of John the Baptist* and the *Portrait of Abraham de Potter* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and, in the Groninger Museum voor Stad en Lande, Groningen, the *Man in a Helmet*; C. Brown 1981, nos. 2, 3, R1, pls. 2 and 19, 3 and 20, and fig. 59.
68. Here the present writer takes exception to Wheelock's remarks in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 20, 98, which describe a similar "mood" in sleepy figures by Fabritius and Vermeer and refer to "Rembrandt's philosophy" and "an emotional character" in paintings like *The Sentry* (no. 20 in this catalogue).
69. C. Brown 1981, pp. 59–60.
70. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 19, amid more meaningful remarks. On p. 20 it is suggested that De Hooch's arrival in Delft in 1654 and Jan Steen's the following year "may also have led Vermeer in this direction" (the representation of "naturalistic light and perspective").
71. As noted in the text above, a double portrait of the young painter Pieter van der Vin and his wife was recorded in his estate in 1655 (see n. 30). A portrait of Balthasar Deutz (1650) was just mentioned (see n. 61). See C. Brown 1981, no. 2, for the *Portrait of Abraham de Potter*; *tronies* by Fabritius are recorded by Brown as doc. nos. 33, 43, 47, and 51 (both works cited in doc. no. 31, a Leiden inventory of 1662, were probably by Barent Fabritius). See also C. Brown 1981, pp. 37, 81, fig. 30, on the large *Family Portrait* (said to have been signed and dated 1648), which was destroyed by fire in the Boymans Museum, Rotterdam, in 1864. The large canvas was supposedly inscribed "CARO FABRITIUS 1648." Little else speaks in favor of his authorship. The composition, which may be imagined more reliably from the museum's 1862 catalogue entry than from the watercolor made from memory by Alphonse de Steurs, would be expected of Barent Fabritius.
72. The following account of illusionistic works of art by Fabritius cited in seventeenth-century documents derives from the more extensive review in Liedtke 2000, pp. 64–65.
73. C. Brown 1981, pp. 157–58 (doc. no. 47). Works by Van Goyen, Jan Steen, and others were also in the collection.
74. Ibid., p. 154 (doc. no. 30); see also Liedtke 1976a, p. 65 and n. 11.
75. On the frame of De Witte's painting in the Wallace Collection, London, see Manke 1963, no. 12; Liedtke 1982a, p. 82, fig. 74; and Liedtke 2000, p. 71 and fig. 90. For Dou, see Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 1, nos. 308, 309, and for Vermeer, see Wheelock 1995b, p. 375 (on *Woman with a Balance*, no. 73 in this catalogue).
76. As noted in Liedtke 1976a, p. 65, and C. Brown 1981, p. 124. Koslow 1967, pp. 54–55, no. 5, discusses the *View of a Voorhuis*.
77. See above, p. 116 and n. 63.
78. Wijnman 1931, p. 137, and C. Brown 1981, p. 157 (doc. no. 40).
79. See above, p. 113 and n. 45.
80. See Dumas 1991, pp. 650–51, under no. 59, with numerous illustrations.
81. See ibid., pp. 222, 653, and especially 234, n. 29, citing the relevant literature.
82. For the text of this record, see C. Brown 1981, p. 153 (doc. no. 28).
83. Van Hoogstraten 1678, pp. 174–75, as translated by the present writer.
84. As suggested in C. Brown 1981, p. 86, n. 31. In a letter of August 28, 1997, Rudolf E. O. Ekkart (director of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague) informed the present writer that no one else living in Delft about 1650 could have been called "Dr. Valentius."
85. Christopher Brown (1981, p. 86, n. 31) found no contemporary account of the house. The present author's inquiry at the Gemeentearchief, Delft, was equally discouraging.
86. Wijnman 1931, p. 140.
87. For an introduction to anamorphic images dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see Baltrušaitis 1977. Of more general interest are Mastai 1975 and Leeman 1976. An excellent case study in the use of perspective to create an illusionistic ceiling is found in Pirenne 1970, chap. 7, which mostly discusses Fra Andrea Pozzo's architectural vision of heaven (into which Saint Ignatius ascends) painted on the barrel vault of Sant'Ignazio, Rome, in the 1690s. All four books cited here are revealingly reviewed in Edgerton 1979, pp. 131–34.
88. Van Hoogstraten 1678, p. 274, and, for Peruzzi ("Baltazar da Sienna"), p. 308. See C. Brown 1981, pp. 51, 161, for the passage in English, and Mastai 1975, fig. 101, for one of Peruzzi's illusionistic murals.
89. Delft 1994, pp. 232–33, no. 19. The sheet is inscribed on the left, "three feet wide at the staircase," and below, "and 7 feet long," which would have been nearly the same size as the same measurements in the English system (Amsterdam foot equals 28.31 cm; English foot equals 30.48 cm). As Plomp observes in Delft 1994, p. 232, this comparatively small space would have been normal for a staircase landing in the average burgher's house.
90. See chap. 3, p. 68 and n. 127. Vredeman de Vries's plate is illustrated with Bramer's drawing in Delft 1994, p. 233; see also pp. 63–64, fig. 22.
91. See above, p. 118 and n. 75.
92. See Brusati 1995, pp. 65, 285, n. 30, 361, no. 76, fig. 41, and Liedtke 2000, p. 73, fig. 94.
93. In particular his *Jacobskerk in The Hague* of 1651 (formerly in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf; see Liedtke 1982a, pp. 42–43, fig. 26, and Liedtke 2000, p. 119, fig. 150).
94. See Brusati 1995, pp. 102–8, 126, 208, 365, no. 92, fig. 145. Van Hoogstraten himself was probably not important for Fabritius in Delft, or even aware of his work there until later on. The Dordrecht painter was mostly in Vienna (as well as Rome and Regensburg) between the middle of 1651 and early in 1656, when he returned to his hometown. He remained there until his years in England (1662–68), after which he lived in The Hague (1668–71) and then returned to Dordrecht.
95. See Delft 1994, p. 22, for the document, and pp. 63, 200, for Plomp's description of the work. The location is often described as a corridor in Van Bronckorst's house, for example by Huys Janssen in the same catalogue, p. 22. On p. 23 it is claimed that Bramer also painted frescoes at the princely palaces ("see doc. 1649"), but one fails to find any evidence specifically of fresco in the relevant documents.
96. Ibid., pp. 23, 63 (wrong about the price on the latter page); see also pp. 200, 245, n. 4.
97. Plomp makes this connection in ibid., p. 245.
98. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 566, and Delft 1994, pp. 24–25 (with the original text and a looser translation), 64–65. On the civic-guard building in Delft, see also Delft 1981, p. 143.
99. Catalogued in Delft 1994, pp. 176–78, no. 50; see pp. 24–25 on the presumed repairs.
100. Most of this description is based on the entry in Delft 1994, pp. 176–78, under no. 50 (see n. 6 on the king). The triptych was also described in Haarlem 1988, no. 87; see also no. 108 for a silver-gilt crown of a "shooting king" (late sixteenth century).
101. Wichmann (1923, pp. 16–18) suggested that the main scene represents The Rape of the Sabine Women; Christopher Brown (1981, p. 53) doubted this, but the present writer is inclined to accept it (Liedtke 1992–93a, p. 29). See also Delft 1994, pp. 28, 66, noting the problem of reconciling the various images with the uncertain or multiple functions of the room in the 1660s.
102. See Delft 1994, pp. 204–5, 255–57, nos. 34, 35, and p. 314, no. 22.
103. C. Brown 1981, p. 53, and Liedtke 1992–93a, p. 29.
104. As noted in C. Brown 1981, p. 53.
105. Details of the ceiling are illustrated in ibid., fig. 46 (angels), in Milwaukee 1992–93, p. 11, fig. 6 (angels); and in Delft 1994, p. 68, fig. 27a (Christ).
106. Hofrichter in Milwaukee 1992–93, no. 17. The hypothesis is considered "not implausible" in Delft 1994, p. 65.
107. See chap. 1, n. 56.
108. The quotes are from Kemp 1990, pp. 129, 131.
109. The quotes are from Jane ten Brink Goldsmith's entry on Delft in Muller 1997, p. 101.
110. This is the closing line in Ilja M. Veldman's entry on the Delft school in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 8, p. 669.
111. The quotes are from Wheelock 1973, p. 73, and Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 27. Wheelock refers explicitly to a portable camera obscura (for example, in Wheelock 1981, p. 140). Other scholars have doubted that a portable version of the device was available to artists in the 1660s (see, for example, Hammond 1986, pp. 301–2, and Delsaute 1998).
112. As discussed in Liedtke 1975–76. The issues touched upon in this paragraph are discussed at length in Liedtke 2000, chaps. 2 and 3.
113. Kemp 1990, p. 183, noting that "this picture holds good in Holland no less than in Italy and Britain." He cites Salomon de Caus, Hendrick Hondius, Samuel Marolois, Nicéron, and other authorities.

114. Pepys 1985, p. 655 (entry for August 19, 1666). See also Liedtke 1991b, pp. 229–32; Brusati 1995, pp. 92–95; and Liedtke 2000, p. 79.
115. For example, in the preface of Dubreuil 1642–49 the author complains that modern painters do not actually learn the principles of perspective practice but simply copy the examples in treatises. See Huygens's criticism of the Dutch scientist and engineer Cornelis Drebbel (1572–1634) in Huygens 1971, pp. 117–23.
116. Matthey 1973, pp. 351, 353.
117. Pepys 1985, p. 588 (entry for February 21, 1666).
118. Ibid., p. 415 (entry for August 13, 1664).
119. See Liedtke 1991b, pp. 229–30. The quotes are from Pepys 1985, pp. 83 (entry for October 3, 1660, on the “King’s closet”), 890 (entry for March 15, 1668, on the “deal Board”), and 1006 (entry for April 11, 1669, on the flower piece by “a Durchman newly come over, one Everelst”). The letter-rack still life was perhaps by Van Hoogstraten, although Edwaert Collier, Wallerant Vaillant, and other artists made the same kind of work.
120. See Liedtke 1991b, p. 229, and sources cited, and Brusati 1995, pp. 93, 202–9, 364–65, no. 89, fig. 141, pl. XIV.
121. On Nicéron and the “classic phase of anamorphosis” in the 1630s and 1640s, see Kemp 1990, pp. 210–11.
122. The drawings are discussed more thoroughly in Liedtke 2000, pp. 25, 231.
123. Delft 1994, pp. 245–47, no. 27, suggesting a date in the early 1650s.
124. Liedtke 1976b, p. 131, figs. 8–10.
125. See C. Brown 1981, pp. 154–57 (doc. nos. 34–37).
126. Ibid., p. 150 (doc. no. 17); see also Montias 1982, p. 196.
127. This paragraph derives from Liedtke 1992–93a, p. 30, where the Ponce picture was dated “about 1652?” (in the caption to fig. 25). The conjecture was supported too readily in Delft 1996, p. 101, fig. 83 (“c. 1652”).
128. By Lokin in Delft 1996, p. 103, who credits Michel van Maarseveen of the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof in Delft.
129. See Kemp 1990, p. 211.

## Chapter 5

### GENRE PAINTING IN DELFT AFTER 1650: DE HOOCH AND VERMEER

1. On the term “genre painting” and its various subjects, see C. Brown 1984 and Sutton’s essay in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984. Both are informatively reviewed in D. Smith 1987, pp. 659–61.
2. See Sutton 1980b. Van der Burch joined the Delft guild in 1649 but had moved to Leiden by September 1655.
3. See Delft 1996, pp. 162–208.
4. Sutton in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, p. lv, criticizes the term “De Hooch School,” but Kersten in Delft 1996, p. 162, maintains that “the designation [School of Pieter de Hooch] indicates succinctly what these painters have in common; in several cases there is even evidence of mutual influence.”
5. On Van der Burch, see Sutton 1980b and Delft 1996, pp. 170–77, figs. 167, 170–74.
6. Montias 1982, p. 242 (table 8.3).
7. See Bok 1994, Montias 1996, and North 1997.
8. Montias 1982, p. 245.
9. On these artists who “have become known as the School of De Hooch, even though De Hooch never had any pupils,” see Kersten’s essay in Delft 1996, pp. 162–90 (the quote is from p. 162), and the entries in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984. Vrel’s city has never been convincingly identified. My own guess, based on his style and the types of architecture and of bread (displayed in front of bakeries in a few of his works) he represents, is north of Amsterdam, that is, somewhere in the “Northern Quarter” where Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, and Hoorn are located. An origin in Friesland would also be unsurprising. (The Dutch food historian Peter Rose commented upon Vrel’s bread in a recent conversation.)
10. For these biographical details, see Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 2, pp. 27, 34; Sutton 1980a, pp. 9, 145–46 (doc. nos. 15, 16, 23); and Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 14–15.
11. Sutton 1980b and London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 14–15.
12. Sutton 1980a, pp. 10, 147 (doc. no. 33).
13. See Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, nos. 5, 6. On the *Trictrac Players*, particularly with regard to iconography, see Potterton 1986, pp. 67–68. *The Empty Glass* is catalogued in Lammertse 1998, no. 29.

14. Sutton 1980a, pp. 11–13. See also Kersten in Delft 1996, pp. 133–35. De Bloot painted tavern interiors of the Brouwer–early Teniers type in the mid- to late 1630s, for example, Rotterdam 1994–95, no. 7. Ter Borch’s somewhat uncharacteristic *Encouragement to Drink* of about 1648 is strikingly similar in the poses of the figures (whose roles are reversed) to those in *The Empty Glass*. But there are common sources. As Gudlaugsson (1959–60, vol. 2, under no. 68) observes of the Ter Borch: “Bildthema und Anordnung in ähnlicher Weise sowohl bei flämischen Malern [five are named] als auch bei holländischen vorgebildet (H. M. Sorgh).”
15. Fleischer (1989, pp. 65–66, fig. 74) dates *The Reprimand* to about 1650.
16. Van Spaan 1698, p. 421. See Fleischer 1989, figs. 31, 35, for “Diana” pictures in private collections. The one dated 1644 (fig. 31) was sold at Christie’s, Amsterdam, November 9, 1998, no. 114.
17. Fleischer 1989, p. 43; see pp. 14–16 for the biographical details repeated in this paragraph. On genre painting in Rotterdam, see Rotterdam 1994–95 and Liedtke 2000, pp. 159–62. On Ochtervelt, see Kuretsky 1979.
18. Both recall Saffleven’s *Self-Portrait* of about 1629–30 (Fondation Custodia, Paris). See Sutton 1980a, nos. 1, 2, pls. 1, 2, and Schulz 1978, pp. 8, 13–14, pl. 1.
19. Sutton 1980a, p. 14, pl. 3, and Schulz 1978, pls. 2 (note the soldier silhouetted in the left foreground), 3, 5, 6, 8. Paintings by Saffleven turn up in Delft inventories. He has also been seen as influential for Bramer; see Delft 1994, p. 55, figs. 9, 10.
20. Sutton 1979, p. 35.
21. On this notion in early surveys of Dutch genre painting, see Liedtke 1984b and Liedtke 1988.
22. The quotes are from Blankert 1978, p. 29.
23. Ibid., p. 30.
24. For a more extensive presentation of this argument, see Liedtke 2000, chap. 4.
25. On De Hooch’s painting in Rotterdam, see Lammertse 1998, no. 29. The Hermitage panel was catalogued as a Metsu in Valentiner 1929, no. 184, and defended as a Metsu in F. W. Robinson 1974, p. 55 (described wrongly as in Moscow).
26. See Fleischer 1978; Sutton 1980a, p. 13, nos. D20, D21, pls. 181, 182; and Fleischer 1989, p. 69, figs. 77, 80.
27. Sutton 1980a, nos. 14, 18, and MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 202–3, no. 3881, on the stable scene.
28. For other examples by Breckelenkam, see the illustrations in Lasius 1992.
29. All of these comparisons with De Hooch are made in much greater detail in Liedtke 2000, chap. 4, where the artists are discussed for the most part city by city. On themes of domestic virtue, see Franits 1993.
30. Schulz 1978, p. 24.
31. Heppner 1946. Flemish genre painting is surveyed in Legrand 1963 and by Renger in Boston, Toledo 1993–94, pp. 171–81.
32. See Boston, Toledo 1993–94, p. 391, for a biography of Coques and literature.
33. The most recent statement along these lines is found in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 27 (“Vermeer’s Classicism”).
34. Slive 1995, p. 138.
35. The quotes are all from Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 27, in a discussion of Vermeer’s “philosophy.”
36. See chap. 3, p. 51; see also in Fleischer 1989 De Jongh’s *Family Group on a Terrace* of about 1655–60, fig. 29.
37. See Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, under no. 11, where deep courtyard views by Vredeman de Vries (1604–5) and Van Delen (1635) are illustrated. On Van Delen’s debt to Vredeman de Vries, see Liedtke 1970; Liedtke 1991a describes the Court Style of architectural painting and Van Steenwyck’s activity in The Hague (after his years at the court of Charles I). Van Delen’s oeuvre was provisionally catalogued in Blade 1976; a terrace scene dated 1649 is in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.
38. Fock 1998, pp. 193–209.
39. As noted, for example, in Gowing 1970, pt. 2; Liedtke 1988; Delft 1996, pp. 139–43; London, Hartford 1998–99, pp. 26–31; and Liedtke 2000, chap. 4.
40. The Koedijk painting was most recently discussed in Liedtke 2000, pp. 147, 157, fig. 189; sold at Sotheby’s, London, July 6, 1994.
41. Sumowski (1983–[94], vol. 3, no. 1356) suggests that the boy outside the window in Maes’s picture is begging. See the discussion under no. 58 in this catalogue.
42. As in Sorgh’s panel in Munich (Schneeman 1982, no. 25), where the square tiles recede obliquely. For examples by Maes, see Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 3, nos. 1342, 1343, and so forth.
43. Catalogued in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 64, where Naumann notes the “orderly arrangement [of] the scene, prefiguring the classical com-

- positions of de Hooch and Vermeer." Gaskell (1989, no. 50) considers the canvas an autograph replica at best.
44. Compare, for example, Van Ostade's inn scenes of 1634 and 1652 discussed in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, nos. 89, 90, which make social and housekeeping progress toward such works of the 1660s as the *Tavern Scene* in Washington (on the latter, see Wheelock 1995b, pp. 185–87).
  45. See, for example, the discussions in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, nos. 43, 64.
  46. Cited here as Gowing 1970. The latter is an unrevised printing, apart from the addition of the small canvas in the Baron Rolin Collection, *A Lady Seated at the Virginals* (pl. 80; see also Wheelock 1981, p. 45, fig. 53). See also A. B. de Vries 1948 (1st ed., 1939), especially chap. 6 ("Vermeer et ses contemporains"). De Vries mentions many Dutch painters in passing, but for the most part his comparisons do not go beyond noting "un rapport indéniabie avec l'art de Vermeer" (p. 53, on a painting by Frans van Mieris). Swillens 1950 offers more on Delft (less, however, than Eisler 1923) but treats Vermeer as an artist in greater isolation. In contrast to Gowing, Vitale Bloch (1954) "zealously advocated the uniqueness, the super-Delftness of Vermeer's art" (Gerson 1977, p. 290, contrasting not Gowing but "Blankert's anti-greatness" in Blankert 1975).
  47. Swillens 1950; the quotes are from p. 157 (where *The Procuress* is discussed under "doubtful attributions") and p. 161 (where *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha* follows *Diana and Her Companions* in the section on "works wrongly attributed to Vermeer").
  48. Gowing 1970 (1st ed., 1952), p. 84, noting that "Vermeer's interpreters appear to suffer a certain embarrassment" when considering his sources. Compare Swillens's last statement with a post-Gowing passage such as that found in Montias 1989, p. 153, summarizing Vermeer's development up to about 1657: "He had not matured quickly or developed an independent style especially early. He had been late in acknowledging the discoveries in the treatment of light and space that his innovative colleagues of the Delft, Leyden, and Dordrecht schools had pioneered. But he had digested each of these influences fully before going on to study the next development in the modern art of his time. This slow maturation, grafted onto a prodigious natural talent, laid the ground for his later masterpieces."
  49. For example, Willem van Vliet and Christiaan van Couwenbergh, whom Gowing could have mentioned in connection with Vermeer's response to the Utrecht school. It was typical of Gowing (1970, p. 86) to compare *The Procuress* with a similar composition by Jan van Bronchorst rather than cite a more obvious example by Van Baburen or Van Honthorst.
  50. See Montias 1989, pp. 122–23, and nos. 66, 79 in this catalogue. Maria Thins inherited the paintings from her parents in nearby Gouda.
  51. Gowing 1970, p. 31.
  52. Ibid., pp. 31 (on "passivity"), 85.
  53. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 15. The directors of the exhibiting institutions echo the theme in their foreword, p. 7. Similar remarks, which sweep studies such as Montias 1989 under the table-cloth, are routinely encountered in modern studies of Leonardo da Vinci, Piero della Francesca, Johann Sebastian Bach, and other geniuses. The modern individual's sense of identification or sympathy with their achievements is considerably enhanced by having little or no biographical information about them.
  54. See Hertel 1996, p. 95. The last quote comes from the dedication to Jules Champfleury on the title page of Thoré 1866, p. 297. Five years earlier, Vermeer was admired by another French critic, Edmond de Goncourt, who defined his own method as "a scrupulous study of reality in prose that speaks the language of beauty"; see Brookner 1971, pp. 140, 142.
  55. The strongest statements on Vermeer's debt to the camera obscura are found in Seymour 1964, Schwarz 1966, Fink 1971, and Wheelock 1977a; see also Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 25–27. The present writer was recently informed by the director of a great museum that Vermeer "owned a camera obscura." However, the availability of a portable model to anyone in the seventeenth century is doubted in recent studies of the device itself: see Hammond 1986, pp. 301–2, and Delsaute 1998.
  56. The quotes are from Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 16 ("serious and innovative"), and p. 17, naming Bramer, Van Couwenbergh, Anthonie Palamedesz, and for some reason Pieter van Asch and Balthasar van der Ast.
  57. See ibid., pp. 22–23, where Wheelock attempts to explain away Vermeer's relationship with his patron Pieter Claesz van Ruijven (1624–1674), which was first described in Montias 1989, chap. 13. Broos accepts Montias's argument in the same catalogue (Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 54–55); see also Montias 1998. If there was a study on "Frans Hals and His Milieu" comparable to Montias 1989, one would not expect later publications to claim that "relatively little is known of the artist from written records" (Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 7).
  58. Montias 1989, pp. 11–12 and chap. 1 for all of the details concerning the family of Vermeer's father.
  59. See ibid., p. 14.
  60. Ibid., pp. 55–57.
  61. As Montias (ibid., p. 61) explains, the surname Vos was a natural choice for a man named Reynier since the popular compilation of fables called "Le Roman de Renard" ("renard" is French for fox) became famous in Holland under the title "Reynaerd de Vos."
  62. See ibid., p. 62, and chap. 3, n. 276, in this catalogue.
  63. On "Jan" and "Johannes," see Montias 1989, pp. 64–65.
  64. See ibid., p. 70.
  65. See ibid., pp. 72–73, for this account and the documents.
  66. Ibid., pp. 73, 107.
  67. Ibid., p. 73, for both quotes.
  68. Ibid., p. 81.
  69. The subject has been discussed in ibid., pp. 103–7, and in Wheelock 1992–93, p. 21.
  70. Wheelock 1992–93, p. 19 and n. 5. Montias 1989, pp. 101, 129, offers the same interpretation, except for the point that by agreeing to the marriage before Vermeer's conversion Maria Thins could have caused the couple a number of legal problems.
  71. Montias 1989, p. 101, discusses these details and cites an old article on the parish of Schipluiden after the Reformation.
  72. See ibid., p. 121. All the details in the text about Maria Thins in Gouda are found in ibid., chap. 7; Montias himself derived some of them from a manuscript by A. J. J. M. van Peer (as he acknowledges on p. 116, n. 30). When he bought a house in Delft, Jan Geensz Thins was either planning for the future of his dear cousin Maria or investing in property on behalf of the nearby Jesuit school and church.
  73. Ibid., p. 122, and San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, p. 247, no. 38.
  74. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 128, 132, n. 4, rightly notes that the painting depicted in *The Music Lesson* resembles a *Roman Charity* of 1634 by Christiaan van Couwenbergh (Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; Maier-Preusker 1991, fig. 38). But the composition is also strongly reminiscent of Van Baburen's *Roman Charity* in the City of York Art Gallery (San Francisco, Baltimore, London 1997–98, no. 25), and it seems plausible that Maria Thins would have owned another work by that artist, especially considering her family's connection with Utrecht (which is shown in Montias 1989, p. 375, chart no. 3). The subject (also known as Cimon and Pero) was painted by other Utrecht artists, including Abraham Bloemaert (Roethlisberger 1993, no. 110, pl. 193), Van Honthorst (Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 101, pl. 47), and Paulus Moreelse (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; see Judson and Ekkart 1999, p. 112, fig. 48). The last picture, dated 1633, comes closest among works cited here to the painting seen in the background of *The Music Lesson*.
  75. See Montias 1989, p. 123.
  76. Ibid., pp. 125–26 (see the family tree of Catharina Bolnes on pp. 372–73).
  77. Ibid., p. 158.
  78. Ibid., pp. 131, 154, for this document and the subject of when Vermeer moved into his mother-in-law's house.
  79. See Vermeer's family tree in ibid., pp. 370–71 (chart no. 1).
  80. Ibid., p. 132.
  81. Ibid., pp. 310–11 (doc. nos. 256, 265).
  82. See ibid., chaps. 7, 9, and p. 163 on Willem's confinement. Like his father in these years he persistently proved himself a worthless individual and a cross for Maria Thins to bear.
  83. See ibid., pp. 154, 339–44 (doc. no. 364).
  84. Ibid., p. 339.
  85. Ibid., pp. 339–41 (his translation, my commas).
  86. Ibid., pp. 340–42, in rooms 5 and 8, and in the second list (items jointly owned by Maria Thins and her daughter), room 3.
  87. See ibid., pp. 139–40, on both of the lost pictures, citing the documents, and also Wijsenbeek-Olthuis (1987, p. 269), who brought the "Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury" to light. Obviously excluded here is the *Saint Praxedis* attributed to the young Vermeer (Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 1), which repeats a composition ascribed to the Florentine painter Felice Ficherelli (1605–ca. 1660).

- The same rare subject is found in a canvas plausibly attributed to another Florentine artist, Simone Pignone (1614–1698), in the Museo de Arte de Ponce, Ponce, Puerto Rico. Curiously, an exact replica of this painting is also known (private collection, Florence) and is considered to be by Pignone himself; see Held, Taylor, and Carder 1984, p. 240. In my view the *Saint Praxedis* attributed to Vermeer (but widely doubted) is probably Florentine. One of Wheelock's technical arguments in favor of the attribution to Vermeer must now be discounted: he considers the deep blue skies in the *Saint Praxedis* and in *Diana and Her Companions* (no. 64 in this catalogue), which in his view are both Vermeers of about 1655, to have been executed "in an unusual manner for a Dutch artist—natural ultramarine laid over a dark *imprimatura* layer"; Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 88. But recent cleaning has revealed that the sky in the *Diana* is an addition of a later century (see the discussion under cat. no. 64).
88. See the discussion under cat. no. 64 and in Judson and Ekkart 1999, no. 110, pl. 51.
  89. See Liedtke 2000, chap. 5 ("Vermeer's Early Years") and chap. 6 ("Vermeer's Maturity"). A Cambridge Companion to Vermeer, edited by Wayne Franits, is scheduled to appear late in 2001 and will include essays representing different approaches to the artist.
  90. See Döring 1993 on Van Bronchorst, who was from Utrecht but worked in Amsterdam from about 1650 until his death.
  91. See chap. 4, n. 41, and above, n. 87.
  92. Montias 1989, pp. 184–85. The rate of production is calculated on the basis of how many paintings survive and how many were cited in the seventeenth century. The extreme care with which Vermeer's most typical pictures are painted would also lead one to conclude that he completed no more than three major works in a year.
  93. Ibid., pp. 185–86, 347–48 (doc. no. 376).
  94. See Israel 1995, pp. 713–26.
  95. As noted in Montias 1989, p. 171.
  96. Montias 1987, p. 69, and Montias 1989, chap. 13 and pp. 248, 312 (doc. no. 271).
  97. Montias 1989, pp. 255–57, 363–64 (doc. no. 439). Dissius was technically not Van Ruijven's "son-in-law," as he is often called, since Magdalena van Ruijven married him on April 14, 1680, almost six years after her father's death (August 7, 1674). Maria de Knuijt, Van Ruijven's widow, died in February 1681, and her daughter died at the age of twenty-seven in June 1682. She appears to have had no brothers, sisters, or children at the time of her death.
  98. In *ibid.*, p. 248, it is said that *The Letter Reader* of about 1657 (fig. 163 in this catalogue) was also in the Dissius sale, but this appears to be an error.
  99. On the testament of Maria de Knuijt, see *ibid.*, pp. 248–50, and Montias 1998, pp. 93–99.
  100. The quote is from Montias 1989, p. 132. On the chances that Maria Thins had a "marble-floored house," see Fock 1998, pp. 193–209.
  101. For example, Maes's paintings of lacemakers in the Mauritshuis and in the National Gallery of Canada, and his *Sleeping Account-Keeper* of 1656 in the Saint Louis Art Museum. See Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 3, nos. 1337, 1342, 1358, and Krempel 2000, figs. 11–25.
  102. For the radiographs of *The Letter Reader*, see Mayer-Meintschel 1978–79 and Wheelock 1987, p. 410, fig. 21.
  103. Compare Gudlaugsson 1959–60, vol. 1, nos. 77, 80, 81, 83, 110.
  104. Gowing 1970, p. 33, implying stress upon "own vein."
  105. Several lines in the preceding two paragraphs are repeated from the longer discussion of *The Letter Reader* in Liedtke 2000, pp. 205–9.
  106. The first quote ("crumbs") is from Nash 1991, p. 90, while the second is from Wheelock 1981, p. 78.
  107. Here a number of lines are repeated, with some changes, from Liedtke 2000, p. 207, where the last point is supported by illustrating a lion-head finial found in a portrait of 1631 by Hals (Liedtke 2000, fig. 264).
  108. See Wadum's diagram in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 69–70, fig. 5a.
  109. Slatkes 1981, p. 28, suggests that she also expects a coin, but the gesture looks rhetorical.
  110. The quote is from Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 26–27. Wheelock contradicts this statement in other writings, which suggests that "compositional aid" was not quite what he meant. But the camera obscura is seen in quite this light by Kemp (1990, pp. 194–96), who imagines a "working procedure" for Vermeer. "The artist, much like a photographer, composes his picture by adjusting the locations of his subjects, the strength of light and the position of his device [if it existed: see above, n. 55] to achieve the desired effects. The basic outlines of the forms in their spatial array are then recorded on the screen. These outlines can be transferred to the painting surface, re-inverted and re-reversed, by one of the standard methods such as pricking" (The conservator Jørgen Wadum, by contrast, found a single prick in each of a few canvases. Vermeer used a pin and string to draw the orthogonals of his perspective scheme: see Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 69–71, on "Vermeer's Methods.") Kemp continues (p. 196), "The painter next takes down his camera construction and sets up his stool and easel, the legs of which can be seen in the mirror in the *Music Lesson*" (together with the marble floor of Maria Thins's house).
  111. Sutton in London, Hartford 1998–99, p. 38, awards priority to De Hooch, clinching the case by dating Vermeer's painting to about 1660.
  112. As Vermeer's pinhole indicates, the vanishing point is just above the woman's right hand (see the radiograph in Wadum's essay in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 69, fig. 4).
  113. Wheelock in *ibid.*, p. 108, under no. 5; on p. 110 it is concluded that "the ideal of womanhood [that Jacob Cats] espoused—virtuous life, modesty, and constancy—certainly can be understood as underlying Vermeer's image."
  114. See chap. 1, nn. 12, 22.
  115. See Wadum's diagrams of these and other pictures by Vermeer in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 70–74.
  116. Nash 1991, p. 68.
  117. See Jantzen 1910, "Zweiter Teil," for his distinction between haptic and optical descriptions of space in Dutch painting.
  118. For a superb discourse on this subject, see Sluijter 1991–92.
  119. Wheelock 1995a, p. 90, properly interprets the reflection of the easel in Vermeer's mirror as an "artistic conceit." Gowing 1970, p. 126, n. 80, compares it to still-life objects in which one catches a glimpse of the painter at work.
  120. See Robinson's discussion of *The Eavesdropper* by Maes of 1657 (Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, The Hague, on loan to the Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht), in Philadelphia, Berlin, London 1984, no. 67.
  121. Salomon 1998b, pp. 319–22, identifies the man in the foreground of the picture in Brunswick as a lecherous instructor in social graces. This kind of social commentary is more typical of Van Mieris.
  122. See Sluijter 1991–92 and especially Sluijter 1998b.
  123. See Wheelock's entry in Washington, Amsterdam 1996–97, no. 11, where Bathsheba is primly described as "a married woman facing a moral dilemma." Compare Westermann 1997, pp. 216–17, 233, 289.
  124. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 154, where it is explained that "The map, representing the physical world, and the musical instrument, referring to sensual love, would have given a context for interpreting the mirror and the pearls negatively rather than positively."
  125. The same point is made differently by Wheelock in *ibid.*, p. 154. Franits 1993, pp. 124–29, discusses basins, mirrors, and combs.
  126. See Liedtke 1997 and especially Sluijter 1993.
  127. As discussed in Van de Wetering 1993.
  128. See the discussion in Washington, London, The Hague 2000–2001, no. 29.
  129. On these gentlemen and Vermeer, see Broos in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 47–54.
  130. On the American reading of Dutch art from about 1800 (which had partly English sources), see Liedtke 1990–91.
  131. Rosenberg, Slive, and Ter Kuile 1966, p. 114. The passage, which also refers to Rembrandt's "introverted and highly spiritual character" and Frans Hals's "gay realism and optimism," was dropped in Slive 1995 (p. 137).
  132. From which Vermeer, like Rembrandt, eventually suffered. The same lines are quoted and criticized by Haak (1984, p. 347) as an introduction to his historical sketch of the Dutch Republic in the third quarter of the seventeenth century.
  133. For example, in Slive 1995, p. 138, where Poussin and Descartes are cited.
  134. Wheelock in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 146, specifying that Vermeer designed the picture "in a Neo-platonic fashion."
  135. Wheelock in *ibid.*, p. 27, citing in a footnote "the philosophical framework for the musical theories of René Descartes and Marin Mersenne." On the similar ideas set forth in Wheelock 1995a, see L. de Vries 1996.
  136. See the inventory in Montias 1989, p. 341 (doc. no. 364).
  137. See Matthey 1973, pp. 351–52, 363, 375–81, and above, n. 135. Huygens's own learning must be set in its proper context, which is that of a well-rounded courtier with a few particular strengths (for example, poetry, not optics). Matthey remarks, for example, on how the courtier's letter of 1673 introducing the Delft microscopist Anthony van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723)—"a person unlearned in sciences and languages," according to Huygens—to

- Robert Hooke and the Royal Society “reveals how difficult it was for Huygens to distinguish between a worthy dilettante and a very original scholar” (Matthey 1973, p. 370).
138. On classicism and the Dutch court, see Blankert’s essay in Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, especially pp. 23–28.
  139. On similar Dutch interiors and accessories, see Fock 1998.
  140. These details are cited by Groeneweg in *The Hague* 1997–98b, pp. 206, 228, n. 48, in support of her observation that “pearls were an extremely important status symbol in the seventeenth century.”
  141. See Montias 1989, p. 180.
  142. The best example is Malraux 1952, pp. 15–24.
  143. Several robes and mantles are listed in the inventory of the artist’s estate, including two Indian coats and “a Turkish mantle of the aforesaid late Sr. Vermeer” (Montias 1989, pp. 339–40, doc. no. 364). On Japanese robes in seventeenth-century Holland, see Lubberhuizen-van Gelder 1947 and Breukink-Peeze 1989.
  144. Wheelock 1981, pp. 136–38; and Wheelock in Washington, *The Hague* 1995–96, p. 172, in Frankfurt 1997, pp. 19–20, and in Osaka 2000, no. 35. See Van Berckel’s essay, “Johannes Vermeer und Antoni van Leeuwenhoek,” in Frankfurt 1997, pp. 23–30, where the identification of Van Leeuwenhoek with Vermeer’s model in *The Astronomer* and *The Geographer* is carefully analyzed and dismissed (pp. 28–29). Van Berckel reached the same conclusion in *The Hague* 1996b, p. 14.
  145. See Washington, *The Hague* 1995–96, p. 172, where the early provenances are reviewed and the likelihood of a commission is noted. On the pendant relationship, see also Liedtke 2000, pp. 258–61.
  146. See Delft 1996, pp. 194–97, figs. 191, 192, and Zandvliet 1998, pp. 250–54. Zandvliet suggests that the three gentlemen in the Hamburg painting are discussing the sea route to Asia. De Man’s subjects are the topic of a Ph.D. dissertation in progress, by Laura M. Bassett at the University of Michigan.
  147. See Liedtke 1991b, p. 230.
  148. As noted in Washington, *The Hague* 1995–96, pp. 172, 175, n. 18, citing Hoet 1752–70, vol. 2, p. 365, nos. 10, 11. Globes as gentlemanly attributes are found, for example, in Van Dyck’s portrait of Lucas van Uffel (Liedtke 1984a, pp. 56–64) and in De Keyser’s portrait of Constantijn Huygens (fig. 15 in this catalogue; MacLaren/Brown 1991, pp. 215–17, no. 212). See Sumowski 1983–[94], vol. 1, no. 274, and Baer’s essay in Washington, London, *The Hague* 2000–2001, p. 35, on Dou’s self-portrait as a learned artist (with a globe in the foreground), of 1647, in the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden.
  149. *The Hague* 1996b, p. 14. See also the same author’s comments in Frankfurt 1997, pp. 18, 29. Van Berckel’s remarks about the symbiosis of ancient learning and new science in the seventeenth century are very much in accord with the thesis proposed in Grafton 1991.
  150. Such a phrase is, of course, Gowing’s (1970, p. 153).
  151. The quotes are from Wheelock 1995a, pp. 154, 155, where the camera obscura is also discussed; see p. 157 for more on Neoplatonism.
  152. See Kemmer 1998, pp. 94–104, on “the problem of ‘burgerlyk’ beauty,” and “the problem of the passions.”
  153. See Amsterdam 1992a, pp. 9–10.
  154. See Broos in Washington, *The Hague* 1995–96, p. 188, and sources cited.
  155. On Vermeer’s technique and materials, see Wheelock 1995a, Gifford 1998, and Groen et al. 1998.
  156. Sandrart 1675–79, p. 196, cited in Sluiter 1993, p. 26, and by Baer in Washington, London, *The Hague* 2000–2001, p. 31.
  157. Montias 1989, p. 351 (doc. no. 383).
  158. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987, p. 341 (in the English summary).
  159. See Montias 1982, chap. 8, on collections, and especially tables 8.6, 8.7.
  2. The drawings we know by Blocklandt date only from after his years in Delft; see Amsterdam 1986, vol. 2, nos. 312–15, with additional literature. The rare drawings that have been attributed to Van Tetrode are from the period when he worked in Italy and Prague; see Boon 1965, pp. 205–9. For Van Tetrode in general, see Amsterdam 1986, vol. 2, pp. 456–61, with additional literature.
  3. Ekkart 1989, pp. 322–28.
  4. Montias 1982, p. 328.
  5. The annotation “delfs ghouw” appears on the drawing at upper left. See Popham 1932, p. 95, no. 5v. See also Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, p. 61, ill. 48.
  6. Montias 1982, pp. 139, 334–35. Montias states mistakenly that Spiering worked in the Saint Agatha convent; Montias 1982, pp. 286–88.
  7. Sometimes the cartoons were actually painted in strips, as is clear from a statement by three painters in Spiering’s employ, Jonas van der Burch, Pieter Mathijsz, and Jan Augustinusz. They declared in 1624 that they never painted pieces (compositions) as a unit; instead, as soon as a section of a cartoon was finished it was taken away immediately to be used by the tapestry makers for their work. See Bredius 1885, p. 9.
  8. See, respectively, White and Crawley 1994, no. 493, and Schapellhouman 1987, no. 99.
  9. On these collectors and the dealer De Cooge, see Montias 1982, pp. 210–14; Plomp 1986, pp. 81–96; and Van der Veen in *The Hague* 1996a, pp. 130–33. During the second half of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, some Delft collectors of drawings who at times might also deal in them were Paulus Breijdel, Dirk van Beresteyn, and Valerius Röver. They were followed in the eighteenth century by Salomon van Groenewegen, Willem van Berckel, and the younger Valerius Röver. On Breijdel and Van Beresteyn, see Delft 1994, p. 204; on the Rövers, see Lugt, no. 2984a–c; and on Groenewegen and Van Berckel, see Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987, p. 267–71.
  10. One should keep in mind that Pieter Spiering, the famous collector of paintings and drawings, agent of the Swedish court and patron of Gerard Dou, probably inherited parts of the studio collection of his father, François; see Van Gelder and Jost 1985, pp. 42, 205–6.
  11. See Montias 1982, pp. 169, 172, and *The Hague* 1998–99a, p. 304.
  12. For an apprenticeship contract between a master embroiderer and a pupil that mentioned drawing, see Montias 1982, p. 68.
  13. Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, p. 12.
  14. Montias 1982, pp. 174–76, 324, and Ekkart 1996, pp. 362–66. Cornelis Daemen Rietwijk was headman of the Delft Guild of Saint Luke in 1636–38, 1650–52, and 1658–60. It has been suggested that Vermeer received his first drawing lessons at Rietwijk’s school, which was very near where the Vermeer family lived at that time; see Montias 1989, p. 73.
  15. See Montias 1982, p. 176.
  16. On these prints, see Hollstein, vol. 14, p. 38, nos. 1, 2, and Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 380–83 (fols. 280v–281r), vol. 5, p. 168. Hollstein (vol. 14, p. 38, no. 3) mentions a third print by Van Miereveld, *Danaë Receiving the Golden Rain* (after Titian). This print seems to be very rare, if it exists at all. Perhaps it should be identified with a print of this subject after Titian that Maria Catelli Isola described as anonymous (see Rome 1977, no. 36, ill.).
  17. See Montias 1982, p. 45, note a, p. 166, and Van Thiel 1999, p. 167. It has not been firmly established that Christiaan van Couwenbergh visited Italy. The city historian Van Bleyswijk, who was Van Couwenbergh’s contemporary, tells us that he did travel there but Maier-Preusker does not believe him; see Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 859, and Maier-Preusker 1991, p. 165.
  18. On Van Couwenbergh, see Maier-Preusker 1991, pp. 165, 208; on Willem van Vliet, see Utrecht, Brunswick 1986–87, pp. 345–48; and on artistic relations between Utrecht and Delft, see Slatkes 1998.
  19. There is no mention of any drawing in the estate of Linschoten; see Bredius 1915–22, vol. 6, pp. 1924–31. Two of his paintings—both of which are indeed close in style to the work of Ribera—*Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, are known through mezzotint engravings by Nicolaas Verkolje; see Bredius 1884, pp. 135–40, ill.
  20. Christiansen (1986) discusses how Caravaggio made his paintings without preliminary drawings in the traditional sense.
  21. See Amsterdam, Vienna, New York, Cambridge 1991–92, no. 20.
  22. In all likelihood, Van Couwenbergh made other drawings, for instance, tapestry designs; see below, n. 116.
  23. For Dutch *alba amicorum*, see *The Hague* 1990.

## Chapter 6

### DRAWING AND PRINTMAKING IN DELFT DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

I would like to thank my colleague Nadine Orenstein for carefully reading and criticizing a draft version of this chapter.

1. See Utrecht, New York 1989–90, pp. 14–15, 57–58, 185–97, 265–77. In the history of the printed book, Delft played an important role, for reasons that include the fact that the first Dutch Bible was printed there, on January 10, 1477; see P. Valkema Blouw in Delft 1979–80, p. 138.



24. On Bramer's drawing series and the early collectors of his work, see Delft 1994, pp. 202–5. On his illustrations for the *Aeneid*, the series that consists of 140 sheets, see Delft 1994, p. 316, no. 24.
25. C. Brown 1981, pp. 53, 162–63.
26. For Fabricius's drawings, see Sumowski 1979–, vol. 4 (1981), pp. 1875–80, and Schatborn 1983, nos. 61–66; see also New York 1995–96, vol. 2, no. 75.
27. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 3, p. 283.
28. Ackley dates Verkolje's *Venus and Adonis* print in the 1680s; see Boston, Saint Louis 1980–81, no. 197.
29. For Pieter Jansz van Ruijven, see Van der Feltz 1980; and for his family connection with Pieter Claesz van Ruijven, see Montias 1989, p. 248, n. 9. Information about the two (portrait) prints by Pieter Jansz van Ruijven may be found in Hollstein, vol. 20, p. 192.
30. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, at least two famous portrait drawings of members of the House of Orange attributed to Van Miereveld circulated in the important Dutch drawings collections of Ploos van Amstel and Goll van Franckenstein; however, they turned out to be the work of Pieter Claesz Soutman. See Schapellhouman and Schatborn 1998, nos. 295, 297.
31. The very fine and delicately drawn *Head of a Lady in a Ruff* in the British Museum, London, which is traditionally attributed to Michiel van Miereveld (Hind 1926, p. 143, no. 1, pl. LXXVI), is probably an unfinished work by David Bailly. Also long considered as by Van Miereveld's hand is a portrait, perhaps of Maria van Reygersbergen but titled "Portrait of Cornelia de Groot, daughter of Hugo Grotius," in the Teylers Museum, Haarlem (H. J. Scholten 1904, p. 79, no. 055). This, however, is an exceptional case. The oil-on-paper technique and the measurements ( $\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{4}$  in. [20 x 15 mm]) place it in the miniature category. It may be an exception, but we do not know of any miniatures by Van Miereveld. Despite the indications that Van Miereveld drew very little, it is interesting that one of his pupils, the unknown Delft artist Pieter Gerritsz Montfoort, must have made drawings on blue paper, probably during his apprenticeship; see Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 851.
32. For the drawings mentioned in Van Miereveld's inventory, see Bredius 1908, p. 5. Van Mander says that "Jeroon Wierincx" was Van Miereveld's first teacher, but in his appendix he revokes that statement; see Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 380–81 (fol. 280v), vol. 5, p. 168.
33. On Delft, see Rudolf E. O. Ekkart in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 8, pp. 664–65, and on his registration in the guild, see Montias 1982, p. 121.
34. See Hollstein, vol. 5, pp. 139–234.
35. Montias 1982, p. 277.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–34; for Delft's inventory, see Havard 1879–81, vol. 4, pp. 9–31.
37. See Mallett 1920, p. 222.
38. Delft's drawing of Frederick Hendrick (fig. 190) was sold at F. Muller, Amsterdam, June 11–14, 1912, no. 388. In Delft's inventory (see above, n. 36) the section titled "Drawings and Prints" seems to include only old master drawings, which probably means none of them are by Delft; see Havard 1879–81, vol. 4, p. 25. The information on Van Miereveld's 1623 portrait of Frederick Hendrick comes from the Iconographisch Bureau, The Hague, card no. 74157.
39. On Hendrick van Vlier's sketchbook, see Rotterdam 1991, no. 73.
40. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 3, p. 283.
41. Because these mezzotint engravings were made between 1680 and 1684 after works by Lely, Kneller, and Willem Wissing, it has been suggested that Verkolje may have visited London at some time during this period; see H. Gerson in Thieme and Becker 1907–50, vol. 34 (1926), p. 237.
42. Formerly in the Smallenburg collection, the painting was sold at F. Muller, Amsterdam, May 6, 1913, no. 77, ill. A painting by Palamedesz of a comparable couple playing trictrac near a bed was included in the E. Goldschmidt sale, R. Lepke, Berlin, April 27, 1909, no. 23, ill.
43. Schatborn 1990, pp. 187–93.
44. Fleischer and Reiss 1993, pp. 669–71, figs. 4–6, 8. *A Hunting Party at an Inn* was sold at Sotheby's, London, April 16, 1980, no. 95.
45. Schapellhouman attributed the oil sketch in the Fodor Collection to Hendrick Verschuring after comparing it with the painting *A Sporting Party* (location unknown), which was supposed to have on it the vestiges of the signature of Hendrick Verschuring; see Broos and Schapellhouman 1993, no. 161. Two London dealers, A. Tooth and Sons and Agnew's, who had this painting in the first half of the twentieth century, called it a signed and dated work of 1651 by Hendrick Verschuring; see the advertisement in the April 1935 issue of *Apollo* or the photograph in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD), The Hague. A more critical reading revealed only a few letters of the name purported to be Verschuring's; see Broos and Schapellhouman 1993, p. 205, n. 2. In my opinion, this painting is by Ludolf de Jongh.
46. Schatborn passes over this fundamental question in his otherwise excellent catalogue on Dutch figure drawings, Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82.
47. The Hague 1998–99a, p. 195. This large group of figure drawings by Van der Lisse (more than forty sheets) in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (inv. nos. 1512–14, 1980/467–491, 1981/117–120), still awaits publication. One example is illustrated in Bernt 1957–58, vol. 2, no. 371; see also Salzburg 1966, nos. 59, 60, pl. 25. I extend many thanks to Dr. des. Petra Hölscher of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, who kindly refreshed my memory of a visit to the Dresden print room ten years ago in a lengthy letter of June 9, 2000.
48. For Bleker, see Amsterdam, Washington 1981–82, pp. 21, 29, and Rotterdam, Frankfurt 1999–2000, pp. 248ff. For Van der Hulst, see Montias 1982, p. 324.
49. *View of Delft*, now in the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, is a famous drawing that nineteenth-century critics thought was by Vermeer; see Frankfurt 1994–95, no. Z61. For drawings attributed to Vermeer in the twentieth century, see Van Gelder 1931; Van Regteren Altena 1960; and Rotterdam, Paris, Brussels 1976–77, no. 145, pl. 93. On a group of at least three figure studies in Teylers Museum, Haarlem, the Städtisches Kunstinstitut, and the British Museum, London, that were once attributed to Vermeer but since then sometimes to the "pseudo-Vermeer," see Plomp 1997, no. 572.
50. In my opinion it is very unlikely that the drawing titled *View through a Window of the Towers of Pieterskerk and Town Hall in Leiden* in the Gemeentearchief, Leiden, attributed to Van der Burch by Peter C. Sutton (1980b, p. 323), dates from the seventeenth century. The drawing *Head of a Baby* with a CM monogram in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, is intriguing. According to Heusinger, the monogram is comparable to examples on De Man's paintings; see Heusinger 1960, no. 87, pl. 26. If he is right, this would be the only known drawing by De Man.
51. I have difficulty in accepting Van de Wetering's suggestion that Vermeer may have made use of erasable tablets in preparing his drawings. It is not clear that Van de Wetering believed it himself. At the beginning of the article cited below he airs the possibility that Vermeer worked with them, but he does not return to the subject; see Van de Wetering 1991, pp. 210–27. Erasable tablets seem to have been used very seldom in Holland in the seventeenth century, probably never by professional artists. Neither Willem Goeree nor Samuel van Hoogstraten mentions them. Goeree does say, however, that apprentices (and sometimes professional artists) used "Bus-kool" (some kind of coal?), "since all that has been depicted, and that is not according to our wish or need, can be erased many times and redone several times"; see Kwakkelstein 1998, p. 120.
52. Costaras 1998, pp. 153–54.
53. Wadum in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 67ff., and Costaras 1998, p. 152.
54. Wadum in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, pp. 68–69.
55. On Vermeer's *pentimenti*, see Wheelock 1987, pp. 385ff.
56. On Vermeer and Caravaggism, see Slatkes 1998, pp. 81–91.
57. For Vermeer's inventory, see Montias 1989, pp. 339–44 (doc. no. 364).
58. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 3, pp. 282–86.
59. For the drawing, see Bock and Rosenberg 1930, p. 303, no. 4379, pl. 209. The painting is unpublished, but there is a photograph of it at the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. Verkolje repeated the image of the running dog in a mezzotint; see Hollstein, vol. 35, p. 240, no. 17, ill.
60. See Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 1913, no. 3439 (*La Partie des cartes*; black chalk on parchment,  $\frac{6}{8} \times \frac{5}{4}$  in. [15.5 x 14.2 cm]); signed, "P Steenwyck, 1656". For another scene of peasant life by Pieter Steenwyck, *Three Children with a Goat*, his only known print, see Hollstein, vol. 28, p. 74, ill.
61. See The Hague 1998–99a, pp. 44, 349.
62. On the collection of Hendrik d'Acquet, see Amsterdam 1992b, nos. 260–62, and the essay by Jan van der Waals in Bergvelt and Kistemaker 1992, pp. 223–30.
63. Jacob Vosmaer's inventory is preserved in the Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst, Delft, Orphan Chamber, *boekdel* 1847 (April 8 and 9, 1642). On the verso of page xxii, "several drawings in white and black" are mentioned. These were probably grisailles. On the verso of page xxxi is a reference to "a small cupboard in which [are] several bundles of prints and drawings."
64. For the painted study, see Bol 1982, pp. 40–42, fig. 34. The painting was sold at Christie's, London, December 3, 1997, no. 4, ill.
65. On the Steenwyck brothers, see Mirimonde 1972 and Amsterdam, Cleveland 1999–2000, pp. 14, 28, 42–44, 298, and no. 36.
66. In Harmen Steenwyck's still lifes, gleaming metal objects of this sort occasionally appear. See the catalogue of a sale at Sotheby's, New York, April 7,

- 1989, no. 141 (erroneously attributed to D. Bailly). There is a photograph in the archives of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague. Leonaert Bramer also included cuirasses in the still lifes in his *Allegories of Vanity and Transience*; see Delft 1994, pp. 156–59, nos. 40, 41. For the etching *Still Life with Traveling Trunk*, which has long been wrongly ascribed to Bramer, see Delft 1994, p. 69, fig. 29.
67. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 855. What the relation was between Pieter Steenwyck and the obscure Gerhard van Steenwijk should be investigated. By the latter only two paintings are known. Both of them are still lifes of highly polished military objects. See Gemar-Koeltzsch 1995, vol. 3, p. 953.
  68. Evert van Aelst's contribution to the Abrams Album, *Lute Player behind a Table with a Jar on Its Side*, is an interesting combination of still life and genre. Compositionally it is reminiscent of a lost painting by the Delft painter Adam Pick, which is known only through a drawing by Leonaert Bramer; see Plomp 1986, p. 133, no. 44.
  69. For Decker and Stael, see Montias 1982, pp. 192–93, 195, 199–200, 252, 256–57. It is interesting that Montias has encountered references to drawings by Stael in Delft inventories of 1610–79; Montias 1982, p. 257.
  70. See H.-U. Beck 1972–91, vol. 4, p. 23. The attribution to Van Asch of a landscape drawing in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, London, cannot be taken seriously; see Courtauld Institute of Art 1956, p. 98, no. 1144. It was probably based on an annotation on the verso, "h van assche." Probably the artist was a member of the circle of Jacob van der Ulft (1621–1689) or Jan Hackaert (1628–1685).
  71. Amsterdam 1989a, p. 13.
  72. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, p. 848; see also Montias 1982, p. 46, and Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 323.
  73. In 1965 this panel painting by Groenewegen (20¼ x 26¼ in. [51 x 67 cm]; with the remains of an inscription, "Pi v 1629") was at the J. Hoogsteder gallery, Munster. The Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague, has a photograph of the work.
  74. For De Momper, see Ertz 1986, pp. 158–59, and, for a comparable drawing by De Momper, p. 335, fig. 416.
  75. Montias 1982, p. 252. Apparently De Momper's influence reflected not only on minor local artists like Willem van den Bundel and Pieter Stael, as Montias observed, but also on De Vlieger, an artist of considerable stature.
  76. Hollstein, vol. 41, pp. 131–41, nos. 11–20. Aeky dates this print series by De Vlieger convincingly to the 1640s; see Boston, Saint Louis 1980–81, p. 160, n. 1.
  77. For Potter, see The Hague 1994–95.
  78. Pynacker most probably visited Italy sometime between 1645 and 1648, just before he visited Delft; for Pynacker's life, see Harwood 1988, pp. 13–20.
  79. On Sonje's drawings, see Amsterdam, Dordrecht 1994–95, no. 17.
  80. On cavalry battles and other military subjects, see the discussion under cat. no. 94.
  81. For Houckgeest and De Witte, see Wadum in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, p. 69. Whether Van Vliet used the pinhole system has never been studied, but it seems very likely.
  82. Strangely enough, the figure of an artist sketching seldom appears in painted church interiors, whereas such figures are common in landscapes. An exception is the print *The Tomb of William the Silent* in Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80]; see Liedtke 1982a, fig. 40.
  83. Hollstein, vol. 1, p. 165, no. 2.
  84. See Liedtke 1982a, p. 31.
  85. For two drawings attributed to Emanuel de Witte in the British Museum, London, see Hind 1931, p. 110, nos. 1, 2. Of inferior quality, they are later, perhaps nineteenth-century, imitations.
  86. On this question, see Wheelock and Kaldenbach 1982, p. 19. For a drawing that has been described as Vermeer's preliminary study for *A View of Delft*, see above, n. 49.
  87. On the verso of *Night Scene with a Fireworks Display before a Palace* is part of a panoramic view of a town, perhaps London. The sheet, formerly in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg, was sold at Sotheby Mak van Waay, Amsterdam, November 15, 1983, no. 220, ill. on p. 82.
  88. In the Kunsthalle, Weimar, is a drawing, *Burning City*, supposedly signed by Van der Poel; see Weimar 1981, no. 372. Because the city views in this drawing and *Night Scene with a Fireworks Display before a Palace* (see above, n. 87) are depicted at a different scale than is usual in Van der Poel's paintings, and because of the lack of comparative material, I am hesitant to attribute these nocturnes to him.
  89. Most of this paragraph is based on Weve 1997.
  90. Preparatory drawings for maps of the period seldom survive, for reasons that may have something to do with the methods printmakers used to copy the images; Amsterdam 1989a, p. 11. For Witmont's involvement in preparing this map, see Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, p. 407.
  91. Blankert 1975–79, no. 503.
  92. For Witmont and pen painting, see Friso Lammertse in Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, p. 50. It is interesting that Witmont was once asked to illustrate with watercolor some official letters to the Russian czar; see Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, pp. 407–10.
  93. Montias 1982, p. 228.
  94. The rest of Coeserman's small oeuvre consists entirely of architectural views. On Coesermans, see Liedtke 1992.
  95. See Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, pp. 463–68.
  96. Bramer made some drawings of sea scenes, probably designs for tapestries (see below).
  97. For these paintings by De Vlieger, see Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, pp. 183–88. The history of marine painting in seventeenth-century Delft will probably remain incomplete, since the oeuvres of two Delft specialists on the subject, Nicolaes Vosmaer and Jochem de Vries, have virtually disappeared. On both artists, see Montias 1982, pp. 195–97, 212–13, 257, 340, 343, and Plomp 1986, p. 144, no. 59 (on a drawn copy by Leonaert Bramer of a seascape by Vosmaer). A signed marine painting by Vosmaer was included in a sale at Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 10, 1994, no. 100, ill.
  98. This paragraph is based for the most part on Zandvliet 1989. On *nieuwskarten*, see also Van der Maas in Delft 1998, pp. 41ff.
  99. It was published by Jan Janszn Orlers in Leiden in 1610 as *Beschrijvinghe ende af-beeldinge van alle de victorien . . .* (Description and illustrations of all the victories . . .).
  100. Zandvliet 1989, p. 11.
  101. On De Clerck, see Briels 1974, pp. 240–42. For the sale of the copperplates after De Clerck's death, see Montias 1982, pp. 274–77.
  102. Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, p. 88. On the attribution to Andreas Stock, see Filedt Kok 1990, pp. 279–80.
  103. Van Regteren Altena 1983, vol. 1, p. 88, 123. On De Clerck's portrait illustrations, see *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* 1983–, vol. 19 (1998), p. 523.
  104. Briels 1974, pp. 240–41. In addition De Clerck rented the front hall of the Stadhuis for several years in order to exhibit during free-market days; see Montias 1982, pp. 274–77.
  105. Montias 1982, pp. 275–76.
  106. See Weve 1997, pp. 24–25.
  107. Quoted from Moxon 1958, p. 372; see also Montias 1982, pp. 277–78.
  108. On this expatriate group of English printers (who, incidentally, moved every few years to a different city), see Montias 1982, pp. 277–86.
  109. See Briels 1974; J. G. P. C. van Tiggelen in Delft 1981, pp. 161–66; and Montias 1982, pp. 274ff.
  110. See Delft 1994, p. 203, n. 77.
  111. For Van de Venne, see Royaltan-Kisch 1988, pp. 37ff.
  112. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 2, pp. 857–58.
  113. See M. I. E. van Zijl in Delft 1981, pp. 206–7, and Montias 1982, pp. 287ff.
  114. Bredius 1885, pp. 8–9, and Montias 1982, p. 291.
  115. Swedish State Collection, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and Skokloster Castle. See M. I. E. van Zijl in Delft 1981, pp. 208–9.
  116. On Houckgeest's tapestry designs, see Rotterdam 1991, p. 163; on De Vlieger's and Van Couwenbergh's, see Van Ysselsteyn 1936, vol. 2, p. 255, no. 555, and Montias 1982, pp. 186–88; on Van de Venne's, see Delft 1994, pp. 262–65; and on Witmont's, see Rotterdam, Berlin 1996–97, p. 407.
  117. On the Leiden tapestry project and for Bramer's series of six drawings, see Delft 1994, pp. 262–65, nos. 38, 39.
  118. Ibid., pp. 200–202, fig. 27.
  119. The attribution of these plaques to Isaack Junius, made in De Loos-Haaxman 1956, pp. 106–8, is questionable. For more on Junius, see F. Scholten 1990, pp. 30–32.
  120. On Van Frijtom, see Vecht 1968. For other decorators who occasionally painted on faience without the aid of pricked drawings, such as Michiel Eems (d. 1684) and Gijsbrecht Claasz Verhaest, see Van Aken-Fehmers 1998, pp. 62–63. See, for Verhaest, Van Aken-Fehmers et al. 1999, pp. 201–2, n. 37.
  121. See Nicuustraten 1969, p. 5.
  122. See Van Dam 1991, no. 11.
  123. On the tile picture titled *Elegant Company in a Room* (fig. 211), see Vis and De Geus 1926, vol. 1, p. xi (where the work is described as after a drawing by

A. Palamedesz), pl. 75, vol. 2, pp. 33, 41. For the second tile picture depicting the lady, the officer, and the boy, see Pluis 1997, p. 601, ill.

124. This paragraph is based on Plomp 1999.

125. Pluis 1994, p. 37.

## Chapter 7

### SOCIETY, CULTURE, AND COLLECTING IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DELFT

This chapter was translated from the Dutch by Diane Webb.

1. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987, p. 157.
2. Ibid., p. 155. In the eighteenth century some facades were modified in the style of the time.
3. J. de Vries 1984, p. 39. The Netherlands and Belgium are still among the most thickly populated areas of the world (according to the World Bank's World Development Indicators for 1999, the population density of these countries was, respectively, 15.8 and 10.7 times that of the United States). The size of their combined economies ranks the Benelux countries among the world's top ten. Throughout the 1990s the Netherlands was among the three principal foreign investors in the United States (World Bank, World Development Indicators database, 1999, Total GNP 1998).
4. J. de Vries and Van de Woude 1995, p. 84.
5. Lourens and Lucassen 1997, pp. 101–3.
6. Rommes 1990, pp. 237–58, and Van der Wiel in The Hague 1996a, p. 53.
7. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987, pp. 20, 156–57.
8. Ibid., p. 35.
9. J. de Vries 1984, pp. 141–42. The attraction exerted on Delft by Amsterdam appears to have been no greater after 1675 than before. On this subject, see Hart 1976, p. 156.
10. Van der Schoor 1999, pp. 230–31, 294–95, 327–30.
11. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987, pp. 48, 417. Between 1602 and 1680 an average of 183 men left Delft every year on ships belonging to the Delft chamber of the VOC (L. L. M. Eekhout in Delft 1981, p. 92); however, a considerable number of these men were foreigners or Dutchmen from places other than Delft.
12. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis 1987, p. 48. This is confirmed in Hart 1976, p. 156.
13. The couple named one of their daughters Sabina Delphica, after the city of Delft. Van de Kamp 1980, pp. 182–83, 235.
14. Max Eisler's characterization of the local economy as a "Rentnerwirtschaft" is therefore incorrect; see Eisler 1923, p. 21.
15. Soltow and Van Zanden 1998, pp. 40–41, 104–5.
16. Van der Wiel in The Hague 1996a, p. 60.
17. Boitet 1729, p. 79. For the way in which the Council of Forty functioned, see especially the essay by H. W. van Leeuwen in Delft 1981, pp. 20–27.
18. Boitet 1729, pp. 131–32.
19. A list of appointed officials is given in H. W. van Leeuwen's essay in Delft 1981, pp. 26–27.
20. See Terwen 1967.
21. On the contracts and payments for these paintings, see *ibid.*, p. 168, n. 30. For Delft institutional patronage in general, see Montias 1982, pp. 183–90.
22. On the decoration of the Stadhuis, see the essay by A. de Groot in Delft 1981, especially pp. 47–51.
23. For a full description of this phenomenon, based on the collections of the city of Haarlem, see Van Bueren 1993.
24. See Salomonson 1988.
25. For a detailed discussion of this topic, see Abels and Wouters 1994, vol. 1, pp. 392–414.
26. On the subject of civic pride in the republic, see Frijhoff and Spies 1999, pp. 172–75.
27. Knevel 1994, pp. 274, 276.
28. Van Bleyswijk 1667–[80]. For the genesis of this descriptive treatise, see H. W. van Leeuwen in Delft 1981, p. 21. For an overview of the leading Delft families, see also Abels and Wouters 1994, vol. 1, p. 393.
33. On the Van Beresteys and Teding van Berkhouts, see Van Beresteyn and

Del Campo Hartman 1940–54 and Schmidt 1986. The Pauw family is discussed below.

34. He left a fortune of 900,000 guilders at his death, in the following year; see Van Beresteyn and Del Campo Hartman 1940–54, vol. 1, pp. 114–15.
35. Ibid., p. 111.
36. For an account of Pieter Teding van Berkhout's visits in 1669 to Vermeer's studio, see chap. 1.
37. Schmidt 1986, p. 214, n. 104.
38. Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 73.
39. Ibid., pp. 74, 212, n. 50.
40. Boitet 1729, pp. 778, 790, 791.
41. See, for example, Spaans 1989 and Frijhoff and Spies 1999.
42. Abels and Wouters 1994, vol. 1, p. 292.
43. Ibid., p. 277.
44. Ibid., pp. 291–92.
45. Ibid., pp. 233–34.
46. Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 138, 155–66.
47. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 307.
48. Montias et al. 1991, pp. 46–47.
49. For the history of these breweries, see K. van Berkel in Delft 1981, pp. 79–82. See also Abels and Wouters 1994, vol. 1, pp. 295–300.
50. J. de Vries and Van der Woude 1995, p. 765.
51. See Bok 1996–97, pp. 29–30.
52. Kaptein 1998, pp. 133–35.
53. See K. van Berkel in Delft 1981, pp. 83–85.
54. Green 1909, pp. 224, 233.
55. Ibid., p. 306.
56. Montias 1982, p. 208.
57. For a detailed analysis of this subject, see Van Ysselsteyn 1936.
58. Montias 1982, pp. 286–93.
59. Van Aken-Fehmers 1999, pp. 17–19.
60. Van Dillen 1958, p. 35.
61. Ibid., pp. 55, 81.
62. J. de Vries and Van der Woude 1995, p. 536.
63. Concerning dividends, see, for instance, Boitet 1729, pp. 560–62 (for the years 1605–9 Boitet lists dividends paid out by the Delft company founded in 1601; see Van Dillen 1958, pp. 31–32, n. 1). For the prices of VOC shares, see Van Dillen 1931, p. 12. See, in general, J. de Vries and Van der Woude 1995, pp. 514–15.
64. J. de Vries and Van der Woude 1995, pp. 535, 735–39.
65. Van Dillen 1958, p. 35.
66. Houtzager et al. 1987, pp. 202–7.
67. On the oversight of the harbor and shipyard, see Eekhout 1987.
68. J. de Vries and Van der Woude 1995, pp. 535–38.
69. This information on Delft and the WIC comes from M. E. van Opstall in Delft 1981, pp. 94–96.
70. Meischke 1967, p. 174.
71. Boitet 1729, p. 564. On the success of other cities in the whaling industry, see J. de Vries and Van der Woude 1995, pp. 306–17.
72. Van der Woude 1991.
73. Bok 1994, pp. 127–28.
74. Montias 1982, pp. 268–71.
75. Montias 1989, pp. 253–55, 359–60.
76. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 382–83 (fol. 281r).
77. The following information pertaining to the Pauw collection comes from Wolleswinkel 1993–94.
78. Ibid., p. 149.
79. The whole group is illustrated in *ibid.*, pp. 150–53.
80. See, for instance, *ibid.*, p. 115, fig. 85, and p. 150, figs. 1, 2.
81. Ibid., pp. 169–71.
82. See, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 130–32, fig. 105.
83. This information was kindly communicated by E. J. Wolleswinkel of the Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, The Hague, where these collections are documented. The iconography of the Van Beresteyn family is described in detail in Van Beresteyn and Del Campo Hartman 1940–54, vol. 2. Some of the portraits of the Graswinckel family are in the paintings gallery in the Hofje van Gratie at Delft; see Graswinckel 1956, pp. 340–41. A large part of the Van der Goes (Van Naters) collection and some portraits of the family of Hugo de Groot (Hugo Grotius) are now in the Prinsenhof, Delft.
84. The Van der Dussen sale took place at C. F. Roos, Amsterdam, February 16,

- 1858; the Van der Burch sales were held at C. F. Roos, Amsterdam, March 15, 1882, and at C. van Doorn, The Hague, November 22, 1886. Another part of the Van der Dussen collection was bequeathed to the city of Haarlem in 1888 by Miss F. A. C. van der Burch. This information was kindly communicated by Dr. Rudolf E. O. Ekkart.
85. Unless otherwise stated, what follows is based on chap. 8 in Montias 1982, pp. 220–71.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 227.
88. Bok 1993–94, p. 136.
89. Montias 1982, p. 269.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
91. For details, see Bok 1993–94.
92. Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 228–29 (fol. 242v), vol. 4, p. 46, vol. 6, p. xxiii.
93. Buchell 1907, pp. 441–42, 458–59.
94. For a list, compiled by Roelof van Gelder, of such collections in Delft, see Bergvelt and Kistmaker 1992, p. 335.
95. On Wyntgis, see, among others, Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 2, pp. 75–76, vol. 6, p. xxii. See also Bok 1993–94, pp. 147–48, 162.
96. Hymans 1889.
97. Illustrated in Schwartz 1984, p. 24. The epithet appears in a Latin poem that reads: “When someone is in doubt in matters concerning the art of Apelles, we send him to Delft to get the opinion (oracle) of De Man.” I thank Jan Bloemendal for elucidating these verses for me.
98. Montias 1982, p. 263. Only the paintings with attributions are included in Bredius 1883. Hofstede de Groot (1906, pp. 131–32), lists all the paintings sold at the De Man auction. For De Man, see also Montias 1982, p. 321.
99. A “School” by Van Baburen sold for 605 guilders. This painting has been identified by Slatkes (1998, p. 82), as Van Baburen’s *Young Christ among the Doctors* of 1622 (Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo).
100. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 4, p. 1439.
101. The information on De Langue was taken from Van der Veen in The Hague 1996a, pp. 132–33.
102. The poster is preserved in Hoge Raad van Adel, The Hague, archives of the Van der Lely van Oudewater family, 688. First published in Amsterdam 1999–2000, p. 21.
103. For these sketches, see Plomp 1986; Plomp in Delft 1994, pp. 237–39, nos. 21, 22; and Plomp in Delft 1996, pp. 37–38.
104. Plomp 1986, p. 152.
105. On collections of Italian art in the Dutch Republic, see Van den Berghe 1992 and H. Th. van Veen 1992.
106. A translation of Huygens’s remark is given in Schwartz 1984, p. 76.
107. Van der Waals in Amsterdam 1988, p. 113.
108. Some Italian paintings did reach Delft in the eighteenth century. In Valerius Röver’s outstanding collection were many paintings by Italian and French masters; see the essay by H. P. S. M. Domen-Van den Donk in Delft 1982–83. A large number of Röver’s Italian drawings had once belonged to Lord Arundel and the Dutch portraitist Peter Lely, who settled in England about 1643 (this information was kindly communicated by Michiel Plomp).
109. See Van den Berghe 1992 and H. Th. van Veen 1992.
110. Van der Veen in The Hague 1997–98a, pp. 91–92.
111. Montias 1982, pp. 214, 248–50.
112. Montias 1983.
113. Delft 1994, pp. 30–31.
114. Bredius 1908, p. 5.
115. Bredius 1915–22, vol. 5, pp. 1511–12; see also Montias 1982, pp. 213–14.
116. Montias 1982, pp. 214–15.
117. Delahay and Schadee in Rotterdam 1994–95, pp. 34–38.
118. *Ibid.*, p. 34.
119. Jansen 1992–93, p. 34.
120. This subject is treated in depth in Montias 1982, pp. 74–100. The council amended the regulations whenever the situation demanded it. An English translation of the guild letter is given in Montias 1982, pp. 350–69.
121. Regarding the guild chamber, see *ibid.*, pp. 96–97, and Delft 1994, pp. 25–26.
122. Montias 1982, p. 352.
123. *Ibid.*
124. Van Bleyswijck 1667–[80], vol. 1, p. 120.
125. Montias 1982, pp. 248–49.
126. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
127. On these practices, see Kosse 1992. For the raffling of paintings in Delft, see Montias 1982, pp. 197–201.
128. Archives of the Schuttersvereniging Diletto et Arme, Gemeentearchief, Delft, inv. 309, no. 11. Discovered by J. Michael Montias and as yet unpublished; quoted in part in Roethlisberger 1993, p. 582, and Huys Janssen 1998, p. 207.
129. On Delft art dealers, see Montias 1982, pp. 206–18, and Van der Veen in The Hague 1996a, pp. 128–29.
130. The price was 300 guilders; see Montias 1982, p. 211.
131. Bredius 1908.
132. Vermeer in The Hague 1998–99a, p. 54.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
134. *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 78. Because we have very little information about collections in The Hague, it is not possible to say whether the art market there was relatively open, like Amsterdam’s, or whether the guild was in the end successful in suppressing foreign competition. Vermeer in *ibid.*, p. 57 has the impression that in Hague probate inventories local artists appear much more frequently than artists from other cities.
135. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
136. Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 55.
137. For earlier literature and for an overview of this subject, based on calculations of the number of active artists in the Netherlands, see, for instance, Bok 1994, pp. 99–104, 120–21. Statistics provided by Gary Schwartz in Münster, Osnabrück 1998–99, vol. 2, pp. 241–43, based on the Union List of Artist Names (ULAN), yield almost exactly the same picture. Research published in Krempel 2000, pp. 18–22, on known, dated portraits reinforces this impression. Krempel’s calculations suggest that the production of portraits in the last quarter of the seventeenth century was 33 percent to 50 percent less than what it had been during the previous twenty-five years.
138. Bok 1994, pp. 176–77.
139. Montias 1982, pp. 179–82, 328.
140. Bok 1994, pp. 120–27.
141. Quoted from Van der Sman in The Hague 1996a, p. 136.

## ALONG THE CITY WALLS: AN IMAGINARY WALK THROUGH SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DELFT

- For views of these other Dutch cities, see Amsterdam, Toronto 1977; Bakker, Fleurbaay, and Gerlagh 1988; and De Meyere 1988. See also Dumas 1991 on The Hague and its surroundings. The present essay is a revised version of an article in 1996 in *Antiek* (Plomp 1996b). The author would like to thank Walter Liedtke warmly for his help in writing this essay.
- On atlases, see the essays by Jan van der Waals in Bergvelt and Kistmaker 1992, pp. 153–68, 205–31, and Bakker 1978. Late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century collections of drawings and prints that were partly organized as “walks” are discussed in Bakker 1995b.
- See De Jong 1993, p. 194.
- The *Kaart Figuratief*, Van Bleyswijck, and his book on Delft are discussed in Weve 1997.
- On the Sint Jorispoort, which was demolished in the nineteenth century to make way for a railroad, see Weve 1997, pp. 242–43.
- The painting came to light in a sale at Christie’s, London, February 1, 1985, no. 42, where it was described as *A Canal by a Town Wall with Laborers Loading Timber*.
- See the discussion in Washington, The Hague 1995–96, no. 7.
- For this drawing and the one on the verso, which depicts the classical archway at the south side of the Schiedam Gate, see Wheelock and Kaldenbach 1982, pp. 24–25, figs. 16, 16a.
- On the Armamentarium, see G. Berends in Delft 1981, pp. 51–54, and Weve 1997, p. 178.
- On the Kruikius (or Crucquius) drawing, see Plomp 1996b, pp. 353–54. On common gardens outside Dutch cities, see De Jong 1993, p. 193.
- See K. van Berkelf’s essay in Delft 1981, pp. 79–82.
- See C. Brown 1981, pp. 23, 159–61 (app. B, “Early Lives”), nos. 1, 3 (by Van Bleyswijck and Houbraken, respectively).
- For several of them, see Lokin in Delft 1996, pp. 94–100.

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## Amsterdam 1860

*Catalogus van een zeer belangrijke en uitgebreide verzameling schilderijen, door oude en hedendaagsche meesters, waarbij voornamelijk uitmunten eenige antieke kerkstukken, afkomstig uit het stadhuis der stad Delft*. Sale cat. Amsterdam, C. F. Roos, April 24, 1860.

## Amsterdam 1867

*Tentoonstelling van zeldzame en belangrijke schilderijen van oude meesters*. Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Arti et Amicitiae, 1867. Amsterdam, 1867.

## Amsterdam 1872

*Tentoonstelling van zeldzame en belangrijke schilderijen van oude meesters*. Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Arti et Amicitiae, 1872. Amsterdam, 1872.

## Amsterdam 1880

*Catalogus der tentoonstelling van kunstvoorwerpen uit edele metalen vervaardigd*. Exh. cat. Amsterdam, Arti et Amicitiae, 1880. Amsterdam, 1880.

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## Amsterdam 1932

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